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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCLXXXIX -- JULY 1909

THE UNITY AND DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

As one who since my entry into public life more than half a century ago has given earnest consideration to the best means of promoting the greatness and prosperity of the British Empire, may I venture respectfully to offer some suggestions to the important conference shortly to take place between the Imperial Government and the members of the self governing Colonies?

The Premier of New Zealand patriotically offered to present a *Dreadnought* to the Imperial Navy when the recent excitement arose here as to the insufficiency of naval preparation to meet any emergency. A subsequent meeting of the leading public men in that Dominion developed some difference of opinion as to the best mode of rendering naval support to the Mother Country.¹

Following the action of New Zealand a similar proposal was urged upon the Government of Australia by New South Wales and Victoria, and the Premier of the Commonwealth holding the opinion that a local

¹ Sir Joseph Ward has since carried his proposal through the Parliament of New Zealand by a unanimous vote.

navy was a better mode of aiding Great Britain has been superseded by that eminent Imperialist Mr. Deakin, who has offered a *Dreadnought* to the Parent State.

In the House of Commons of Canada, Mr. Foster having moved a resolution in favour of a local navy being vigorously proceeded with, the following resolution was moved by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, after conference with Mr. Borden, the leader of the Opposition, which passed unanimously :

This House fully recognises the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence. The House is of opinion that under the present constitutional regulations between the Mother Country and the self-governing dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not be so far as Canada is concerned, the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence.

The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organisation of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world.

The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and the honour of the Empire.

Since the passage of that resolution much dissatisfaction has been expressed in the Provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, that Canada did not present a *Dreadnought* to the Imperial Navy.

Lord Milner, on his return from visiting Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, said in reference to this question when addressing the Canadian Club at Toronto in October last :

The membership of the Colonies in the Empire added more to its collective strength than liability for their protection added to its responsibilities ; but the general position would be much stronger if all the Colonies adopted the course which Australia seemed disposed to adopt, of creating a national militia and laying the foundations of a fleet. It was not a question of transferring burdens, but of developing fresh centres of strength, and this development of the defensive resources of the Colonies would not make for separation, but would create a stronger desire to share in the glories and responsibilities of the Empire. But such development, especially in the case of the Navy, might be along lines so dissimilar as to hamper conjoint action, and the arguments for a single big navy for the Empire were so strong that they might overcome the political objection. He felt, however, the political objection very strongly : for, if the Colonies were to contribute to a central navy, they would not take the interest and pride in the matter which it was essential that they should take. The fatal weakness would be that the participation of the Colonies in Imperial affairs would begin and end with a contribution. The true line of progress was probably for the younger nations to be brought face to face with the problems of the defence of the Empire gradually.

A few weeks ago Lord Charles Beresford, in a speech reported in the *Times*,² said

the time had arrived for us to look narrowly into the question of Imperial defence as a whole. The Government, he thought, were wise in having called a conference together upon that important matter. We should learn a great deal at that conference from representatives of the British Dominions beyond the seas, and he hoped they might learn a little from us. The interest of the Dominions in the matter was shown by the fact that they had offered to send to this country a sum of money for the purpose of building what were described as *Dreadnoughts*, but which he would prefer to call battleships. (Hear, hear.) The first thing that was necessary was for the Mother Country and the Dominions to consider how they could best help each other. Before spending a large sum of money it was necessary to look at what the result might be. His view of the situation was that our great Dominions could best help us, not by spending two millions on battleships to serve in British waters, but by making proposals for defending themselves.

But he questioned the wisdom of their putting money into torpedo vessels and submarines and sending a large amount over here to build a battleship the life of which was only twenty years with luck, and might be only twenty months. If they invested two millions in Home Defence and in having cruisers which could go out and protect their trade routes, he thought it would be a better investment than in going to defend the shores of this country.

In the scheme which he proposed, the most essential was that the vessels built by the Dominions should be under the administration and control of the Dominions themselves, and they should also be interchangeable with the vessels of the British Fleet, so that a cruiser from Sydney, say, might occasionally go to the Mediterranean and a Mediterranean cruiser go to Sydney. He would also have the officers and the men interchangeable for the purposes of training. (Cheers.) The various fleets should have identical designs, an identical system of training, and an identical system of discipline. He wished to say that the system of discipline in the British Navy was excellent and was founded upon sympathy and kindness on the part of the officers towards the men and respect and esteem on the part of the men towards their officers. (Cheers.) He suggested that this Imperial Navy should have the same signal books, the same uniform, the same articles of war, the same King's Regulations, and the same Admiralty Instructions. Its object would be to demonstrate to the world that if any component part of this great Empire was attacked, the whole Empire would go as one great service to its assistance.

The best way, he repeated, in which the Dominions could help us was to defend their own trade routes; and the best way in which we could help the Dominions was to pass their men and their officers through our service for training. He preferred to call the Dominions nations; and if the Canadian nation, the South African nation, the New Zealand nation, and the British nation were cemented together for defence, they could laugh at the rest of the world.

I need not add more to show the diversity of opinion that exists in regard to this important question—upon which it is on every account desirable that unanimity should prevail. To promote that object I suggest that it is not impossible to find a solution. No one will dispute the fact that the greatest difficulty that presents itself in regard to

² May 22.

the unity and consolidation of this great Empire arises from the long distances which separate its component parts, nor question the importance of any measure designed to draw them closer together. Animated by these considerations that incomparable Minister of the Colonial Department, Mr. Chamberlain, agreed to give from the Imperial Treasury 75,000*l.* a year for the purpose of subsidising a fast line of steamers between Great Britain and Canada, by which the Mother Country would at the same time be brought into the closest communication with Australasia, including New Zealand. The House of Commons of Canada thereupon voted unanimously a subsidy of twice that sum for the same purpose.

A contract was arranged with the Messrs. Allan on that basis, but was defeated owing to a change of the Government in Canada. These steamships were to be built under Admiralty supervision, and commanded by officers of the Royal Navy. The Admiralty had put on record in 1887 a memorandum saying

My Lords would desire to state that the experience derived from the events of 1885 has led them to believe that true economy and real efficiency would be best promoted by securing the use to the Admiralty in times of peace of the fastest and most serviceable vessels, &c.

General Sir Andrew Clarke in 1894 also gave it as his opinion upon this point, that 'fast ships on these routes cannot well be captured except by mere mischance on the ocean.'

The principle referred to above was destined to receive a wider and more significant application. Under the late Government, on the 30th of July, 1903, a contract was made between the Admiralty, the Board of Trade and the Postmaster-General and the Cunard Steamship Co. Ltd., under which the Government loaned the capital, 2,600,000*l.*, to the Cunard Company at 2½*l.* per cent. for the construction of the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania* running between their country and a foreign port. In addition the Government have increased the subsidy to the company for the carriage of mails to 62,000*l.* per annum.

At the Imperial Conference of 1907 Sir Wilfrid Laurier moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously by the votes of the representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa :

That in the opinion of this Conference the interests of the Empire demand that, in so far as practicable, its different portions should be connected by the best possible means of mail communication, travel, and transportation, and that to this end it is advisable that Great Britain should be connected with Canada, and through Canada with Australia and New Zealand, by the best service available within reasonable cost ; that for the purpose of carrying the above project into effect such financial support as may be necessary should be contributed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in equitable proportions.

I believe financial grounds are responsible for the delay in giving effect to this resolution, which provides the best and readiest means of

drawing the Mother Country and other great outlying portions of the Empire closer together.

Now I humbly submit that to keep this great question free from all party complication both here and throughout the Empire this financial support, so firmly offered, may accomplish the great object desired by all of efficiently providing for the defence of the Empire, and at the same time of affording the best means of promoting trade, mail, and personal intercourse to such an extent as to be of great value to the Empire at large, while it will, as Lord Charles Beresford proposes, provide a Fleet of Royal Reserve Cruisers to keep open the trade routes in time of war.

The importance of the latter task may be understood in the light of the statement publicly made recently by Mr. J. J. Hill, one of the great railway magnates of the United States, that the United States in a short time would consume all the wheat they could produce, and that Canada would be able to raise 800,000,000 bushels.

The proposed suggestion would in no wise interfere with any of the Dominions building naval cruisers or adopting any other means of protecting their shores which they might desire. I may suggest that in justice to the Messrs. Allan and the Canadian Pacific Railway Co., who have done so much unaided to improve steamship communication between this country and Canada, their interests should not be overlooked in making the proposed arrangements.

It is evident that the presentations of *Dreadnoughts* cannot be carried in the Parliaments of the Dominions except by a party vote, which in such a matter would be greatly to be deplored. On the other hand there would be unanimity in providing support to the Admiralty by the construction of local navies. That attitude, when taken in connexion with the opinion of a very high naval authority that the construction of cruisers by the 'Dominion Nations,' to keep open the trade routes between them and Great Britain in time of war, would give better support to the Admiralty than a presentation of *Dreadnoughts*, is certainly worthy of consideration. If that object could be secured in the meantime by the establishment of the 'All-Red Route' between this country and Australia and New Zealand via Canada, to which the Imperial Conference of 1907 committed itself, by large steamships built under Admiralty supervision, commanded by naval officers and manned by trained men, and provided with suitable armament, the trade routes could not only be kept open but the closest communication maintained between those parts of the Empire concerned. The means also of transporting troops and Volunteers in time of war in the most rapid manner would thus be secured to the Admiralty.

I cannot conclude without expressing my dissent from the disparaging remarks that have been made in reference to the neglect by Canada to discharge her duty in regard to the defence of the Empire.

Canada has spent hundreds of millions of dollars in the construction of trans-continental railways which have been declared by the highest British naval and military authorities to be of vital importance to the defence of the Empire. She has reclaimed from the wilderness, by opening it up to settlement, the great Rupert's Land, which is being rapidly occupied by British subjects and will soon provide this country with all the breadstuffs which it is unable to produce. Canada, with a population of under five millions, accomplished this work without assistance, a greater exploit than has ever been achieved by any such population in the world. 'Canada,' in the words of her distinguished Governor-General, Lord Grey, 'has blazed the way for the Confederation of Australia,' which has since been followed by the Confederation of South Africa. Canada, again, under the administration of Mr. Chamberlain, led the van in the construction of the Pacific Cable, which I hope will prove the first link in the project of a system of Empire cables so long advocated by Sir Sandford Fleming for binding the Empire together in this manner.

The Government of Canada is now carrying out the policy propounded by Lord Dundonald of a great citizen soldiery at a cost of over six million dollars per annum, to enable her to defend the weakest and most vulnerable spot in the British Empire, and now stands pledged by the unanimous vote of her Parliament to support the Parent State in every emergency to the utmost of her ability, and to provide for the national defence of her shores.

I may be told that Canada has done all this not for England but for herself. Permit me, as one of the only two Delegates now living to the Conference for the Union of the North American Colonies held at Quebec in 1864, to say that the ruling sentiment of the thirty-two representative public men who attended on that memorable occasion was the determination to preserve for ever the priceless benefit of British institutions under the sovereignty of the Crown.

CHARLES LUPPER.

ARE THE DEATH DUTIES AN ECONOMICALLY SOUND FORM OF TAXATION?

THE above is the question which I wish to put before the readers of this Review. I use the term 'Death Duties' in the ordinarily accepted sense, as including those taxes first associated in Sir William Harcourt's Budget of 1894, which, by the way, also for the first time introduced the principle of graduation into our system of taxation. I have for some time had considerable doubts as to whether these duties as introduced by Sir William Harcourt were not tending ultimately to reduce the capital out of which they were paid; my doubts were considerably increased when the scale was raised two years ago, and they have been still further strengthened by the proposals of the present year.

My question raises a further one: What taxes are economically sound?

It is interesting to apply Adam Smith's 'First Principles of Taxation' to the problem. He lays down that:

1. The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State.
2. The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not arbitrary.
3. Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it.
4. Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public Treasury of the State.

The last of these principles, of course, applies to indirect taxes, and is not to the purpose, but Adam Smith adds some further considerations, which may be thought to be not irrelevant to the inquiry; for instance, that a tax 'may obstruct the industry of the people, and discourage them from applying to certain branches of business, which might give maintenance and employment to great multitudes. While it obliges the people to pay, it may thus diminish, or perhaps destroy, some of the funds which might enable them more easily to do so.' That is to say, the ultimate effect of a tax must not be to destroy the source from which it is derived.

There is another principle, in which I was taught to believe ; and that was that taxation and representation should go together. And, in these days, it would also seem necessary to assert that it is economically unsound for a nation, as for an individual, to live on its capital, basing its expenditure on revenue provided out of the capital, and not the earnings or revenues of the taxpayer. With these, or some of these principles before us, it will perhaps be easier to judge of the soundness of these taxes.

But, after all, and perhaps above all, the moral effect of a tax on the people must be taken into account : there ought to be a general sentiment that what a man is called upon to contribute to the support of the State is a fair apportionment, and that he and his successors are not crippled in the exercise of their calling.* The absence of such a sentiment must inevitably lead to evasion—legally where possible, and, failing that, illegally. Once the taxpayer feels himself aggrieved he loses the sense of obligation towards the State which the majority of citizens naturally have, and all ought to have. And once a taxpayer's attention has been drawn to possible means of evasion, he will very soon feel justified (where he thinks he can safely do so) in adopting them. So that while the individual is demoralised, the State suffers in revenue. 'An injudicious tax,' says Adam Smith, speaking of indirect taxes, 'offers a great temptation to smuggling' ; substitute the word 'evasion' for 'smuggling,' and the remark applies equally to direct taxes.

I propose in the remarks which follow to consider the death duties chiefly as they affect lineal descendants. I am fully prepared to admit that in other cases, particularly where the property passes to a stranger, and the capital out of the direction in which it has been employed, a good case may and does exist for a large contribution being made to the State. Moreover, I think the State may claim a somewhat larger share in the gigantic fortunes of which we hear now and then. But these latter are rare exceptions : by far the greater number of estates liable to duty are affected in the injurious manner which I shall endeavour to describe.

The death duties must be taken in conjunction with the income tax, and the cumulative effect of the whole must be considered. The United Kingdom is, of modern states, the only one in which taxation on capital has been suggested to the extent now proposed. It is a matter of considerable difficulty to compare the systems of taxation of different countries. In France death duties rise from 1 per cent. on the lowest to 5 per cent. on the highest estates. But in France there is—at least up to the present time—no income tax.¹ In

¹ There are certain direct taxes, such as on buildings, personalty, land, doors and windows, trade licenses, which to some extent correspond to our Income Tax, and some of which the projected Income Tax is intended to supersede ; but there is no general Income Tax in the sense in which we understand it.

Germany there is an income tax, varying in the different States, but in none of these does the State take more than 5 per cent. ; municipalities, however, also raise their revenue in the form of a tax on income, and, including such local taxation, the total charge on income may rise to 8, or possibly 10 per cent. In some cases there is a very small annual charge on capital in the shape of a property tax. But the attempts at raising revenue by means of death duties on lineal descendants appear to meet with the utmost resistance, and, for the present, at all events, they may be left out of consideration. Thus we have in France very moderate death duties and no income tax ; in Germany an income tax but no death duties. In Italy, which is generally considered one of the most highly taxed of all European countries, there is a high tax on income (which, however, it is understood, is not in practice levied to its full extent), while the death duties rise to a maximum of only 3·60 per cent. It is also to be observed that both in France and in Italy the rates of duty apply not to the entire amount of the estate (as here) but to the respective fractions inherited ; and of this more will be said later on. The instances given, however, will serve to show that the scale of income tax, super tax, and death duties now proposed in this country is far in excess of anything attempted elsewhere, that it is an experiment the economic effects of which must be far-reaching, and cannot be apparent for a number of years.

It is often asserted that when Sir William Harcourt introduced his estate duties the same fears were expressed that are expressed now, that they would make for the reduction of capital ; whereas, it is said, the facts have shown that these fears were not justified. If this were so, which I do not admit, it would be but a poor argument for an extension of the principle then introduced, and especially such an extension as that now proposed. The first of the following tables shows the burdens now laid in the shape, on the one hand, of income tax and super-tax, and, on the other hand, of death duties, on estates varying from 5000*l.* to 10,000,000*l.*, reckoning incomes on a basis of 4 per cent. It also shows the produce of the same taxes as they were apportioned by Sir William Harcourt, who, in his Budget of 1894, raised the income tax from 7*d.* to 8*d.*

My second table shows the amount of capital that has become liable to estate and legacy duty during each of the last ten years, and for the same period the taxable income of the nation. What is remarkable and obvious from these tables is the steady progress year by year of the annual income—the rate of progress varies, but the increase is uninterrupted, and thus a safe basis is afforded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for his estimates of revenue. On the other hand, what is apparent from the tables showing the capital liable to death duties is its uncertain and fluctuating character : taking the aggregates they show an increase over the figures of 1897 :

but, if I had happened to take 1899 as a starting-point, there would be a decrease.

TABLE I.

Income Tax and Death Duties in 1894 and 1909 Compared.

An Estate of	Yielding at 4 per cent. an income of	Will now pay Income Tax (including Super-tax)	Whereas in 1894 it paid	And will now pay Death Duties	Whereas in 1894 it paid
£	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£
5,001	200	2 6 8	3 0 0	200	200
10,001	400	14 0 0	9 6 8	500	500
20,001	800	48 18 4	26 13 4	1,400	1,000
25,001	1,000	58 6 8	31 6 8	1,750	1,375
50,001	2,000	116 18 4	66 13 4	4,000	3,000
100,001	4,000	238 6 8	133 6 8	10,000	7,000
125,001	5,000	291 18 4	166 13 4	12,500	8,750
125,025	5,001	†341 15 0	166 13 4		
150,001	6,000	425 0 0	200 0 0	16,500	11,250
200,001	8,000	591 13 4	266 13 4	24,000	17,000
300,001	12,000	925 0 0	400 0 0	36,000	24,000
400,001	16,000	1,258 6 8	533 6 8	52,000	32,000
500,001	20,000	1,591 18 4	666 13 4	65,000	42,500
600,001	24,000	1,925 0 0	800 0 0	84,000	51,000
700,001	28,000	2,258 6 8	933 6 8	98,000	59,500
800,001	32,000	2,591 13 4	1,066 13 4	120,000	68,000
900,001	36,000	2,925 0 0	1,200 0 0	135,000	76,500
1,000,001	40,000	3,258 6 8	1,333 6 8	160,000	90,000
2,000,001	80,000	6,591 13 4	2,666 13 4	320,000	180,000
3,000,001	120,000	9,925 0 0	4,000 0 0	480,000	270,000
10,000,001	400,000	33,258 6 8	13,333 6 8	1,600,000	900,000

† Allowing for Abatements.

† Note effect of Super-tax, beginning on incomes over £5,000.

TABLE II.

	Capital Liable to Estate Duty	Taxable Income
	Millions of £'s	Millions of £'s
1897	247·3	525·2
1898	250·6	548·2
1899	292·8	564·8
1900	264·5	594·1
1901	288·8	607·5
1902	270·4	608·6
1903	264·1	615·0
1904	265·1	619·8
1905	272·1	632·0
1906	298·4	640·0
1907	292·2	Not available

Again, an analysis of the various degrees of estates, separating them into four classes of from 100l. to 100,000l., from 100,000l. to 500,000l., from 500,000l. to 1,000,000l., and from 1,000,000l. upwards, shows in each of them violent fluctuations, as may be seen by Table III. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimates become

what has been described as a mere gamble on the death of a certain very limited number of individuals, and while, as has been shown, there has been a steady increase in the national income, the tables show no corresponding increase in the capital liable to death duty. This applies to aggregates, but a further remarkable point is that while the number of estates up to 100,000*l.* has in ten years grown from 31,868 to 38,173—an increase of 6305—the number of estates exceeding 100,000*l.* has decreased from 278 to 274, and this in years when there has been a constant increase of income, the period of the discovery of the mineral wealth of South Africa having led to a quite exceptional creation of huge fortunes, some of which have already become liable to these duties. I cannot help coming to the conclusion that the result of the Budget of 1894 has already been a diminution, in some cases voluntary on the part of the owners, in others involuntary, in the capital value of estates liable to duty. It is, in fact, a matter of common knowledge that this is the case.

TABLE III.

	Estates of 107. - 100,000 <i>l.</i>	Estates of 100,000 <i>l.</i> - 500,000 <i>l.</i>	Estates of 500,000 <i>l.</i> - 1,000,000 <i>l.</i>	Estates of 1,000,000 <i>l.</i> - upwards
	Millions of £'s.	Millions of £'s.	Millions of £'s.	Millions of £'s.
1897	164.2	49.7	12.6	14.7
1898	170.8	51.2	10.5	11.6
1899	186.5	60.9	9.9	28.1
1900	178.2	52.5	18.0	18.6
1901	175.5	53.3	14.4	38.5
1902	182.8	52.9	15.6	11.9
1903	174.3	50.7	16.9	14.6
1904	181.6	53.1	17.2	5.9
1905	177.7	60.6	13.1	18.5
1906	181.2	62.8	12.8	34.1
1907	186.9	55.2	16.6	15.7

Moreover, the full effect of this can hardly yet be perceptible; it must be remembered that ten or twelve years of death duties represent, as it were, only the first crop—a comparatively small number of estates can so far have been harvested for the second time; is the soil on which Capital grows sufficiently fertile to make up for what is taken away? Statistics up to now afford no clue—we have up to now no decrease, only heavy disconcerting fluctuations—but what about the future when duties are higher, and at the same time the burdens on income are heavily increased? Is it not to be expected that when estates come up for assessment a second and third time the yield will be a constantly diminishing one, and consequently that our expenditure is based on a revenue derived from uncertain and declining sources?

I would insist upon the cumulative effect of income tax, super-tax, and death duties. It is often suggested, and I believe the advice was given by Sir William Harcourt during the debates on his Budget

in 1894, that the prudent man should provide for the duties to which his estate will become liable by insuring his life. The cost of this operation varies naturally with the age of the individual, but it is not unfair to assume that by the time a man has accumulated wealth, or has inherited it, he has reached or is well over middle age, say, fifty. At that age, according to some interesting calculations by a recent writer in the *Standard*, on an estate of

£	s.	d.
5,000, the income tax and insurance premiums will be in the £	2	0
20,000	2	6
70,000	2	11

These examples do not include incomes on which the super-tax is payable. Coming to the larger fortunes, the charge on 500,000*l.* would work out at about 4*s.* in the pound ; on a million, about 5*s.* ; should the age be higher, the charge is correspondingly heavier. At sixty, income tax and premium on a million would rise to 6*s.* 9*d.* in the pound. All this on the assumption that the life is considered a good one by the companies, by no means a safe assumption. It must also be borne in mind that those who have already assured under the old scale will have to take out fresh policies according to their present age. As most men having attained a certain degree of affluence have already budgeted for their expenditure, and incurred a number of charges (not necessarily for their own comfort or self-indulgence), which they are unwilling or unable to curtail, it is not likely that insurance will be taken advantage of to any large degree ; and the bankers have had good ground for stating in their recent memorial to the Prime Minister that the death duties are to a large degree paid out of capital. It is a point on which they can speak from experience and with authority.

Can it be expected that estates so largely reduced will on the death of the next owner yield the same result ? Let it be remembered that this is the basis on which expenditure will be calculated ; it will not be safe to reckon on a large creation of new fortunes to make up for the curtailment of the old ones ; modern conditions of trade, increasing competition and smaller profits, coupled with high rates and taxes, higher wages and shorter working hours, are not conducive to the rapid accumulation of wealth. There is the further fact to be reckoned with that large estates are constantly subdivided into a greater number of shares, which will not be assessable under the same scale. The very heaviness of the charge will necessitate such diminution or subdivision ; landed estates become mortgaged, or parts have to be sold ; the reduction of personal property requires several years' income to make up again—not an easy task, especially when that capital is invested in businesses which must be seriously handicapped through the withdrawal of such a heavy percentage. I cannot but come to the conclusion that if the proposed scale of death duties is carried through, it will lead to a gradual but steady diminution of capital,

and consequently to a constant loss of revenue from this source. And the diminution of such capital will in the end also tell in the direction of a decrease in the yield of the income tax and super-tax.

The disturbance to trade caused by the withdrawal of such a large proportion of working capital must not be overlooked; under the existing scale already serious inconvenience is caused: nothing hampers trade more than the lack of working capital, and it is just those fortunes that may be described as the most useful and necessary for the purposes of business that are most affected by the proposed new scale of graduation—fortunes from about 100,000*l.* to about 500,000*l.* As business is conducted nowadays, a larger amount of readily available capital is essential than used to be the case—the volume of business is larger, the cable, the growth of steamers in respect of carrying capacity and speed, modern inventions making speedy renewal of machinery more than ever necessary, all these require command of larger capital. It is no light matter for a business or factory with a capital of say 500,000*l.* to suddenly submit to a loss of 65,000*l.*; a reduction of trade and of employment must inevitably follow. That firm has probably for years employed a number of hands through good or bad times: it has presumably realised adequate profits, but has also had to put up with losses, yet it has gone on finding employment for the people; suddenly it is deprived of a tenth, or an eighth, or a sixth part of its resources. And that loss of capital finds no compensation elsewhere, it is not employed in any other industry; it goes to pay the expenditure of the nation. There are thousands of such firms in the kingdom. It may be urged that joint stock enterprise will come to replace the private individual; but that is no true answer; to enter into this question fully would lead us too far from our present inquiry: but there are many trades, indeed, I would say this applies to most trades, which can only be successfully carried on through the personal energy and enterprise, and willingness to take risk, of the individual. Apart from this, however, if large fortunes hitherto engaged in trade are replaced by a number of small shareholders, where is your revenue from death duties? Under any circumstances you cannot consume capital for expenditure and employ it in trade as well.

There is further a direct loss of business to this country which I consider inevitable as a result of the death duties. I refer especially to the loss of an important part of our international banking business which has helped to make London the monetary centre of the world. Foreigners in large numbers used to keep their investments here for safe custody, reinvesting their revenues, often in our own industries and employing their capital in our markets, to the benefit of our commerce generally. The existing death duties have already largely interfered with a part of such business; the increased scale will inevitably and naturally destroy it effectually, for why should a foreigner

submit to such a loss? Never to my mind was there a more futile international agreement perpetrated than that between England and France, which provided for the disclosure in either country of the property of the subject of the other in case of death. We had a great deal to lose and very little to gain by such an arrangement, as the amount of English property in French banks is quite insignificant as compared with that of French property over here—but both countries lost business. The result was a very large accession of profitable trade to Swiss and Belgian bankers. That will be the result of death duties also—it is not a case of the ‘foreigner who pays,’ but of the foreigner who is benefited. Other and less direct loss of business is to be apprehended, leading to a loss in the revenue apart from intentional evasion; and of the latter a word may now be added.

Perhaps ‘evasion’ is not quite the right term to use, because it implies action which is not legitimate. However that may be, it is a fact that, in consequence of the introduction of Sir William Harcourt’s death duties, a large number of estates have been divided during the owner’s lifetime; and it is a further significant fact that since the introduction of the 1902 Budget this has already taken place to a very considerable extent. Bankers can speak of these matters not from report only, but from knowledge. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that the number of such transactions is greater than the uninitiated would be inclined to believe. And, after all, it is but natural that men who, either through inheritance or through their own effort and their own frugality, have accumulated wealth, in the useful employment of which they take a pride, should not wish to see their inheritance decreased at passing to their children, or, to use again the words of Adam Smith, ‘the funds used in the employment of productive labour necessarily diminished.’ The proposal to make a tax payable on gifts *inter vivos*, if made within five years of donor’s death, will save a portion of the revenue which these estates are liable to. But here the law of averages must work. A certain proportion of those who make over their property may be expected to live beyond five years; in this case not only would the subdivided estate pay diminished duties, but in all probability the Revenue would lose indirectly also, as the owners would probably escape the super-tax. The amounts involved are large, and it is the more fortunate, who are in the happy position of having their funds ‘liquid and readily disposable, who are able to escape the tax in this manner. Others who may have their money locked up either in land or in fixed assets of some kind are in a less favourable position. And thus it is the less well situated who have to pay for those who are in a better position than themselves. That applies even more strongly to cases where the law is strained to the utmost to make evasion possible. The dishonest benefit, the honest suffer. And there are other ways beyond distribution *inter vivos* by which death duties have

been, and are being, avoided. It is well known that when a tax reaches a certain point it will not produce what it was calculated to do, and the limit, in this case, seems to have been not only reached, but exceeded.

The whole question of a graduated tax is one that presents considerable difficulty ; the greatest judgment is required to determine the various steps of the graduation. Mr. Gladstone was strongly opposed to the idea of graduation, and one of his reasons was the difficulty of fixing the proper limits. For my own part I consider the principle of graduation to be not unjust in itself, and in any case it must, no doubt, be accepted as a permanent feature of modern finance. But the present Budget proposals, in steepening the graduation, lay the heaviest burdens just on those fortunes which I have described as the most useful to the trade of the country, while the graduation ceases at the very point where it might reasonably be enhanced. I conceive these proposals to be a step entirely in the wrong direction.

If we are to have graduation, let it be logically and consistently carried out. This is not done in regard to the death duties. As has been mentioned, in France and Italy they are charged on the inherited share, not on the corpus of the estate as with us. This seems to be the only fair way of carrying out this system of taxation. For, after all, it is not the deceased owner of the estate who pays, it is those who come after him, and if the burden is to be apportioned according to the ability to bear it, then, obviously, the scale ought to be applied to the inherited share, not to the total amount of the estate. Under the present system the greatest anomalies exist. An estate of 100,000*l.* pays on the new scale in estate and legacy duty 10 per cent. whether left to one son or divided among five ; so that in the latter case, the man who comes into a property of 20,000*l.* pays at the rate of 10 per cent., whereas the scale on which an estate of 20,000*l.* is assessed is 6 per cent. Thus of two men inheriting 20,000*l.*, one pays 1200*l.* and the other 2000*l.* More extreme cases might, of course, be given, but the illustration is sufficient. One of the amendments that I do hope will be brought forward and carried will be that the share inherited, and not the corpus of the estate, should be the basis of assessment.

The foregoing observations have been of little avail if they have not served to show that the death duties are a tax on capital. It is of little use to speak of them as 'deferred income tax.' In their present shape they are not a tax on income : it would be far better if they were : and granted that it is right that property should be taxed to the degree contemplated in the present Budget—and on that question I will not express an opinion—I am convinced that an increase of the income tax beyond the already high figure would be preferable to the new scale of the death duties. I am not alone in this opinion. The estimated produce of the increased death duties

during the present year is nearly 4,000,000*l.*, which is less than the produce of 1½*d.* on the income tax. I assume throughout that this additional revenue is required, though according to the general opinion this is as yet by no means proved. All outside calculations point to the probability of the official estimates being far exceeded by the actual revenue which the new taxation will produce. It may not be altogether out of place to give the figures of the ultimate results as foreshadowed in the Budget. The income tax, plus the super-tax, is estimated eventually to yield upwards of 40,000,000*l.*, and the death duties upwards of 25,500,000*l.*—figures sufficiently startling. But if this expenditure is indeed necessary, it is better to face the situation, whether by means of an increased income tax, or, if it should be thought better, a small annual tax on property. Either alternative would be infinitely preferable to death duties : better for the Chancellor, for he would be able to calculate his revenue with greater certainty : better for the taxpayer, for he would realise what are the charges which his estate will have to bear, and would be able to take measures from year to year to meet them : there would not be the direct temptation for a man to live beyond his means, and the imprudent* would have less excuse for putting the burden on posterity. The working capital of the nation would remain intact, and future generations would at least be no worse equipped than their predecessors for the work before them. If the tax is a payment for the protection afforded by the State, why should the tenant for life escape payment for such protection, and the burden be borne by those who come after him ? The whole system of death duties appears to me a mere device for disguising and concealing the actual burdens imposed : let the future take care of itself : sufficient for the year are the taxes thereof. But the device is unsound and demoralising.

To return to first principles and the precepts of Adam Smith. Can it be alleged that the burdens imposed by heavily graduated death duties are borne alike by all citizens 'as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities'—especially when they are considered (as it is imperative they should be considered) in conjunction with the income and super-taxes ? A new class of tax-payer has been created, a numerically small class, and the great number of voters do not share the burdens—or, at any rate, only to a small degree. Where is the check to public expenditure, to extravagance, to experiments doubtful from an economic point of view, when this is the case ?

Can it be alleged that death duties are 'certain' in quantity or in the time and manner of their payment ? What is more uncertain than the moment of a man's death, and the circumstances under which the payment will have to be made ?

And this supplies the comment on Smith's third principle that the tax 'should be levied at the time or in the manner most

convenient for the contributor. The disturbance to a man's affairs through the payment of these heavy sums at the time of his death, when other claims may have to be satisfied, and other provisions made for the carrying on of his work, must not be overlooked.

Finally, in spite of every endeavour to appreciate the arguments that have been adduced in favour of these duties, appreciating also the temptations they offer to impecunious Chancellors of the Exchequer, the conclusion appears to me inevitable that death duties are in themselves objectionable, unsound as a form of taxation, and injurious to the community, to the working classes no less than the capitalist. Space does not permit of insisting on the last point as much as might be wished. But if we are committed to this form of taxation, let it be limited rather than extended. For, as I have endeavoured to show, these duties already tend towards a reduction of the capital, from which they are derived, and ultimately they must be for the State a declining source of revenue, while for the contributor they imply diminished power to carry out his duties to himself, to his successors, and to the State.

FELIX SCHUSTER.

A BENGAL CIVILIAN'S VIEW OF THE INDIAN DEPORTATIONS

Now that the discussion on the subject of the recent deportation from India of political agitators has reached an acute stage, that questions on this subject are constantly asked in the House of Commons, and that a Bill has been introduced having for its object the further limitation of the power of the Government of India to deport, without trial, persons whose presence in India may be found likely to lead to internal commotion, it may help towards a clearer understanding by the public of the questions at issue, if some account is given, based on official but personal experience, of the circumstances which have led up to the deportations, and of the situation to meet which the Government of India have found it necessary to take action.

The three main points which have to be faced are these : that the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of its subjects from oppression are the first duties of a civilised government ; that, in existing conditions in India, willing witnesses against the disturbers of the peace and the oppressors of the people will not come forward in the ordinary Courts, and that failing such witnesses the Courts are impotent ; and that, even where witnesses are examined privately, to publish their names, or even details of their evidence, is to expose them to the gravest risks.

The more general aspects of the question have been summed up in the Prime Minister's letter of the 7th of May to Mr. Mackarness :— 'Deportation without trial as a method of dealing with political agitation must necessarily be repugnant to Englishmen.' 'I must ask you and those who are acting with you to bear in mind that deportation has been resorted to for the sole purpose of preserving the country from grave internal commotion. It is a preventive not a punitive measure.' There is probably no one, either in England or in India, who desires to see deportation without trial resorted to, except as a necessary measure to meet a gravely urgent condition of affairs.

The gravity of the situation, and the necessity for, and efficacy of, the action taken by the Government of India, are the ruling factors in the case.

The question whether the selection of the persons to be deported has been wisely and properly made, although it has been made a leading issue by the opponents of deportation, is not one that can be usefully discussed in the absence of the data on which action has been taken. It may be reasonable to have doubts whether the circumstances are such as to justify the deportation of any person, or even to hold that no circumstances whatever can justify deportation without trial, but, if the necessity for the measure itself is admitted, it is not reasonable to believe that the Local Governments, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State, who, and who alone, are in possession of all the facts, and who are responsible for the peace and welfare of India, have combined to deport, or to sanction the deportation of, any person other than those whose influence in India has been proved, on a full examination of the facts and of the information available, to be specially dangerous and specially calculated to lead to internal commotion.

It is beside the point to talk of the private character of the gentlemen deported or of their hitherto unblemished careers, since in deporting them from India the object of the Government is not to punish criminals but to remove centres of danger to a sphere where they will be powerless for mischief. The Government is, of course, bound to take every care to satisfy itself that there are adequate grounds for holding a man to be dangerous before sanctioning his deportation; the treatment of those deported must be that due to persons detained for the good of the State, not that meted out to offenders undergoing punishment; and the detention of such persons should not be prolonged unnecessarily; but there is no reason to suppose that the Government of India have failed or will fail in their duty in these respects. The paramount duty of every Government is the preservation of the public peace; and to decline to silence one who by his words or writings is fostering sedition and promoting 'grave internal commotion,' on the ground that he has never been convicted of any crime, would be on a par with refusing to arrest a man carrying a naked light in a powder magazine, on the ground that he is an excellent husband and father.

It has to be considered, then, whether the present circumstances of India are such as to render it justifiable to have resort to the provisions of Regulation III. of 1818. Mr. Mackarness, in his reply to Mr. Asquith's letter quoted above, has, on behalf of the 146 Liberal, Labour, and Irish members of Parliament who signed the memorial against the deportations, assured the Prime Minister that every one of the signatories would agree 'that none of the various forms of anarchical violence should be tolerated, and that no lawful instrument for suppressing them should be discarded.' It is, therefore, unnecessary for the present purpose to recognise the existence of persons who hold that British rule is the bane of India, and that all that tends

to bring difficulty and disrepute upon that rule is deserving of commendation and encouragement. It may be taken as agreed that the progress and prosperity of India is, for the present at any rate, identified with the stability and credit of the British Government. It will also be agreed that this stability and credit are intimately associated with the Government's power to protect the people generally from oppression, and its own officers and supporters from violence and outrage.

How hardly the Government has of late years been able to perform its duty in these vital respects is only too evident if we examine the course of events in Bengal since the partition of the province in October 1905. The reply of the educated Hindus of Bengal to that, with them, unpopular measure was the 'swadeshi' propaganda, that is to say, the preaching of the use by the people of the country of goods made in the country. It may be said that this movement in itself was harmless and even praiseworthy; the objection to it arises from the violent and illegal acts which marked its progress.

It is commonly supposed that the swadeshi agitation was started with the idea of causing loss to the British manufacturer, and thus inducing him to agitate for the repeal of the partition. Whatever its origin, there can be no question that its moving force was the idea of punishing England for an unpopular measure of the Government of India, and thus putting pressure on that Government, an idea obviously fraught with grave danger in the conditions prevailing in India. The swadeshi gospel, preached to students and schoolboys, nominally with a view to their influencing the members of their own families, was inevitably associated with the inculcation of hatred towards the British Government, British officers, and all things British. The encouragement of home industries by private influence inevitably developed into the boycott of all foreign, especially all British, goods, enforced not by moral suasion but by social ostracism and criminal violence.

I may quote, as an example of the spirit engendered by the boycott, in the minds even of little children, that a Bengali subordinate of my own told me that his little son, aged four, had pulled up all the radishes in his garden because they were 'bilati' (foreign, British) radishes, and 'they would have nothing bilati in their garden'; a trifle, amusing in itself, which throws a lurid light on the type of conversation which was, and is, reaching the ears of the rising generation of educated Indians even in comparatively loyal households.

There are no statistics available to show the actual effect of the boycott on personal liberty; but it is an undoubted fact that there are, or were till very recently, throughout the two Bengals, many, very many, areas in which the anti-British party has established a reign of terror; where the potter, washerman, and barber are afraid to serve those denounced as not complying with boycott ideals; where

the man wearing clothes of British manufacture is liable to have them torn from his back ; and where the dealer in imported cloth, salt, or sugar is liable to have his goods destroyed and his shop set on fire. The police records of the two Bengals for the past four years are full of cases of this nature, and the number of cases reported is only a small proportion of the total. I have myself on one occasion, when in camp, been turned out at midnight by a disturbance in a bazaar, to find a shopkeeper, who had attempted to replenish his stock of foreign-made piece goods under cover of night, defending his property from the local schoolboys, whose pickets had found him out even at that hour.

Not only is it a scandal, that a small minority of the people should be able to tyrannise over their fellow-subjects, to interfere with the trade of the country, and to dictate what is and what is not to be bought and sold in the bazaars where the British law of equality and freedom is supposed to prevail, and that arson and other crimes committed in the enforcement of this tyranny should go unpunished ; but the rise in prices due to the interference with the free course of trade by the boycott party, whose members, be it remembered, all belong to the well-to-do classes, inflicts very real hardship on the innumerable poor, who care nothing where their goods come from as long as they are serviceable and cheap, and to whom any increase in the cost of living is a serious matter.

It is probably unnecessary to recite here full details of the outrages on officers and others which disgraced the year 1908, following the shooting, happily but marvellously not fatal, of the Magistrate of Dacca, towards the close of 1907. These have been fully reported in the Press. The following list may, however, be a useful reminder of the state of things which existed in Bengal during that year, and which it is impossible to say has yet passed away. Three attempts on the life of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, two by train-wrecking explosives and one by revolver, of which the last was unsuccessful only owing to the almost miraculous failure of the weapon to act ; an attempt by means of a bomb on the life of a judicial officer, whose only fault was that he had done his duty without fear or favour, which resulted in the horrible death of two unoffending ladies ; another attempt on the same officer by means of an infernal machine sent by post, frustrated only by the fact that the parcel, owing to a mistake, remained unopened for some months ; an extensive plot hatched in the suburbs of Calcutta, having for its object the subversion of the British Government by the use of bombs and firearms for the assassination of its officers ; the murder, within the walls of the Alipur Central Jail, by means of revolvers, of the informer connected with this conspiracy ; the similar murder, in the streets of Calcutta, of a Bengali Brahman police officer, who had assisted in the detection of the murderers of the two ladies ; the murder, again with a revolver, in the precincts of the Alipur

Courts in the suburbs of Calcutta, of a Bengali lawyer, a man universally respected, merely because as Government Pleader he had taken part in the prosecution of cases of sedition and kindred offences ; these make a sufficiently formidable list, and to them must be added a series of attacks, by means of bombs, on trains in the vicinity of Calcutta, one of which resulted in a European traveller losing his arm, and several of which are supposed to have been aimed at the Public Prosecutor.

Within the past few weeks the murder by shooting and stabbing at Faridpur of a Bengali Brahman whose brother had given evidence against an unlawful association, and a murderous attack on a European at Chittagong by a young Bengali who was tired of life and wished to kill an Englishman before he died, show that the spirit of terrorism and political assassination is still abroad.

It is no part of the object of this article to give an unduly gloomy impression of the condition of things in Bengal or in India generally, but it is impossible to ignore the fact that, though in several cases the actual perpetrators have been caught and punished, the instigators of outrage, the conspiracies of which outrage was the outcome, the methods by which arms and explosives were procured, remain shrouded in mystery, and that there is no guarantee that the malevolent forces, of which political crime is the result, have been mastered. The list given above is long enough and serious enough to show that no officer, European or Indian, can do his duty unflinchingly, where that duty involves action distasteful to the party of misrule, and that no private person can assist the Government in its struggle against the forces of disorder, without grave risk to himself and to those dear to him : a state of things no civilised Government could be expected to tolerate, and which if tolerated must needs lead to disaster.

As regards British officers at any rate it may safely be said that no risks could induce them to shirk their duties ; but it is inevitable that in many cases the sense of danger from the murderous hostility of a small class of Indians should unconsciously affect their feelings towards Indians generally. It must also affect their intercourse with the people whom they have to protect and govern. The custom, which now is universal, of district officers moving freely about their districts unguarded and unescorted, and receiving all men without question, must of necessity be modified, if every visitor is to be a potential assassin, and every village a centre of possible insult or outrage. That state of affairs has not arrived yet, but we have been, and for all we know may still be, within measurable distance of it.

The average Englishman will not tolerate the constant company and supervision of a guard ; moreover, if accompanied by a guard, he loses half his usefulness. Closer contact and sympathy with the people of the country on the part of the officers of Government are admittedly among the most urgent needs of the day in India. The

whole tendency of the propaganda of violence is to make them impossible.

From whatever point of view the existing situation is regarded, it is in fact intolerable. The Government is being brought into contempt as unable to protect those whom it is in duty bound to protect—its officers, its supporters, and the loyal and inoffensive public; and it would be failing in its plain duty if it omitted to use such of the resources at its command as are likely to be effective to restore order and confidence. There are many, and those not by any means all reactionary in their views or unsympathetic towards the political aspirations of thinking Indians, who hold that the Government of India have fallen short of their duty in deferring drastic action for so long.

To come now to the question why legal proceedings are not sufficient for the maintenance of the peace in India. The answer to this question is obvious to everyone who has any knowledge of the conditions prevailing in that country. Evidence which can be accepted in a Court of law is not, save in very exceptional circumstances, forthcoming in cases which have a political savour. The reason why this is so, and must be so, is not far to seek. Public spirit in connexion with litigation, even of the everyday kind, is almost unknown in India. With over twenty years' experience behind me I can unhesitatingly assert that practically never does a witness appear in any of the courts, who is not either compelled to testify by force of circumstances, or induced to do so by considerations of personal interest, direct or indirect. The following incident illustrates this fact. It was at the time that educated Bengal was raging at Lord Curzon, for having hinted in a speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University that a strict regard for truth was not a notably Indian virtue. A very able and independent Bengali pleader was arguing for the prosecution in a criminal case in my Court. 'The defence,' he said, 'has called a number of highly respectable witnesses. Why have they come here? It cannot be from any love of truth and justice; there must be some other motive.' I could not resist the temptation to interrupt with 'How about the agitation over the Convocation speech?' 'I care nothing about that, your honour. I know what I have said is correct, and your honour knows it, too,' was his reply.

If this is the state of things in ordinary circumstances and with regard to everyday cases, it is plain that, considering the special dangers and troubles which await the Government witness in cases having any connexion with the political agitation, no Indian is likely either to come forward willingly in that capacity, or, if compelled to testify, to say anything prejudicial to the party of violence. The Government has hitherto signally failed to protect its supporters from the malice of its enemies; and seeing that support of the Government

means almost certain persecution, with very slight hope of reward, while its open enemies, till the recent deportations were sanctioned, have gone about sowing the seeds of oppression, violence, and anarchy, unchecked and unpunished, it cannot be expected that men of substance will be found ready to take their stand on the side of law and order, and to give evidence against the promoters of anarchy and internal commotion.

In considering the ordinary law as a means of suppressing political crime, it must also be remembered that the police are very seriously handicapped in prosecuting for seditious utterances, by the fact that political speeches are usually made in the vernacular, and that the precise meaning of vernacular terms and expressions is exceedingly difficult to determine. Vague signification and suggestion is a leading characteristic of Bengali, as of the Sanskrit on which it is founded; and a hint, a threat, a suggestion, may be quite clearly understood by the audience, but may be so worded that a Court of law cannot hold it to be definitely criminal. An instance in point is the discussion in the Calcutta High Court as to the meaning of the word 'swaraj,' which resulted in a ruling that this word, popularly supposed to be the technical term for national independence, may be interpreted as denoting provincial self-government, after the Colonial pattern, under British control. Moreover, in the absence of a satisfactory method of recording vernacular speeches in shorthand, it is practically impossible for any man to swear to the precise words used in more than a single sentence; and a single sentence deprived of its context affords very slender foundation for a criminal prosecution.

Another very important point is that police evidence in India is always viewed with grave suspicion, and that the Courts require ample corroboration of such evidence before they will act on it. Such corroboration, in the present condition of affairs, it is, almost invariably, impossible to obtain. In this connexion let me quote the *Times* correspondent's telegram of the 10th of May, on the subject of the Barrah dacoity:

The acquittal by a special tribunal of the High Court of the four prisoners in the Barrah dacoity case is a striking exposure of the incompetence of the detective police.

Thirty dacoits, after killing two men and robbing several houses, escaped in a boat. They were chased for several miles by sixty villagers, of whom they killed two and wounded seventeen. The police produced only four suspects, and the judges, rejecting the evidence of the prosecution's witnesses, said that improper influences had been employed. It is felt that though the police were hampered by the unwillingness of the people to assist in the detection of the crime, their dubious character and methods are not the least important cause of their failure. Drastic reform is being demanded.

The police have been subjected to further criticism in connexion with the recent failure of the Midnapur conspiracy case. There is no reason to question the correctness of the decisions of the Courts

in these two cases, nor is this the place to enter on a defence of the police. They have serious faults, the faults of the Orient to which they belong; but they are certainly the best police east of Suez, they are steadily improving, and they have much to contend with in the way of evil tradition and popular dislike. It is, however, pertinent to ask, with reference to the *Times* correspondent's comments, what any police could do, and how political crime is to be prevented by means of the ordinary legal procedure, if the people are unwilling to assist in the detection of such a crime as the Barrah dacoity (it will be remembered that this dacoity was said to have been committed by young men of the educated class, in order to procure funds for the campaign against the Government), and if the production of unwilling witnesses is regarded as proof of improper influence and of the dubious character of the police. Doubtless the creation of a trustworthy and competent police force would go far to improve the situation, but the material for such a force is not available. The Government has to do its best with the material it has got; and the Barrah dacoity case and the Midnapur case demonstrate the impossibility, under present conditions, of obtaining the people's help in dealing with crime of this nature, and the hopelessness of attempting, without such help, to check it through the operation of the ordinary criminal law. If the people will not assist in the detection of an atrocious and overt crime affecting their own persons and property, there can be no hope of enlisting their help in the suppression of the preaching of anarchical violence, which can only affect them indirectly.

The following instances of the impossibility of obtaining evidence in the case of offences committed with a political motive are within my own experience. A prominent swadeshi leader was addressing a large meeting when a river steamer came up to the landing stage of the village, situated at some little distance from the scene of the meeting, and endeavoured to land cargo, including some English yarn. Now English yarn is admitted, even by the most strict followers of the swadeshi cult, to be necessary for indigenous weaving, but some students and schoolboys objected to the landing of this yarn as 'bilati.' A disturbance ensued, and the steamer had to put off again without landing her cargo, amid a volley of abuse and small missiles. Although the offenders all belonged to the neighbourhood, and many of them must have been well known, and although the steamer company's clerk, himself a Bengali, was besieged in his office for some little time, and had ample opportunity of identifying his assailants, repeated inquiries failed to elicit any evidence whatever to connect a single person with the disturbance. In another case, where the local swadeshi leader himself told me that students and schoolboys had sunk a boat containing English salt, all I could ascertain on inquiry was that the boat had fouled a bridge and sunk acci-

dentally. In the case already mentioned of the midnight attack on British piece-goods, the shopkeepers altogether declined to give me the names of the ringleaders, although they must have known perfectly well who they were.

The plain truth is that as long as the Government fails to protect the people from oppression, and its witnesses from violence, willing evidence against the oppressors will never be forthcoming, and that in the absence of willing evidence the ordinary Courts are powerless to enforce the law. Special tribunals may follow a more summary and efficient procedure than the ordinary Courts, but they are equally dependent on evidence, and equally unlikely to get it, unless their proceedings are held in secret, in which case they are as 'un-English' as any order of the executive authorities can be. Executive action is, in truth, the only means for meeting the situation. It is the Executive Government that must show itself strong enough to keep the peace in India, if the *Pax Britannica* is to be maintained. The martial races, the Muhammadan community, and the illiterate millions, may stand apart from, and be out of sympathy with, the political agitators, but they are watching the course of the struggle between the Government and the extremists. The fighting peoples have no intention of submitting to government by the literate but unwarlike classes; but they see very plainly that their own chance of ruling India might come with the overthrow of the British Raj through the machinations of these classes; and their faith in the power of the Government to hold its own is weakened when they see it, as they think, bullied and embarrassed by agitators, whom they themselves hold in contempt. As for the masses, just as they reserve their best worship for the Gods of destruction, so they are prepared to serve the party in the State that can hurt them most. If our Government cannot secure them from oppression, they will not hesitate to make common cause with the oppressors.

The situation is full of dangers; and if all fear of the 'bloody chaos,' of which the Secretary of State has spoken, is to be removed, it is vitally necessary that the Government of India should show that it is both able and willing to deal effectively with those who are its enemies, to protect the law-abiding, and to take drastic action to avert from the country the calamity of internal lawlessness and anarchical violence.

It has been shown above that evidence, other than police evidence, which, without an almost unattainable standard of corroboration, is not accepted by the Courts, is not, and in the nature of things cannot be, generally obtainable in cases connected with political agitation; but those who by open preaching or by covert instruction are instilling into young, unformed, but enthusiastic minds the poison of anarchical disregard for human life and property, and of reckless opposition to the established order of things, are perfectly well known.

There is the widest difference between a man who, on their merits, opposes the measures or policy of the Government, and one who preaches indiscriminate and undying hostility to the Government, and to everyone and everything British. The last is, in the present condition of things in India, a menace to the peace, prosperity, and progress of the country; and he must be silenced if calamity is to be averted. As I have said, these firebrands are well known; and there is no reason to doubt that the persons deported belong to this class. In a matter of this kind private malice may lie, but public repute does not. Mr. Hobhouse has declared in the House of Commons that the Government have not acted on unsupported police testimony; and it is on the face of it absurd to suppose that Lord Minto and Lord Morley, to say nothing of the Local Governments, would have sanctioned a measure so repugnant to their own feelings as the deportations, and so certain to raise a storm of hostile criticism, without complete proof, not only that the measure itself was necessary for the welfare of India, but that the persons to be deported were in fact those by whose activities that welfare was threatened. The demand that the proof on which they have acted should be published, which has been put forward in the House, could not be seriously made, if the risks run by Government witnesses in India were properly appreciated in England.

It is not necessary to be an alarmist, or to be blind to the existence of various hopeful symptoms, to recognise that India is passing through a very critical period in her history, and that the whole welfare of the country, its present prosperity and its future progress, depends on the manner in which the Government faces the present situation. Anarchy and assassination cannot be allowed to prevail, but the ordinary law has proved powerless as a means of checking their growth. If the abnormal, but still mild, measures now taken fail to eradicate them, or at any rate to keep them within bounds, it is inevitable that more drastic measures should be taken, and measures which will affect a far larger section of the people than has been affected by the deportations. Military law has been spoken of in some quarters, and, though no responsible person would contend that anything which has occurred as yet could justify its introduction, it is there as a last resort, and as an alternative far preferable to the unthinkable one that a British Government should fail through sheer inability to govern. Fortunately we are not yet faced by these alternatives. The Government have other means at their disposal, should the deportation of dangerous agitators on the one hand, and the recent concessions to legitimate political aspirations on the other, fail in their object of restoring security and order in India, for bringing home to the people at large the fact that their interests lie in helping to maintain the peace and to suppress anarchism. Such are organised and general searches for arms and explosives, the quartering

of punitive police or troops on disturbed areas, and the levying of fines and compensation for injury from the inhabitants of places where outrages occur.

These are legitimate measures for the prevention of crime, which in emergency have been adopted in other countries than India, but they are measures which inflict serious hardship on the innocent as well as the guilty, and are in all respects less merciful and less fair than the deportation, under conditions involving no unnecessary hardship, of a handful of persons who are known to have used their influence, whether covertly or openly, deliberately or out of mere wrongheaded recklessness, to promote that outbreak of anarchism and political crime which threatens to bring disaster upon their country.

Of course, if the theories embodied in the Bill introduced by Mr. Mackarness in the House of Commons on the 9th of June are to be accepted, if the Government of India are assumed to be unworthy of their trust, and to be capable of exercising the powers vested in them with recklessness or malevolence, then they are unfit to wield any executive authority, unfit in fact to govern, and our rule in the East is doomed. Let us be thankful that these theories find little favour among thoughtful Englishmen, and let us trust that the result of the action taken may be such as to vindicate the policy of the Government of India and of Lord Morley; that the threatened internal commotion may be averted, and the troubled waters stilled. We must however, recognise that the situation is still very grave and uncertain, and that it would be madness, in the face of present and impending dangers, to allow (to borrow the Prime Minister's words) any lawful instrument for the suppression of the various forms of anarchical violence to be discarded.

H. C. STREATFIELD.

THE CREED OF IMPERIALISM

SUPPOSING that the House of Lords were abolished ; what would happen ? Nothing very serious. We should have to invent a new Second Chamber ; which would be nothing like so good as the present House of Lords. The process would be inconvenient, and probably expensive ; but it would not endanger the safety of the Empire.

Or, supposing that the Radicals succeeded in robbing the Church (they call it 'disendowing') : what would happen ? Nothing very serious. Churchmen would immediately set to work to re-endow the Church, taking every precaution for the future. It would be very inconvenient and expensive for Churchmen ; but it would not endanger the safety of the Empire.

Or, supposing that Home Rule were granted to Ireland, what would happen ? Something rather serious ; for in a few years, or perhaps months, we should have to reconquer the island, which would be more than inconvenient and extremely expensive ; but it would not endanger the safety of the Empire.

These are fair examples of 'party' questions, which are legitimately subjects of strife between the local parties existing in that part of the Empire where the questions arise.

A priceless advantage of 'travelling Imperially' is that we discover how insignificant do the most important affairs of these islands appear to the citizens of the great Dominion or the great Commonwealth. My Canadian and Australian friends are generally unable to understand the depth of passion aroused in England by such questions as those just cited. They are quite ready to abolish the House of Lords at five minutes', or five seconds', notice, for no particular reason that I have been able to discover. They consider that the 'State' Church ought certainly to be disendowed, as it is wrong to 'pay bishops out of the rates.' It is waste of time to explain the real state of the case.

Also they are eager to see Home Rule granted to Ireland, on the ground that the Dominion of New Zealand is separate from the Commonwealth of Australia. So easy of solution do these burning questions appear—when we are a long way from them.

The case of the Englishman, face to face with problems of burning

local interest to Canadians or Australians, is precisely the same : he can only with great difficulty understand them. As a rule it appears that such problems could with perfect propriety be decided by the tossing of a halfpenny.

If he is a wise Englishman, he will readily understand that this cannot possibly be the case ; so he will give up thinking about local politics and discreetly hold his tongue.

What is the bond of union between us all ? Is it possible to define what questions are of 'Imperial' and what of 'party' interest ? If we could arrive at some conclusion on that point we should have discovered a method of reducing into order the existing political chaos.

Moreover, we should rid ourselves of this eternal chatter of 'party.' Most people seem to have got 'party' on the brain. It has now become almost impossible for a man to mount his horse or order his dinner at the club without being called a party politician.

It has ceased to be ridiculous, it is more than a nuisance, it is an impediment to all useful interchange of thought, and an absolute bar to action. Let us have done with it.

Any plan of constructive statesmanship that does not commend itself to the Empire as a whole is not worth the paper on which it is written.

The creed of 'Imperialism' must, therefore, commend itself instantly to an Australian, a New Zealander, a Canadian, and the inhabitants of these islands. Not an easy thing to draft, the 'creed of Imperialism' ?

Perhaps not, but if one has been studying the question for thirty years one may, perhaps, without undue presumption, make an attempt.

We may all quarrel as much as we like among ourselves on matters of local, or 'party,' politics, but no Cabinet ought to hold office throughout the British Empire which is not sound on the following five points :—

- (1) A supreme Navy.
- (2) Universal military service.
- (3) The preservation of our Anglo-Saxon stock throughout the world.
- (4) A Preferential Tariff throughout the Empire ; and
- (5) The teaching of Imperial rights and duties in every school and university throughout the Empire.

Any Canadian or Australian will accept these five points at once as axiomatic : he will only wonder why we should have been so slow in discovering them. Here, then, is our fighting creed.

These five points hang together like the fingers of one hand ; they cannot be separated. Take the question of alien immigration, for example, which is the local form of the problem of 'preserving our Anglo-Saxon stock.' What connexion has that with the Navy ?

It has the most direct and important connexion. Of what avail are *Dreadnoughts* without hearts of oak on board? The vitality of our race is being daily lowered by the existence of two running sores in the life of these islands—viz. : the steady emigration of our most vigorous and enterprising sons by the port of Liverpool, and their regular replacement by the riff-raff of Europe entering this country by the port of London.

This point is one on which all the King's subjects overseas are keenly interested. It confronts the men on the Pacific coast in one form; it confronts the South African in another. The Australian, intensely keen on a 'white Australia,' finds it a daily anxiety. Many of us may remember the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes's Franchise Bill passing the Cape Legislature. By this Act nobody was allowed to vote who could not prove (1) that he was paying at least 1s. 6d. a week for his rent, (2) that he could read and write English, and (3) that he had not been convicted within five years of the date of voting. These very moderate conditions produced the salutary result of disfranchising a large number of hopelessly ignorant and incompetent voters. The details are of no great importance, but the establishment of the principle was of the first importance; and we shall have to carry the principle much further. If Anglo-Saxon ideals of government are to prevail throughout the world, they can only do so by the persistence and domination of the Anglo-Saxon stock. Where white and coloured folk dwell side by side, one or the other must rule. An Anglo-Saxon will say that the white must rule, and that anybody who maintains the contrary is a traitor to his race.

A collateral point is the restoration of the agricultural population of England. This, again, is a matter of Imperial importance: for a nation which destroys its agricultural population is gambling with its future. Yet any measure designed to bring the people back to the land is instantly stamped as 'obsolescent Toryism,' or something like that. 'Taxing the food of the people' has, however, almost ceased to be a useful cry: so we have made that much progress. It is now fairly well understood that a two-shilling duty raises the price of the loaf by within an unstateable fraction of half a farthing: it gives us a good round sum for the national revenue, and brings the population back to the land by making farming pay. This is good business all round. The alternative plan is to give to a man, who has a small holding that will not pay, another small holding (taken from a large landholder) which also will not pay. At this rate we might cut Chatsworth up into cabbage gardens with no result except extreme annoyance to the Duke of Devonshire. Poverty would not be diminished, nor national happiness increased.

This Imperial problem also takes different forms in different parts of the Empire; but we must all face it if the Anglo-Saxon stock is to be preserved, and its ideas to persist.

The mercantile marine is another great problem. It ought to be a magnificent training ground and reserve for the Royal Fleet; but it is not. Many amiable schemes for its amelioration have been put forward; unfortunately, they overlook the owners, who are harder hit every day. Then, again, we have excellent plans for training the youth of the country to be deck hands; but they are trained so well that they are not fit to be deck hands, in the present condition of the mercantile marine. Then we have the amazing mismanagement of which the cartoon in *Punch*, the 21st of April 1909, is no caricature:

BOY: Please, Sir, may I be trained for the Merchant Service?

PRESIDENT: Parents in the workhouse?

BOY (*cheerfully*): No, Sir.

PRESIDENT: Well, run away and commit a crime or else we can't do anything for you.

It is not possible to imagine any other people on the face of the earth deliberately flinging away such magnificent material, and positively cherishing its good-for-nothings in preference to the sturdy, the respectable, and the ambitious—for that is what England is doing at the present moment.

Universal military training is chiefly valuable for its fine mental and moral education, its inculcation of national duties as well as national rights. As regards these islands, it must always be ancillary to the fleet; for it need hardly be pointed out that if every man here were a trained shot we should none the less starve if we lost command of the sea. It is of more immediate importance in other parts of the Empire, and accordingly we find that other parts of the Empire are giving us the lead.

We now come to Imperial finance, and, of course, the only possible system is that of a preferential tariff throughout the Empire. It is sixteen years since it was set forth in the pages of this Review that the existence of the Empire depended upon England adopting that system. It was said at that time that the author of that article 'might be taken seriously when one single election had been won on the issue of Tariff Reform' (or Protection, as it was then generally called). He may have some claim to be 'taken seriously' to-day.

The alternative to Tariff Reform is the financial policy of the present Government, which has been extolled as 'new,' 'glorious,' and so forth. But it is not new; it is but the primitive policy of 'grab,' and has never been beyond the reach of any pacha or mandarin—if that is what its defenders call 'glorious.' It has been described as 'gentle to the poor and just to all.' Surely there never was a Budget which hit the poor so cruelly and caused such widespread discomfort and alarm. Never was there a Budget which put into practice the infamous distinction between 'classes' and 'masses,' and which (fortunately) thereby made clear to all of us that there is no such

distinction, and that we must sink or swim together. Tariff Reform is not a party question at all; it is an Imperial question.

We now come to the question of Imperial education—the teaching of the history of the British Empire from the patriotic point of view. In case anyone should be tempted to make an experiment on these lines with a schoolmaster of his acquaintance, the results of much previous experience may be of use to him.

He will have to fight his way through being told (1) to mind his own business, (2) that teachers have ‘their own academic way’² of treating history, (3) that patriotism is politics, (4) that ‘there are two sides to the question,’ and (5) finally, that there is not room in the curriculum for a new subject.

He must get down to the bed-rock fact, and the parent may as well give up the struggle, even although he knows that ‘the new subject’ is more important than all the rest put together. The preparatory school has to ‘show results’ (which means scholarships at public schools); the public school has to do the same thing to the university; and the ‘vested interests’ of this system are in dead earnest opposed to any ‘new’ subject which might endanger their fees and their authority. Such is the fact: squalid, but none the less obstinate.

This is, perhaps, one of the most cogent reasons for sending the present Government about its business; for Imperial education is a pressing need, and we shall never get it from the present Cabinet.

Outside the organised educational system of the country things look much brighter; although it is more than absurd that it should be left to private individuals to do the work which is legitimately the duty of the organised educational system of the country.

These, then, are the five points of ‘Imperialism,’ on which Imperialists throughout the Empire are in complete agreement; and the immediate question is, will the vermin of anti-Imperialism devour the body politic, or will this country awake from its sloth, shake them off, and crush them? At the present moment it is about even betting.

Let us, then, see who are our enemies—that is to say, who are the enemies of our own household; because no external foe, however gallant and enterprising, need cause us anxiety if we are united among ourselves.

(1) All the people who say, ‘Let those who want a Navy pay for it!’

(2) All the intellectual heirs of the people who ruined Warren Hastings (to come no nearer to our own time)—i.e. the avowed enemies of the Empire, the anti-Imperialists: from the Prime Minister of England, who didn’t much like Imperialism, to the less conspicuous but more courageous person who recently allowed me to understand that he considered all Imperialists ‘little better than receivers of stolen goods.’

² This means Alfred and the Cakes, the Wars of the Roses, etc.

(3) A small number of women. Many Suffragettes claim the vote on the ground that it would strengthen the Empire; and it must be admitted that in the present generation the women, as a whole, are more patriotic than the men. On the other hand, many women 'will have nothing to say to the Empire until they are granted a share in its government.' How much of a 'share in the government of their country' they would be allowed to enjoy under the dominion of a conqueror is worth consideration.

(4) A certain number of Tories, old and young, who guffaw at the very mention of the word 'Empire.' To one not endowed with their peculiar sense of humour they appear quite incomprehensible people.

(5) A certain number of Tories who 'deprecate' Imperialism as a 'breach with the past.' Their ideas (in so far as they possess any) date from about 1750.

(6) All the Socialists, so far as one can judge, the Little Englanders, and Little Navyites.

(7) All the people who would rather see the Empire destroyed than 'tamper with Free Trade.'

(8) All the Radicals, so far as one can judge. They render occasional lip-service to the Empire for the purpose of hoodwinking their opponents; but that is all.

(9) A large number of half-educated people who 'don't see what the Empire amounts to.' These are our real 'decadents'; the people without mental or physical stamina—not the pleasure-loving. 'The puppies fight well,' said the Great Duke of their pleasure-loving grandsires, and the grandsons would fight as well to-day.

(10) All the 'Peace at any price' and 'International Arbitration' people, who are blind to the facts of life.

(11) A small number of people who are 'born tired' and don't care about anything.

(12) Almost all the humanitarians. It is easy to mock at some of their so-called 'crazes'; but, if these are nothing else, they are at any rate kindly experiments. The mission work represents much honest Christian endeavour; and this, as well as the kindly experiments, can only be carried on while the Pax Britannica exists. Nevertheless, it is rare to find an Imperialist in their ranks.

This is a formidable list. It is clear that Imperialism can rely upon no class and no party in this country. Supposing that the creed of Imperialism here set forth is sound; the time has arrived for all Imperialists to come forward and declare themselves: for their enemies are numerous, active, and resolute. If there is any more clearly defined 'creed,' let us hear of it.

Let anyone should suppose that the innocent viciousness of the anti-Imperialists has been exaggerated in these pages, it is very easy for him to satisfy himself. Let him take his Tennyson with him to a Radical or Socialist meeting and ask permission to read a few lines.

Let him choose the following magnificent lines from *Boadicea* and see what will happen to him :

Fear not, isle of blowing woodland, isle of silvery parapets !
 Though the Roman eagle shadow thee, though the gathering enemy narrow thee,
 Thou shalt wax and he shall dwindle, thou shalt be the mighty one yet !
 Thine the liberty, thine the glory, thine the deeds to be celebrated,
 Thine the myriad-rolling ocean, light and shadow illimitable,
 Thine the lands of lasting summer, many blossoming Paradises,
 Thine the North and thine the South and thine the battle-thunder of God.

He would be received with yells of rage and derision. Nor would a Socialist hymn be better received on a platform where the noble motto 'Empire and Liberty' was honoured. 'Socialism and Imperialism,' these are the only two parties with a future ; the first destructive, the second constructive, and neither can afford to give quarter to the other. For the Socialist, patriotism is a 'great lie' ; he 'denounces Imperialism' : he wants to see Asia run with blood and the 'many blossoming Paradises' once more derelict. And yet the only security for the existence of Socialism is the continuance of the Pax Britannica ; Socialism would vanish instantly with the downfall of the Empire, and be permanently banned by our successors in authority.

There is no longer any use in bleating about 'differences of opinion being tolerable.' The Anti-Imperialists of all shades are working their hardest to bring about an appalling catastrophe to the human race—the downfall of the Empire. They may pretend the loftiest motives, but every word and action of theirs tends in this direction and none other. Consequently they ought to be exposed and denounced by all lovers of humanity.

Finally, what shall we say to the large number of people whose opinions are represented by the following sentence from a letter on the table in front of me ? 'I am not at all particular whether the King or his Nephew rules over me. So I do not intend to subscribe any more money for the defence of my country.' The letter is perfectly polite ; and it is to be observed that the writer accords Royalty the appropriate dignity of capital letters. Also he recognises his country's existence,³ though it does not interest him. But (like too many of us) he has parted with all that makes a good citizen, and is ripe for the position of a serf—which is precisely the position that he would occupy in the event which he contemplates with such equanimity. It is to be feared that he is representative.

Who, then, represents Imperialism ? Failing the formation of an Imperialist party dominating the Lower Chamber, with recognised chiefs and organisation, the answer undoubtedly is—the House of Lords.

Imperialism is the opinion of the majority of the inhabitants of

³ Socialists, I believe, do not.

these islands, and of an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the 'Britains overseas.' It is only inarticulate in these islands because, as a rule, English people do not think or express themselves clearly or rapidly, and because this question of the conservation or destruction of the Empire has been sprung upon us with disconcerting suddenness.

The Socialists do not want a Revolution : they are getting all they want, thanks to the obsequiousness of the Liberals (and much more than they expected), as fast as possible ; but this is their last chance. If the country awakes in time, they will never be able to break up the Empire. It is for the Lords to see that they do not succeed in doing so.

It is usual to speak of the Lower Chamber as 'representative.' The majority of the present Lower Chamber represents nothing but a number of vicious cranks ; the real, sober, reflecting opinion of the country is represented, at the present moment, by the House of Lords ; and the real, sober, reflecting opinion of this country is in favour of preserving and consolidating the Empire. That opinion calls every day more loudly on the Lords to do their duty to the country, and throw out the Budget—a measure which is constitutionally correct and imperatively called for in the circumstances—in order to force a dissolution.

At the present crisis everybody ought to read Mr. Price Collier's *England and the English* ; perhaps the most valuable book that has appeared for many years. Mr. Collier writes as a citizen of the United States, and how severely he lashes us may be judged from the severity of his judgment on his own country. In that favoured land 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' has worked out, according to Mr. Collier, as government by 'the semi-successful, the slippery and resourceful, who live on the people, and by the people, and for themselves.' It is clear that in Mr. Price Collier we have the critic of the hour : fearless, free from prepossessions, miraculously observant and a master of detail—above all, impartial—a man in a million.

Let us see what he says about the House of Lords :

There is probably no body of men in the world who combine such a variety of experience and knowledge among them as the House of Lords. . . . There is no assembly where a man could go . . . where he would be more certain of getting sound advice upon every subject, from higher mathematics and abstruse law down to the shoeing of a horse or the splicing of a cable.

Why the English themselves, or, at any rate, certain of their number, wish to abolish this assembly of the picked brains and ability in every walk of life, from literature and chemistry to beer-brewing and railroad building, I, as an American, cannot understand. It is the culmination of the essential philosophy of Saxondom. This is what the race has been at for two thousand years, not to be too much governed by, but to permit to govern, those who have proved themselves most capable of doing so. (Pp. 57, 58.) The House of Lords . . .

exists because it is the most democratic institution in England, and because in the long run it has been recognised as *an assembly whose opinion is as nearly as possible the opinion of a consensus of the competent.* (P. 61.)

The italics are mine. Well, that is what we want at the present crisis : 'the opinion of a consensus of the competent.'

How can any man who agrees with these views help to make them prevail ? He can call meetings of sympathisers to pass the following resolution and forward that resolution to Lord Lansdowne :

That this meeting denounces the present Government as having betrayed the nation by sacrificing the defences of the Empire to their party ends ; and it appeals urgently to the House of Lords to force a dissolution by throwing out the Budget, based upon vicious financial principles, as the best practical means of saving the Empire.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

2 Westminster Palace Gardens, S.W.

'CABLE' REFORM

For some time past the subject of submarine telegraph cables with their possibilities has acquired an increasing interest for the public, an interest which is by no means confined to Great Britain and her Colonies, although doubtless the necessity for this means of communication is more widely felt by us than it is by other nations whose territories are not so much sundered by the seas as is the case in an Empire such as this. Owing to the growing attention which has been drawn to this subject and to the numerous criticisms which have been directed to the working of these cable lines, there is little doubt that latterly the cable companies have begun to 'wake up,' and to realise that the public demands, in so far as these are not unreasonable, called for active attention, and in many cases for amendment, both in the rates charged and in the routes which these cables should follow.

Only recently my enthusiastic friend, Mr. Henniker-Heaton, advocated widely a project for universal 'penny-a-word' telegrams! This may be regarded as a pious aspiration, but not by any means as a scheme within range of present accomplishment, and although I fully agree with many of the pleas which Mr. Henniker-Heaton has so eloquently adduced in favour of lower charges for telegrams, I am by no means prepared to follow the 'penny-a-word' standard which he has raised. I would like to make it clear that the object for which we—I here refer to my colleagues on the House of Commons Telegraph Committee—are striving is quite a practical one. We wish to bring about, where possible, an uniform system of cable rates, low priced, and one which would offer not only to the merchant, but also to the masses, in the fullest way, the advantages to be derived from telegraphic facilities. Does anyone doubt that facility of communication is the first and chief means of riveting together the scattered units of the Empire, both socially and commercially? That being admitted, it is surely our duty to do all that lies in our power to see that the best use is made of this aid which science offers to human intercourse. In a letter which I received from Lord Curzon of Kedleston he points out, in this connexion, that cheap fares and cheap postal rates, valuable as they are, have but slight value as compared with cheap cabling rates. Even with penny postage within the Empire, we still have to consider

the element of time. Just think what that means. It takes no less than, say, two and a quarter months to get a reply from Australia or New Zealand; from Canada (which lies almost at our doors) it takes, say, three weeks; from the Cape, six or seven weeks. Does anyone, therefore, seriously contend that in view of telegraphing possibilities, such a system is to be regarded as satisfactory—as the complement of all we may reasonably hope for? It will be obvious that I am for the moment referring rather to social intercourse than to commercial relations, but these two react on each other, inasmuch as the race unity which depends largely on the social element is an important factor in commercial relations.

At an influential meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor, which was held in the Mansion House early in December last, the following resolution was moved by the Duke of Argyll :—

'That this meeting, convinced of the desirability and necessity to manifold Imperial interests of a system of low-priced, easy, and uniform means of telegraph connexion within the Empire, pledges itself to support the efforts of the Cable Committee of members of Parliament with that supreme object in view.' He suggested the advisability of some arrangement being made whereby, after the usual business hours, people of moderate means would be able to send cable messages at very much lower rates than during the busy hours of the day.

Lord Milner seconded the resolution, and expressed his sympathy with the movement advocated. He felt, he said, the more bound to do so because he had, during a recent visit to Canada, enjoyed the advantage of seeing what were the practical effects of the reduction in the charges made upon postal communication between different parts of the Empire. In the most remote districts of the Canadian West he was met with an absolutely unanimous opinion as to the effects which that reform had already produced, and he saw the results illustrated before his own eyes, as he found in many clubs and private houses copies of English newspapers and English magazines which, he was assured, had never been seen in those parts of the world before the present year. He agreed that the reduction in the cost of transmitting mailed matter was important from the Imperial point of view, but from the point of view of promoting closer relations between the different parts of the Empire a reduction in the cost of telegrams was very much more important. Very often, before newspapers arrived, giving a full account of what had taken place in this country, telegraphic summaries had gone forth which had been incorrect and misleading. He was not censuring anybody; but the fact was that, while rates were so prohibitive that messages had to be compressed into the extraordinarily short form in which they were now compressed, it took almost a man of genius to send an account of an important speech or event without its being misleading.

These opinions, expressed by men of large experience, acquired while serving the Empire abroad in high official positions, cannot fail to carry the greatest weight with them. The merchant, banker, or manufacturer, however much he may desire and welcome the facilities which cheaper rates will afford him, stands on a different financial level from the artisan, the farmer, or small tradesman, whose son or near relation may now be earning his livelihood in our Colonies, which incidentally he is helping to build up. A system such as that we now

have to rely on is obsolete and anomalous. It was all very well in the 'fifties and the 'sixties, when among prominent statesmen the idea that India and the Colonies were millstones round our necks was prevalent; when Radical statesmen with the ideas of Bright and Cobden yearned for the day when we should be rid of them. How are we to achieve our object?

Surely this can be done by the Mother Country and the States recognising that it is both expedient and politic to provide, consistently with a fair commercial risk, or even at some temporary loss, a freely accessible method of intercourse for their peoples. It means constructing new cables, and, where necessary, expropriating private enterprise under equitable terms; in short, by a policy of State-owned and State-controlled cables, which may also have a strategic value. Now there is nothing new or startling in that. The idea first took root and materialised in Canada. The Pacific Cable, owned in partnership as an Imperial enterprise, has been working for a little over five years, and although still showing a balance on the debit side, the revenue from traffic is a growing one; but who can measure the incidental, enormous advantages which it secured, by contributing to the breaking down of a monopoly drawing large Colonial subsidies, and exacting high tariffs? Even if it does not do more than pay its way, may we not say that one amongst other reasons is because a State cable from our shores to Canada, one missing link, is still incomplete, and that there are other handicaps?

Perhaps I may here indulge in some home truths. I observe that out of the 3s. a word from here to Australia no less than 9d. is charged as a transit and terminal fee by Canada and Australia together, 5d. as terminal rate by Australia, and 4d. as transit by Canada; the 'ter-

* Extract from accounts of the Pacific Cable Board :

Deficiency recoverable in the following proportions :

	• Deficiency, 1906
United Kingdom	$\frac{5}{16}$ ths = £8580
Canada	$\frac{5}{16}$ " = 8580
New Zealand	$\frac{2}{16}$ " = 3432
Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, each	$\frac{2}{16}$ " = 3432

Year ending March	Gross Earnings	Terminable Annuity (50 years)	Working Expenses	Deficiency	Add Reserve Fund including interest on same	Bringing apparent deficiency to
			£		£	
1903	19,579 †		40,526		16,500 †	
1904	79,824	77,544	54,824	52,544	35,794	88,336
1905	87,306	77,544	50,751	40,989	35,140	76,129
1906	91,814	77,544	52,964	38,694	34,138	72,832
1907	118,000	77,544	57,895	22,489	33,516	55,955
1908	109,637	77,544	62,978	30,865*	32,523	63,408

* Taking this 'deficiency' figure which includes working expenses, and the 50 years' terminable annuity, amounting to 77,544. per annum, but which excludes an additional reserve fund, with interest thereon amounting so far to about 23,000. per annum, we find that for last year Great Britain's proportion of guarantee cost her the sum of 2,880. on Pacific Cable account.

† Including purchase of Stock Cable = 12,309. 15s. 0d.

‡ Cable opened for traffic the 8th of December 1902, about three months' return only.

terminal tax' in New Zealand is 2*d.* per word, while Great Britain only charges her usual rent on private land lines, and takes no 'terminal tax.' What are the inland charges over Australian State lines throughout the length and breadth of the Commonwealth? One penny! Whereas in Canada it is rather more, but that is probably because the land lines there are not yet in the hands of the State. Mr. Deakin, speaking from his position of responsibility as Premier of the Commonwealth, said recently that 'proposals for greatly cheapening cable rates throughout the Empire are assured beforehand of the ardent support of all British dominions.' Canada, New Zealand, and the South African Governments we know are in no wise anything but sympathetic, not platonically, but sympathy expressed in terms of coin of the realm. Surely it is not asking too much to suggest that the high 'terminal tax' imposed by the Commonwealth should be very substantially reduced. If you want a scheme to succeed you ought to give it a fair chance of showing what it is capable of. It is evident that the intervention of the State must be, and we do not contemplate that it need be anything but, a gradual process and a normal and healthy evolution.² It is sometimes suggested that the intervention of private companies is necessary to avoid the friction which would, it is asserted, arise were Great Britain and any foreign State to enter into direct partnership in the owning and working of submarine cables. Against this we have the fact that some 1,150 nautical miles is now owned by the British Government, in direct partnership with the Governments of France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and that such partnership has existed for many years during which no friction has arisen. We cannot expect private corporations to do for us what we claim from the State. Why should they? They are not—they do not pretend to be—eleemosynary or educational institutions; they exist primarily to earn substantial dividends for their shareholders—and they have done it. These great companies have been paying anything you like from 5 per cent. to 13 per cent., besides accumulating handsome reserves, and as a further measure of protection they have vast invisible reserves in the shape of cables and other materials paid for out of revenue. But where do we, the public, here and abroad, derive advantage? We can only expect to benefit when the State works upon a basis of 3 or 3½ per cent. instead of the 7 and 13 per cent. which private enterprise requires, and when the State, alert to the constant scientific improvements in the

² The total length of all submarine cables at present retained on the official list, brought up to November 1908, is. 260,968 nautical miles.

Of the above total the length owned by private companies,	
British and Foreign, is	218,980 " "
British companies alone owning	126,798 " "

Memo.—A very large amount of British capital is invested in companies which are, nominally, foreign.

The mileage owned by the Governments of Great Britain and her Colonies (including the Pacific cable) exceeds 8000 nautical miles.

methods and instruments of transmission, will be ready immediately to confer the advantages accruing from these ameliorations upon the public at large. If ever there was a case for Imperialising a great service, this is one, as can be gathered from the opinions expressed at the Imperial Press Conference. Some of our Socialist friends will be rubbing their hands at this doctrine. May I point out to them that, unlike our present cable arrangements, the Board of Trade can bring direct pressure to bear upon railway companies in regard to their charges; that railways cannot borrow a penny without justifying the demand to the satisfaction of Parliament; and again, unlike the system of working cables, which requires a comparatively small staff, you will, in the case of railways, be creating a huge body of functionaries of every grade who, as happens in the case of Post Office servants, co-operate to bring—and it is only natural that they should bring—direct, and sometimes most harassing, pressure to bear upon the legislative chess-board? Whether we like it or not, we are now in association with Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, in owning the Pacific Cable. We say, continue the movement. Give it a reasonable chance to develop and succeed. Like mercy, it will be twice blessed, and its beneficent effects will be felt by the commercial, and certainly not less by the social, communities.

It was only at the last meeting of the Eastern Extension Company that Sir John Wolfe Barry, the Chairman, characterised such competition as creating unfairness and hostility. Why? Is it because it is supported by potential Government subsidies? Surely not, because he cannot be oblivious to the fact that, amongst others, his own company has drawn well over 1,000,000*l.* sterling in subventions from the Australian and other Governments; and that an allied company, the Eastern and South African, of which he is also Chairman, has drawn over 1,300,000*l.* Is it to be wondered at that this private enterprise, entrenched and fortified by all these copious grants, should prove a strong rival to the infant State enterprise, and that the Pacific Cable should require, and in the circumstances not unnaturally require, some little nurturing and fostering against such State-assisted rivalry, in the initial stages of its development and working?³

³ As regards State-assisted cables, the following is a summary of an incomplete list of total cable subsidies paid by British and Foreign States to various companies. (The experimental 'Red Sea Annuity,' amounting to 1,656,000*l.*, is not included in this summary.)

Total subsidies paid by British and Colonial Governments up to	£
December 1908, as far as ascertainable*	3,650,788
Total amount of Foreign Government subsidies paid to British and other companies	2,017,214
Total	<u>£5,668,002</u>

This does not include the 70,000*l.* payable annually by the German Government, and the 42,000*l.* payable annually by the French Government, in support of German and French Atlantic cables, nor various other amounts, particulars of which are not available.

It would be less than just, it would certainly be ungenerous, did we fail to recognise the claim, constantly advanced, that many of the existing cable companies have acted in the past as pioneers in an enterprise of which the novelty warranted a considerable insurance against possible loss. This, however, is no longer the case. While making such an admission we must also say that the security asked for was of the amplest, both in character and in amount, and has resulted in placing many of the older companies in a position unassailable by unassisted competition. Let us take a case which has recently given rise to legal proceedings on the part of the Eastern Extension Company as against the Australian Government, on a question of rates, a question on which I do not intend to make any criticism; but propose to confine myself altogether to showing my readers the history of a typical case, which, I think it will be admitted, justifies the State intervention, so strongly protested against by some of the companies. On the 1st of May 1869 a cable some 180 miles long was opened for traffic between Australia and Tasmania, under a contract of the Tasmanian Government with the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, on the following terms: The Company to expend 70,000*l.* in establishing telegraphic communication between Tasmania and Victoria, in consideration of the Tasmanian Government paying yearly 6 per cent. on that sum, or 4200*l.* per annum, until the net profits of the Company exceeded 10 per cent., in which case the Government were to be relieved from the payment of the subsidies so far as the profits were in excess of 10 per cent. Now, if we take the value of this single cable at the very liberal estimate of 250*l.* per mile, we find that between a capital of 45,000*l.* and the sum of 70,000*l.* there is a considerable protecting margin before the critical 10 per cent. is reached. This property passed into the hands of the Eastern Extension Company in 1875 or 1876, and a duplicate cable was laid in 1885. The concession which has now expired was an exclusive one for a period of forty years, and thus a sum of 168,000*l.*, as quite apart from earnings, has been paid to the proprietors by the Colonial Government. A few months ago two cables were sent out by the Australian Government and laid down as Colonial property between Australia and Tasmania, at a total contract outlay of some 48,000*l.*!

For many years back the Chambers of Commerce both here and in India have been bringing constant pressure to bear on the Indian Government, which is in partnership with the companies whose lines

* *As regards State-owned Cables:*

The length existing of British and Colonial State-owned Cables (not including the Pacific Cable) is 5,000 miles, which, multiplied by £160, give an estimated cost of	£ 800,000
The total amount of Cable owned by British, Colonial, and Foreign Governments is 89,000 miles (not including the Pacific Cable), which are estimated to have cost in round figures	£ 2,240,000

reach that country from Great Britain, with the object of procuring a reduction in the rates charged for telegrams.

In July 1886 the Indian rate was reduced from 4s. 7d. to 4s. per word, at which figure, in spite of an abounding revenue, it remained fixed until March 1902, when, in consequence of frequent representations and remonstrances, a further reduction to 2s. 6d. was brought about, so that we have sixteen years of studied stagnation. Indian traffic was asserted to be unproductive, unprogressive, and—another grand epithet—‘inelastic.’ It was said that even if by some supernatural interposition the traffic *did* respond to the reduced rate, so great would be the rush of messages that the capacity neither of the cables nor of the staff could hope to cope with it. Well, let us see what this poor, stagnant ‘inelastic’ Indian traffic has achieved. The Indian Government rendered a reduction possible, thanks to Lord Curzon’s courageous sagacity and to the action of the Treasury at home, by guaranteeing the payment of a substantial portion, for ten years, of any initial loss—of one-third, in fact, of the amount by which the receipts might fall below the amount of 352,000*l.*, which was the annual revenue adopted as a ‘standard.’ Here I may remark that it is difficult to dissect the official figures with as much accuracy as I would wish, as the sub-division of the traffic results requires more detailed figures, as regards origin and destination of messages, than I find available; but it will be sufficient for our purpose to take the total combined earnings of the ‘Joint Purse,’ i.e. the Indo-European Government Department, the Eastern Telegraph Company, the Indo-European Telegraph Company, and the Eastern and South African Telegraph Company, who are all united in this ‘pool,’ and to compare their total present traffic and earnings, from India westward, with what these were before the reduction above referred to. In the returns for the year 1901-2, the year before the rate fell, the official return shows that for this year the total amount of Indian traffic to and from the westward was 2,754,477 words, of a total net value of 449,315*l.*, an exceptionally high year’s receipts (the two previous years having shown 365,356*l.* and 391,569*l.* respectively). Last year’s returns show a traffic of 5,281,127 words, having a net value of 401,458*l.*, and in that year, as well as in the year 1904-5, we find that the Indian Government had nothing to pay by way of guarantee. The ‘standard’ revenue above quoted apparently relates only to traffic between Great Britain and India, and in the last six years the guarantee has cost India only 26,000*l.* at most, as no indication is given of the amount to the credit side during the years when no guarantee was required. I should have mentioned that the rate to India fell to 2s. per word some three years ago. From the above somewhat detailed statement it would appear abundantly clear that ‘inelasticity’ is quite an unmerited description as applied to Indian traffic. I venture to go further than that, and have no hesitation in saying that past

experience justifies us in asking for an 'ordinary' rate of not more than 1s. 6d., with the suggestion that this should be followed up as soon as possible by a 'deferred' rate of at most 1s. a word, between Great Britain and India. Indeed, I may now repeat here what I have frequently suggested already, that a general and widespread introduction of 'deferred' cable rates would be of the greatest public advantage, while inflicting no ultimate loss on the cable companies concerned.

I believe that negotiations are now taking place between the Indian Government and the companies associated with India in the 'Joint Purse,' with a view to arranging for a private wire direct from Bombay to Madras, to be placed at the disposition of the companies. These negotiations would seem to afford India an opportunity for a rearrangement of the 'Joint Purse' agreement, with a view to a further lowering of rates, and also for any modification of that agreement which may have become necessary in order to recoup India for the diminution of the amount which she receives in 'trans-Indian' rates, owing to the recent establishment of a Batavia-Cocos Island cable, by one of the partners in the 'Joint Purse,' under an agreement with the Dutch Government, by means of which it is possible to divert Australasian and other traffic, thus cutting India out altogether, obviously to her financial loss.

At the recent meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, as well as at the Mansion House meeting to which I have referred, a resolution was proposed suggesting the convening of a Conference of Postal Authorities of the States and Dependencies within the Empire, for the purpose of concerting measures tending to a wider recognition of the policy of State-owned and controlled cables, subject to respect for private rights. This resolution was carried at the Mansion House with but one or two dissentients, and was carried unanimously at the meeting of the Associated Chambers.

The benefit accruing from an adequate national system of cables can hardly be exaggerated. Let us remember the marvellous growth in the Imperial sentiment. The boon of cheap and accessible cables means reinforcing our defensive forces, by lessening sources of friction and misunderstanding, and, more important still, the solid linking together in material and sentimental bonds of the Mother Country with her kindred beyond the seas. America is increasing, Germany is increasing in population by leaps and bounds, and, incidentally, I may remark that both the French and German Governments are annually expending large sums in the encouragement of cable extension, more strategic than commercial in purpose; indeed, Germany is now laying a direct system of cables, avoiding British territory, which, bifurcating at Liberia, will reach Brazil on the one hand and Togo and the Cameroons on the other—not to mention possible prolongations. In our islands no great permanent addition to the population and the

economic wealth of the country can be contemplated. We are sending away some of the best of our raw material, some of the most vigorous and robust of our manhood every year. Make it worth their while, by offering them every possible encouragement, to direct their steps to our own possessions. Let us divert, as far as may be, this stream of emigration into our own channels. I strongly maintain that where, and if, private interests clash and conflict with public interest, public interest must prevail. Let no one dare to set limits to the concessions which the State has in its power to confer by the use of its credit, compatible with commercial consideration.

If we can do anything, however little, to strengthen the gradually weakening bonds between Great Britain and the rest of the Empire, not solely from the point of view of our common commerce, but also in the direction of maintaining race unity and the continuance of the patriotic spirit; if we can contribute in any degree to these ends, then I think we may justly feel that we have not failed in discharging a duty of the utmost importance.

EDWARD SASSOON.

HENRY THE EIGHTH AND THE MONASTERIES: A REPLY

IN the June number of this Review appeared an article by the Rev. G. Monroe Royce on 'Henry the Eighth and the Religious Houses of London,' written in a pleasant popular vein, somewhat too discursive perhaps to be strictly accurate, but on the whole both interesting and useful. But the writer, to do justice to his general ideas, thought it necessary to make some comments on a recent book of mine, called *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, in which he not only ventured to express disagreement with my views—a thing which I can take very easily—but expressly to accuse me of 'religious or party rancour' in upholding my theme. If I am guilty of this, it is a serious fault; and my difficulty in meeting the charge, I must confess, is aggravated by the consciousness that Mr. Royce, though he is the only writer, I think, who has used the word 'rancour,' is not the only writer who has accused me of bias. And so, in replying to him, I feel that I must reply to other critics also, although that makes my task a little more complicated; for, if a man really has a bias of some kind, he is probably not aware of it. Still, I do think, if I am amenable to such a charge, my critics ought to make it somewhat more definite than they have done; for I am willing to receive correction. And how I am to correct party spirit I really do not know, when I am not aware even what my party is. I sat down to write my book, indeed, well aware that it would conflict with views of the Reformation which have always been prevalent and are popular to this day. But I am no opponent of the Reformation; I only think it is defended from a false point of view by arguments which are to a great extent untenable. And my one great object in writing was to bring out the true point of view.

The task, indeed, is a very serious one, especially for a man at my time of life, for it is by no means completed yet. And one of the difficulties I have to contend with is that some of my critics have judged the half-told tale as if it were a completed work. I will, therefore, with your leave, state briefly what the design of my book is before proceeding to take notice of various censures passed upon it.

My object, when I began to write, was simply to examine the causes

which gave birth to the English Reformation. As the Reformation itself began in the reign of Henry the Eighth, I wished to start with a mere preliminary chapter about the Lollards, followed up by a set of essays rather than a historical narrative. But I found it absolutely necessary to expand my preliminary chapter till it became four chapters, forming 'Book I.' of a work which, so far as it has gone, consists of four 'Books' in two volumes. It is quite open to anyone to say, and I shall not contradict him, that this introductory matter is very imperfect, and that there are faults all through the book. But I do feel it a little hard, after going back as far as Wycliffe, to be taxed with having said nothing about the suppression of the Templars, which occurred at the beginning of the century in which Wycliffe lived, and certainly some years before he was born. That I have not criticised 'that high-handed piece of tyranny' is true, because it did not come in my way. But I am happy to agree with Mr. Royce that it *was* 'a high-handed piece of tyranny,' the blame of which may be distributed between Philip the Fair of France and Clement the Fifth, the first of the Avignon popes. The only thing that puzzles me is this: Why am I blamed for not going out of my way to denounce the tyranny of suppressing the Templars, and equally blamed for denouncing the tyranny of Henry the Eighth in suppressing the monasteries—a subject that did come in my way?

The reason is that Mr. Royce has really a great admiration of Henry the Eighth's conduct in dissolving the monasteries. He confesses at the beginning of the article that both his sympathies and his better judgment 'are strongly drawn in support of the King,' whose conduct and motives in this matter, he is convinced, 'have both been grossly misrepresented.' Well, every man has a right to his opinion; and if he thinks it further 'a gross libel on the English nation and race' to say that Parliament dissolved the monasteries 'to please Henry the Eighth,' I suppose I cannot prevent him from so considering it. But when he points to the similar act of King Victor Emmanuel in suppressing the monasteries in Italy, and shows how popular it was, asking me if that, too, was an act of pure despotism, I may perhaps be allowed to say in the first place that I did not feel called upon, in connexion with *Lollardy and the Reformation*, to discuss the acts of Victor Emmanuel any more than those of Philip the Fair in France. The lapse of centuries really does produce, generally, very considerable changes in social life and institutions; and I am not going to deny the popularity of what was done by Victor Emmanuel.

But I do deny the popularity of what was done by Henry the Eighth, not only in this matter but in many others. Mr. Royce professes only to discuss the suppression of religious houses in London; and I do not believe his view is fully justified, even with regard to them. But what he says, if true at all, has a much wider scope; for he wants us to believe that the wholesale suppression of religious houses all over the kingdom

was justified, and was generally felt to be so. This I have no hesitation in denying, for it is the direct contrary of the truth. Even Wolsey's suppression of twenty-nine small monasteries was unpopular, though its aim was the best that could be, and he had been at great expense and trouble to obtain both papal and royal authority for what he did. And what came of it all at last when he was attainted? Of the two great educational foundations to which the endowments were to have been applied, the Ipswich College was suppressed for the benefit of the King's Treasury, and the magnificent foundation at Oxford was finished on an inferior scale, and was ordered to be called, at first, 'King Henry the Eighth's College.' I hope Mr. Royce admires this very generous act?

But as to the King's own suppression of monasteries, we are at no loss to appreciate public feeling on the subject. In London, indeed, it was dangerous to speak out. Even words might be construed as treason. An Act had been actually passed to this effect (26 Henry the Eighth, c. 13), though it is true the words which were expressly made treasonable were such as tended to deprive the King and Queen Anne Boleyn of any of their titles (including tacitly that of 'Supreme Head of the Church' which overthrew the Pope's jurisdiction) or to say that the King was a heretic, tyrant, usurper, or anything of the kind. Does Mr. Royce know what such an Act inevitably meant? Everyone who was not prepared to face a horrible death, far worse than simple hanging, was bound to keep particular guard over his tongue—especially in London, where officers of the law were numerous. And much talk about the King's acts in suppressing monasteries—at all events by those who disapproved of their suppression—could hardly fail to lead on to statements that the King himself was a heretic and a tyrant, or something equally objectionable. Nevertheless, utterances nearly as bad are recorded to have escaped men's lips at times. The Duke of Norfolk himself—anxious as he was in general to show himself subservient—could not help remarking once 'that the King would hang in hell for destroying the monasteries.' And as to the common people, we know what happened in Lincolnshire, in Yorkshire, and all over the North of England, as soon as the Commissioners began to put in force the Act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries;—there broke out the most serious insurrection that ever occurred in Henry's reign, and one which he found peculiar difficulty in putting down.

On the whole, surely we may be thankful nowadays that we can safely express the opinion that Henry the Eighth was a tyrant. That is to say, it does not involve the old penalties of high treason to affirm this, or any legal penalty at all. But, except as regards legal penalties, it is not quite safe to say it to everybody, even now—it may involve a charge of 'rancour.' Moreover, it is a libel on an English Parliament to insinuate that it ever passed an Act simply to please a king—nay, it is a libel on the whole English nation as well; we are told, that

such a thing could possibly be. I recommend Mr. Royce to study the Treasons Act just referred to; but stay, I will give him somewhat better evidence than he will find in the Act itself. We have it on contemporary authority that cannot be contested, that this Act was passed by the Commons most unwillingly. 'There was never such a sticking,' says a worm-eaten paper, 'at the passing of any Act in the Lower House as was at the passing of the same; and they stuck at the last to have one word in the same, and that was the [word] *maliciously*; which, when it was put, it was not worth . . . (*paper decayed*), for they would expound the same statute themselves at their pleasure.' This was what Bishop Fisher was told in the Tower, and the fact that he had told him so was extracted from one of his servants on examination before the Lieutenant of the Tower and some other officials.' The word 'maliciously,' in fact, had been inserted by the Commons to protect men who, like Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, never entertained disloyal intentions, though they might have said that the King was not Supreme Head of the Church of England. But More quite agreed with the opinion expressed by Fisher's servant that, though that word ought to protect them, the law would be construed against them just as if there were no such word in the Act. I leave it to Mr. Royce to consider how all this fits with his fine theory that the age was not one which would pass Acts of Parliament merely to please the King. Parliament not only did so, but when it inserted a qualifying word in behalf of mercy or natural justice, the Crown lawyers treated that word as of no significance whatever.

But if anyone is unwilling to believe that Tudor despotism repeatedly dictated Acts of Parliament, I will add testimony that must surely be considered unexceptionable. John Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs, drew up an account in his own hand of his examination before the Council, which was but imperfectly published by Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*. For the martyr himself not only wrote out in detail the conversations which took place between him and the Bench, but added at some length an oration which he had intended to address to them, having carefully thought it out the night before, but which he was not allowed to deliver. This Foxe has omitted, but the omission has been supplied by the late Colonel Chester in his very painstaking *Life of Rogers* (pp. 319 *sq.*). And it appears that Rogers intended to have used these words after a brief prelude:—

As in Henry the Eighth's days ye in your Parliaments followed only his will and pleasure, even to grant the Queen's Majesty to be a bastard (God it well knoweth, against your wills, and, as ye well know, against the wills of the whole realm for the most part, and that of all estates, rich and poor, spiritual and temporal, gentle and ungentle), likewise the taking away of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, with other nothings not a few; even so, in King Edward's days

¹ *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.*, vol. viii. p. 326.

did the most part of the learned of the clergy (against their wills, as it doth now appear) set their hands to the marriage of priests (as deans and archdeacons, doctors, and masters of colleges to the number of seventy or thereabouts), and the most part of the bishops to the alteration of the service into English, and to the taking away of the positive laws which before had prohibited the said marriage:—this, I say, they did for the Duke of Somerset's and others of the King's executors' pleasure. Likewise, when the Duke of Somerset was beheaded, and the Duke of Northumberland began to rule the roast, look what he would desire, that he had, specially in his last Parliament; so that what his will was to be enacted, that was enacted. And in like manner, since the Queen's Majesty came to the governance of the realm, committing the same to the cure of the Bishop of Winchester (and very few others but he ruling the matter, as all England knoweth to be true), the consent of the whole Parliament followeth his head and will; so that now (against their wills, without doubt, and against the wills of many thousands true hearts of the realm, as they of the Parliament House well know) they have condescended unto him. And what he cannot do in one Parliament, that he doth in another; for he hath had three, all under the title of the Queen (or else he were shameless) in a year and a half.

This is a Reformer's candid view of the causes which produced the Reformation and the reaction under Mary; and I only wish it were as candidly studied in our own day. To me, I confess, it expresses just that view of the Reformation—a humiliating view, no doubt, which struck me even before I had come across the passage I have just quoted. But we must not blink humiliating facts in the history of religion. The Jews could not deny that they were long in the land of Egypt in the house of bondage, nor that they were afterwards captives in Babylon; but they learned to know that God was their Deliverer, not man. Nor must we glorify our Reformers too much. The religious settlement under Elizabeth was really a wonderful thing. Broad and liberal, without very exact definitions of things open to dispute, it is a curious contrast to the contemporary work turned out at Trent, which carefully closed some doors that might have been left open, and fenced with anathemas all the dogmas decided at the Council. And yet it would require a bold man to tell us that the critical acumen of the Elizabethan divines was superior to that of the Tridentine fathers. No, the result was not man's doing, but God's. A great work indeed was done at Trent for the purification of the Church in all countries that acknowledged the Roman obedience. But in England men felt the situation more; and while the conservative feeling of a Christian nation upheld strongly all truths really needful to the faith, a large liberty of thought was allowed which bore fruit in many other departments besides theology.

It was tyranny in England that laid down the conditions out of which mental freedom grew. To look upon the English Reformation as originating in a democratic movement seems to me to the last degree impossible. Mr. Royce says, I 'skim lightly over' the Lollard petitions presented in the Parliament of Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth. As to that I simply leave it to the reader to see if he can

find clearer light upon the subject in Stubbs or Hallam. The confiscation of the alien priories by Henry the Fifth was simply because they were alien, not because they were monasteries, or in order to satisfy the Lollards. Their property was in danger before, during Edward the Third's war with France. The Lollards were indeed strong in the land for some time after Wycliffe, when they were supported by armed knights and barons ; but their power did not lie in reasoning but in warlike champions, and after Oldcastle's day they fell into disrepute, till they again received powerful, though underhand, support from Henry the Eighth.

As to monasticism, I cannot altogether agree with Mr. Royce, whose argument seems to take this form : ' We can do very well without monasteries nowadays—in fact, they would be a nuisance and must have been terribly in the way of progress even in Henry the Eighth's time. Therefore it was quite right in that King to put them down.' Surely there is a little too much generalising here. Mr. Royce himself remarks that the ' friar ' must be sharply differentiated from the monk, which is quite true, though they are often confounded together. But there were monks and monks, and also friars and friars ; and what is true of one Order is not always true of another. No doubt the hermit and the anchorite disappeared without any noise, because they could be easily spared. Their case is quite by itself. But as to the friars, the cessation of bequests to them during the fifteenth century goes but little way to prove their unpopularity or even uselessness. What need had they of bequests ? They were bound to poverty, and lived upon alms, hand to mouth. In fact, strictness was increasing in some Orders. For the rule of the Franciscans or Grey Friars—the most popular of the ' Orders Four '—had been considerably relaxed in practice when a new branch started up within that Order called the Observants, which revived the old strictness. During the fifteenth century there were seven houses of this branch Order founded in England. And these houses were highly favoured, even by royalty itself, one of them being at Greenwich beside the royal palace, and another at Richmond. But when Henry the Eighth was impelled by his passion for Anne Boleyn to launch out into a new career, the Observant Friars spoke too plain truths for his taste, and they were the very first Order that he determined to get rid of. All the seven houses were cleared of their inmates. Two carts full of friars were sent to the Tower, and the rest of the Observants of different houses were placed in severe confinement in the houses of the laxer Order of Grey Friars (called Conventuals) for refusing to accept articles to the King's mind which were against their rule. This was four years before the general suppression of friars' houses.

It is all very well for Mr. Royce to insinuate that the Grey Friars remained safe for a long time in their own virtue, and were so popular that no king, however despotic, could have been strong enough to

dissolve or even to molest them. I do not believe they were a bit less popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century than they were in the fourteenth. So far as I can make out, I should say they were rather more so—especially the reformed Grey Friars, or Observants. But Mr. Royce's article is limited to a disquisition on the religious houses of London, and he does not even go as far as Greenwich, where the better Order of Grey Friars had a house. For it was the friars of Greenwich that first warned Henry the Eighth to beware of flatterers who were encouraging him to put away his true wife to gratify a lawless passion; and it was the friars of Greenwich above all friars and monks who first provoked his indignation. It was really the most virtuous among all the Orders, whether friars or monks, that were most severely dealt with, just because they were the most steadfast in adhering to their rules. And just as the Observant Friars were suppressed before other friars, so were Carthusian and Bridgettine monks martyred before other monks, and besides the Carthusians who died upon the gibbet many others rotted away in prison for not saying that wrong was right. Yet Mr. Royce actually wishes us to believe that as to monks and friars in general Henry the Eighth did no more than popular opinion would have done to them if it had been left free! None of those Orders was wanted, forsooth, and Henry the Eighth did quite right in clearing away what, it may be presumed, were mere dens of idleness and vice! It is extraordinary to find a clergyman maintaining views which, if he had only seen what they involved, would make the Parliament and nation of England the willing instruments of Henry the Eighth's barbarities.

And here, perhaps, I may be allowed, at least partly, to answer one criticism not relating to monasticism which has been passed upon my half-told tale. For I have been asked very plausibly how, if the Reformation owed its origin to the tyranny of a very strong despot, it developed much further after that strong despot died, during the minority of his son. There are a good many causes that can be shown for it, as I hope to explain more fully one day. But one of them may be very well taken into account in connection with the extract above given from Rogers. It must, I think, be presumed that men had just as great an objection to being hanged in the reign of Edward the Sixth as they had under Henry the Eighth—particularly that kind of hanging and cutting down alive, and ripping up, and hanging again by which the law of high treason was then enforced. And, although it is perfectly true that the old heresy Acts were every one of them repealed in the first year of Edward the Sixth, it was still treason not to recognise even the boy King as Supreme Head of the Church of England, or to treat the Pope as anything but a foreign bishop having no jurisdiction in this country. The result was that men's tongues were free all over England to utter what were held to be the most abominable blasphemies—a practice in which men of the Court had been freely

indulging for some time, knowing well that the law of the Six Articles would never be pressed against men of their quality.

Bishops complained in the House of Lords that they had no power even to correct immorality, which abounded more and more. Secular lords sympathised, but could do nothing. The power of the House of Lords had been depressed by Tudor policy, which always exalted the claims of a Lower House made up of nominees of the Crown. And bishops who were not of the new school, who did not make the boy King, with the new rulers about him, an insular Pope just as his father had claimed to be, were shut up in prison like Gardiner, or even deprived after a mock trial like Bonner, whose character, of course, the new school made free with in many ways. It is a curious commentary, by the bye, on the name 'Bloody Bonner,' afterwards bestowed on this much-maligned prelate, that after he was liberated from his unjust confinement in the Tower on the accession of Queen Mary, he was received with kisses by a company of women anxious to congratulate him on his liberation. Such were old-fashioned ways. Under Edward the Sixth the government of the Church was practically in the hands of statesmen who were large sharers in monastic spoils, with Cranmer at the head of the spirituality, to give the new ecclesiastical system respectability. So, of course, the Reformation under Edward the Sixth developed upon Cranmer's lines.

But to return to monasticism, let me admit that there is something in Mr. Royce's statements, if he had not suggested that the suppression of the monasteries was altogether a wholesome act free from the taint of tyranny. For, indeed, I must confess that my treatment of monasticism is exceedingly defective; and though I was anxious to guard myself at the outset against the supposition that I was writing anything like a full history of religion in England, there are both defects and errors in my treatment of this subject which I very much regret. First, I feel that I should have said something about such a well-known fact as the decline of monasticism before Henry the Eighth's time, shown among other things, by the almost entire cessation at the close of the Middle Ages of those vigorous literary productions which were the glory of former times,—and further by a number of sporadic suppressions of monasteries which were no longer needed. This ought certainly to have been shown, for it is a matter to be weighed. And a further matter, in which I am sorry to find my remarks have been misleading, calls just for a few words here by way of retraction. My estimate of the general morality of the monasteries, I fear, was rather too high. The St. Albans case I admitted. It was an exceptionally bad one; and though I made a mistake (which I rectified elsewhere) about the particular abbot whose misrule was so disgraceful, I never attempted to palliate the facts. I have come now to see, however, that the moral decline of St. Albans after Whethamstede's day was a gradual one, and had only reached the lowest depths of scandal when

Archbishop Morton obtained visitation powers to correct that and some other monasteries which had the privilege, under ordinary circumstances, of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. Bishop Morton, supported by King Henry the Seventh, we may well believe, effected a much-needed reformation at St. Albans and in some other monasteries besides. But the general laxity of monastic rule was, I fear, rather greater than I supposed on the eve of the Reformation. In the Appendix to Book III. Chap ii., I endeavoured to put before the reader a fair criterion of the average condition of monasteries as shown in Dr. Jessopp's *Norwich Visitations* by an impartial review of the findings at several particular houses at different dates. I certainly did not wish to weigh down the scales on either side; but Mr. Coulton has convinced me that I have misinterpreted some things, and thought too lightly of the real meaning of the findings in certain particular cases. Among other things, at page 103, where I have said that 'one monk was a dandy,' I ought, I find, to have said, 'One monk dressed in indecorous fashion'; and this indecorous dressing in long hose—not 'long boots' as I have made it at page 97—was a thing that would really be a police offence nowadays. So I fear that there is much to be said about the state of matters in a considerable number of monasteries, to show that they were no good schools of delicacy or chastity. But, I say again, monasteries differed from each other greatly in that respect; and perhaps no general estimate can be trusted without much larger comparisons. It is enough for me at the present time to admit briefly what is faulty in my own, and yet to protest strongly against the notion that the suppression of the monasteries was not an act of tyranny.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

P.S.—I have been obliged to finish this article in Scotland, away from my books; but I believe the statements made, even when thus unverified, will be found accurate.

J. G.

THE CULT OF 'TEDDY BEAR'

'I THINK,' said Lord Ottoway, reflectively toying with the beautiful gold-handled paper-knife which the Princess Baratilov, then in the zenith of her prime, had given him five years ago as souvenir, 'I think,' he continued, 'I had better call in Hodge, my German Bombastes. He knows most things. He's the very man you want, "Pinch."'

His Lordship rose and rang the bell.

The portly gentleman, addressed as 'Pinch,' sat back on the armchair in amused perplexity.

Sir Barbecue Brabazon evidently had something on his mind. Indeed it was written all over his long, square-jawed, inexpressive countenance, and the thick mouse-coloured moustache seemed to droop more disconsolately than usual.

'Can't quite see how your valet is goin' to help me,' he rejoined, conscientiously cutting his 'g's.' 'What does he know about the British Empire or anything else save your studs and shavin'-tackle—eh, Charles?'

'My dear Pinch,' Lord Ottoway made answer, 'the fellow simply knows everything. He's a doctor of philology of Marburg University, among other things, besides a minor poet; served in the "Death's Head" Hussars, too. Chap can sit anything, as well as drive my motor. He's priceless.' . . .

'Oh, just ask Hodge to come up here to me,' Lord Ottoway remarked over his shoulder to the footman who had entered the room. His Lordship selected a very long cigar with considerable care, lit it, and sunk down in an easy attitude upon the sofa.

In another moment John Hodge appeared. He saluted his master in German military fashion.

'*Zu Befehl*,' he exclaimed, bringing up his right hand stiffly to the eyebrow with his eyes fixed steadily before him. Then he brought his hand sharply to the leg and stood at ease.

'Hodge,' began his Lordship pleasantly, 'this gentleman, Sir Barbecue Brabazon, is getting up some detail on the question of Empire and British policy. In fact, he has to make a speech before the Imperial Defence Conference. But you see he's a busy man, chairman of most things under the sun, don't you know, and he

hasn't had much time to study the German aspect of the matter. So I've sent for you. Now I want you just to give him the sort of lecture you gave me the other day. Remember, John ?'

The German valet glanced at Sir Barbecue, as Klopstock, who loved skating, might have looked at the edge of his skates before he put them on, and appeared satisfied.

'*Ya, wohl,*' your Lordship,' he retorted laconically. 'Sir Barbecue wishes to know precisely what ?'

Lord Ottoway looked at 'Pinoh,' who returned the stare significantly.

The short silence which ensued proved embarrassing. Presently Sir Barbecue rose from his chair, lit a cigarette, and smiled.

'That's a bit of a facer; that is, you know,' he said. 'If I knew precisely what I wanted to say I shouldn't exactly ask you, should I ? Fact is, I don't know. Look here, Charles, you must stage-manage this. It's your idea, you know.'

Lord Ottoway smiled discreetly but discerningly.

'You see, it's this way, Hodge,' he said. 'The great question for England at this juncture is the question of the Army and the Navy. Are we, as a nation, going the way of the Egyptians, of Carthage, and of Rome ? Is the nation fitting itself to remain the fittest ? Is it healthy and vital ? Is horse-racing or the golf championship really more important than the matter of national and imperial defence ? What are your views on the subject ? How, in a word, does the situation strike you as an independent observer ? Do you follow me, Hodge ? That's what we want to know. And I want you to let out, do you see ? Just get the whole affair "off your chest" as if you were on the platform and a thousand learned Englishmen, who can't read German, were listening to you. You can say just what you like. We won't mind. Now then, Hodge, "Full steam ahead," as your Emperor said, and St. George for ever !'

'*Sapere aude,*' said the valet sententiously. 'Dare to know, I see, your Lordship,' he hurried to explain, as his broad face lapsed into a broad grin, and his blue eyes sparkled with the gleam of the Hohenzollerns.

He took a half-turn round the room, cleared his throat, tugged at his upturned Kaiser-moustache, and smiled again.

'*Donnerwetter ! Potstausend !*' he ejaculated to himself or to the recording angel, and the vociferation appeared to steady him. A steel-grey glint shone in his eyes. He took a step forward, threw back his head and pronounced :—

'My Lords, ladies and gentlemen, I have come here to-day to speak to you of Empire and of the policy which is to preserve it to you, but first I should like to tell you a story. You know how from small things great things are born, how from beginnings apparently insignificant great ends are fashioned, how, as Newton discovered the law of

gravitation from the falling of an apple, so sometimes we, and all of us, receive inspiration from the revelation of fortuitous circumstance. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the other day I went to the Crystal Palace to see what is known as the "Cup Tie." The crowd, I need not tell you, was enormous, a gathering of sixty thousand people, or more, I'm told, and finding that I could see nothing of the football, I thought it my behoof to see something of the crowd—that crowd which had journeyed from the Midlands and the North, representative, I take it, of the youth and manhood of this country, the fighting force of Old England. For an hour I walked up and down, gazing into the ardent, shouting faces of that vast mob—that *mobile* of adult Englishmen, and then, unconsciously, I began to think.

'Sixty thousand sane, virile Englishmen screaming themselves hoarse at the performance of twenty-two professional gentlemen who were paid to play for them! Then I looked closer, scrutinised that crowd, and in sorrow I wondered. These men, these youths, this army of virility, had they any thought but football in their minds! They were pale, sallow, livid, and, for the most part, undersized. Their teeth were bad, their chests were narrow, their expressions were as hollow as their cheeks. They drank and betted and yelled and jested. "Gawd blimy, see old Alf shoot that!" Yes, they were keen enough on the football! But, "Gawd blimy!" gentlemen, could Alf or how many of those sixty thousand screaming, jostling, gesticulating adults shoot, not a goal, but a man, if ever the invader came upon them. How many? Ah! but how many were even fit to! How many of those thousand of undersized men would even pass the physical standard of the Army! Weak, unthinking, undisciplined, untrained, these were the men the nation would perforce call upon to defend the country in the hour of need. Weak, unthinking, undisciplined and untrained—such necessarily would be their defence. And as I mused, ladies and gentlemen, the concern and gravity of it grew upon me. I thought of the crowds I had seen in Russia, the great mob of giant, hulking Moujiks in the fairs of Moscow, the crowds of Germany, in Berlin and at the races, but nowhere had I seen men like these, men who jeered at the very idea of serving the country and were, many of them, physically incapable of it; men who were not of the soil which gives so splendid a military material to Germany and Russia, but of the town, the sedge and sediment of machinery.

' "Here, Jack, this bloke takes me for a bloomin' sodger!" said one of these men I got into conversation with and questioned on the subject of national defence. "A bloomin' sodger!" Think of it, ladies and gentlemen! The scorn of this youth for the soldier; this English lad, the descendant of the men who fought under the Black Prince, under Drake and Cromwell, Marlborough, Wellington and Nelson, who made this matchless Empire lord of liberty and the

ocean! Not so does the rude Pomeranian peasant speak of Barbarossa and his ravens! Yet these are the epigoni of Robin Hood, of England's archers, of the Elizabethan buccaneers and of all those men—sailors, soldiers, explorers and adventurers—who went out into the world and carved upon the scroll of history immortal fame as heritage. "A bloomin' sodger!" Would that we could make this youth worthy of one! But this heritage, this Empire, this island of ours, shall we keep it with such wardenship? Can we? Do we deserve to? Gentlemen, I ask with all humility, are we not living on the quicksand of tradition?

'The quicksand of tradition! It has been the grave of all Empires. I left my football friend, I left that howling wilderness of football enthusiasts a firm convert to national conscription. It seemed to me that we were indeed living in a Crystal Palace of complacency and deception.

'What then, many will ask—and many, I know, do sincerely ask—is the danger? Well, of course, I am aware that I shall be called a scaremonger, an Imperial hobgoblin of fright and phantom, and, no doubt, a flagitious journalist. The invective troubles me little. What troubles me profoundly is the unmartial understanding of the modern Englishman. We are the creatures of paradox in this country, and no doubt it is not so very strange that we, who are the people of Shakespeare, should regard all poets as mad, as invariably all dark-skinned potentates whom it falls to our lot from time to time to chastise, and all soldiers, including Lord Roberts, who plead for a national service. That is not the point. The question is: Are we preparing ourselves to survive in the new conditions which have arisen in the world, conditions both economic and military, and to face the spirit which controls them? Now let me pass in review the most notable of these new conditions, nor need I say that the pivot of them all is Germany.

'The modern success of Germany is largely due to her historical failure in the past. First the Fuggers tried to colonise Chile with Germans, then the Guelphs sought to people Venezuela, and just as they were succeeding the Thirty Years' War came and destroyed everything. Frederick the Great did not understand overseas Empire. The German efforts made between 1821 and 1840 to colonise Mexico likewise failed. Then in 1852 the fleet came under the hammer. It is difficult to realise that fact now, that only fifty-seven years ago what Navy the Germans had was actually sold by auction, but it is a useful mnemonic and an invaluable aid to the clearer understanding of the German spirit and ambition. It is a beacon to Germans to-day as Majuba Hill once stood to us. It is the quickening inspiration of German policy; it is the cradle of Pan-German aspiration. Pan-Germanism, to-day, is a substantial living doctrine, Prince Bülow's opportunisms the converse—put them together, and as a fact they do

work together, and they form a perfect synthetic whole. The aim of that policy is to recover the past. So long as it was merely a land policy we, as an island, were not directly affected. But, as the ancillary of all Empire is the sea, so to the sea united Germany has gone, as did the Fuggers of old.

'Nobody will dispute that, I presume. Nor has anyone the right to cavil at it. It was Germany's misfortune to have arisen late in the world. It would be unmanly and ungenerous to grudge her the magnificent efforts she is making towards the realisation of her final national expression. It is no business of ours, if Germany chooses to build ships. It need even be no concern of ours, but then that is the problem. Still the fact is patent enough, and we have to face it. And it is that close to these shores a fleet is rising, built deliberately and avowedly, not for the protection of home or colony or commerce, but for the sole purpose of disputing our monopoly of the seas and eventually of destroying it. It is written in a thousand books and newspaper articles; sung in a thousand poems; inculcated solemnly into sixty millions of thinking minds. We may rub our eyes and stare, or shout or gesticulate, but we can no longer doubt. The curious gentlemen in these islands—the Lucifugæ of parochial philosophies—who claim that the German people are constructing their gigantic Navy for the vanity of Naval Reviews, are sure to talk of Cousin Michael and such like country-cousin sophistry; but those whose brains are not wholly obfuscated by the Panjandram god of party politics will realise that thirty battleships against our sixty equals half the strength of our fleet, and that any one Navy approximating, even on paper, three-quarters of our strength constitutes the gravest possible danger to this nation's existence. It needs no Chinese abacus to reason that out. The one thing essential is to draw the right conclusion.

'Oh, yes, I can hear that gentleman over there saying: What about the *entente* with France? And I am very much obliged to him for mentioning it. What about it, ladies and gentlemen? Is it not good? Has not France a fine Navy too? It is good. Undoubtedly France has a fine Navy, but not nearly as fine as the German, which it could hardly now venture to fight unaided. But what about our part of the *entente*? What about our healthy use as well as selfishness in the bond? Now, here, once more we live in a Crystal Palace of deception. The plain fact is that in the event of war between France and Germany we, as a land fighting force, would be of very small use indeed. Don't disturb yourselves, gentlemen, reason it out for yourselves! Suppose—and this is merely the hypothesis of Kriegspiel—suppose we landed 100,000 men in France. Would they avail much against the overwhelming forces of Germany and Austria? Could those 100,000 or even 150,000 Englishmen—about the equivalent of a mobilised German Army Corps—be a decisive or even a telling factor against an army of, say, a million and a half trained men

composed, not as the Anglo-French Army would be of two differently trained forces speaking different languages, but of two German-speaking peoples fighting for a national cause and with a common brain and tongue? Does anyone seriously cherish such an illusion? Would the gospel even of muddling through avail France much in such extremity? One need not be a Territorial to answer the question. The real question is: Could France be expected to put it to the test, if ever the hour of decision should come?

'Now we saw what happened over Morocco, not once but on three successive occasions. "Fight! *Mon Dieu!* but you English, can you stop the Germans from marching into Paris? Even if you sink every hull Germany possesses, what then? *Saperlipopette!* *Mon cher*, you've no army. You cannot make war nowadays without an army. *Nom de nom de nom*, you cannot expect us to!" For so the peaceful French boulevardier spoke, and so finally did the Quai d'Orsay at Algeoiras.

'The quicksand of tradition! We have an alliance, and we, in England, fancy that it is omnipotent. But, gentlemen, the French are under no such delusion. The power of the *entente* has a sorry plinth. It is the hollow pedestal of tradition. Without an army of at least half a million trained men to support it, the pact is but an amical arrangement on parchment which might tear at the first full stretch. For it is founded not on power, without which no interest, no treaty and no policy is a power, but on illusion, on the false supposition that unity of interest connotes unity of strength or that three is the equivalent of seven.

'We have made our *ententes*, settled our policy—Germany has settled hers. A new Metternich has arisen in Europe in the shape of the silent statesman, Baron Aerenthal. And, gentlemen, a new Austria is arising: an Austria young with national endeavour, conscious of a fresh destiny, proud with a new-born vitality. By the most fatuous lack of prescient statesmanship we drove, instead of humouring, Austria—only too anxious to rid herself of dependency on Berlin—into the arms of her powerful neighbour, and by our blunder riveted the bonds of Pan-German ethnic unity; so that Germany and Austria are now one pragmatic whole again, bound and pledged to each other, rejuvenated and reconsolidated by arms, while Germany, who for the first time since the Emperor ascended the throne held her tongue, clinched not only a policy and most necessary an alliance, but the *cliché* of the Young Turk party to boot. And that is the present situation. Against the Anglo-French Alliance with one army as *ultima ratio* there stand the German and Austrian Empires with two armies, to leave Italy on the one hand and Russia on the other out of account. And yet there are those who say that England has no need of a big army! No need! Why without it the *entente* is but a political myth! Without a national army our military value to

France is little more than a negation and our support but the vanity of tradition !

'So much for the question on land. Now, what about the question on the sea. There, at any rate, the clouds of party politics have been pierced by the light which last month flashed across this island from the leaders of both sides. It is not a matter of the smallest doubt. There is no scare, however much the few who call attention to it may be called scaremongers. It is a matter of simple arithmetic and common-sense, being simply the quotient of ships against ships. On both sides it is now admitted that the German Navy is growing out of all proportion to its palpable necessity. On both sides it would seem now to be admitted that our Navy must be increased correspondingly, automatically and inflexibly. But, as yet, nothing has been done. We have heard vaguely of super-*Dreadnoughts*. We have been told that if build we must, build we will with a good deal of rhetoric and asseveration. But no definite statement has been issued. Not one of the four *Dreadnoughts* imperative to our safety has been laid down. If they are intended, why does the Government not say so ? A plain statement of building policy will not frighten the Germans, but the absence of it must frighten those Englishmen to whom the present hush—to use Lord Rosebery's word—in the soul of Europe is fraught with omen and significance.

'For what do we see ? Disarmament ! The millennium of peace and plenty!—the very contrary. Every anvil in the Fatherland is ringing. Every yard in the Empire is working at high pressure. "Ships, give us ships," such is the cry of every nation in Europe ; it is the Moloch of international economy. Austria, Italy, France, Germany—why are they all building ? What does this warlike fever mean or portend ? Why must the peoples spend their millions in this frenzy of competition ? What will be the issue ?

'The answer is obvious. As Admiral Rosendahl explained the other day in the *Deutsche Revue*, Germany needs her Navy in order that, in the event of war, she may be the mistress on her own coasts. To accept for all time by agreement or otherwise the "unconditional superiority of the British Fleet" would be (he tells us) "equivalent to an abandonment of our national dignity." The case is quietly and fairly stated. It is the national dignity of the German Empire which cherishes and inspires the creation of the German Fleet. It is the dignity of a youth which has yet to grow to maturity, of a national force and vitality which have yet to find self-realisation, of a constructive policy which has yet to be fulfilled. The German Navy is built and building as an offensive arm, growing to outgrow our Fleet, rising to depose our supremacy. Nothing will stay its construction—neither prayer, nor policy, nor imprecation. Its prospective fighting venue lies on the waters which lap these shores. Its spirit is the hope of young Germany. Its ultimate haven are the ports of England.

And because Germany builds, Austria builds, and because they build France and Italy build, and woe to us, if we, ladies and gentlemen, do not build likewise, two keels to every one laid down by Germany!

'Time is gold, but, gentlemen, as Bismarck once memorably paraphrased it, time in some cases is "blood." That is what we fail to grasp. Having at last realised that Germany is consciously building to compass our destruction, we fall into a flux of hysterical garrulity and begin to prattle about peace and morality. Europe is "rattling into barbarism." Why can't England be left alone to rule the waves, as the good song prescribes? How monstrous of Germany to dare to build a great Navy, and what not other oratorical spate of impotent tongue! Verbiage! But, gentlemen, did our good Queen Bess so speak to Philip, or Hal who defied the very infallibility of the Pope, or Cromwell when he bearded the King, or Nelson when he cocked a spyglass to his blind eye, or Wellington when the Old Guard charged at Waterloo? Not they. Yet why all this talk because Germany intends to challenge our supremacy?

'When we were conquering the oceans, did other nations cry impotently about "rattling into barbarism"? When we took India, Africa, Egypt, Australia, New Zealand, &c., by virtue of our own hearts and native valiancy, did the world shudder at "barbaric" England? Did it scream because our seadogs were the best and our longshoremen the hardest? And if we went over to conscription to-morrow would Germany put on vestal robes of innocence and protest in the name of the Huns? "*Ivo*," as the Germans popularly say. Yet, is it not rather strange and rather undignified that we, this nation of fighting kings and queens and heroes—from Boadicea to Miss Pankhurst, from William the Conqueror to explorer Shackleton—should bark and bay the rising moon of Germany like frightened kennelled whelps: we who have won for ourselves the grandest Empire ever known to mankind, who have fought more victories than any nation in the world, who are the scions and the guardians of immortal Shakespeare? I do not see that we have cause to complain because the Germans covet our ocean monopoly; the sea is no man's property. If William the Conqueror gave it to us for all these years, that is no reason why another William the Conqueror should not, some day, snatch it from us. Its freedom is in our keeping. It is the bequest of Nelson to this country. Why should we assume that other peoples should accept his testament as binding upon all men and for all time? The thing, gentlemen, is not to talk about it, but to guard it, and to see that we have the force to ensure its permanency.

'But, ladies and gentlemen, there is no permanency of life or things in this world, of traditions or institutions, of power or empire, unless behind it there stand the force and the will of continuity. Nothing survives itself that is not vitally and organically of itself. The grandest forest of oaks will wither and disappear if there is no seed

of similar force and growth to replenish it. And it is so with Empires, as it is with some of the great worlds we see above, which suddenly vanish from the firmament. Because we live in the twentieth century, when men are reputed more scientific, more humane, more civilised than in former centuries, that is no reason why the arbitrary confines of political geography should endure *ad infinitum* any more than there is cause to believe that our own planet will remain for ever, or aught else that is of man. The age is a scientific one. It is profoundly materialistic, selfish, competitive; but scientific materialism, rapacity and competition are not the ingredients of a humane humanity. *Do ut des* was the formula of Bismarckian policy, and it has been the political and economic formula of the world ever since. If the rich are richer than they have ever been, the poor are poorer. The struggle for bread grows harder, the problem of labour and the economy of labour more ruthless and insoluble. Are these the times to speak of relaxation of the national endeavour? Is this the juncture in world-politics, with the nations thirsting like the beasts of the jungle to flash their claws upon the unwary victims, for us to mount the pulpit of seraphic complacency and bid the æons of time stay still? Like Xerxes who flogged the seas, like Canute who bade them roll back, are we in this age of science and enlightenment to cry to Father Time: "Good Father, prithee hand us thy glass, the sands are run out. We have all that we want. We want no other people to have anything more. An it please thee, good Father, bury thy sickle, so that nothing in this world more may progress or change. For see, gentle Father, our island supremacy is in jeopardy. Wherefore, we pray thee, bid Æolus with his winds of fate and fortune go tarry with some mermaid in deep ocean cave of everlasting sleep. Oh, Father, give us that fateful glass and we will store it with the crown in the Tower of London."

'Ah, even now I can see the long beard of Father Time wagging with laughter! Even the anachronistic Elizabethan Beefeaters who guard the Koh-i-noor might smile at so much peacock buckram. And yet that is what we are saying. That is how we view the splendid German enthusiasm for an almighty fleet. That is how, in the year 1909, we regard the efforts of a great nation to assert its will upon the world, instead of calmly and scientifically preparing ourselves to meet that will, to combat that will, to render nugatory the very expression of that will by a wise readiness and preparation preassuring, in conflict, infallible annihilation. Believe me, gentlemen, time will not stay still. Germany will grow and the German Navy will grow, and the will of the German people to use it will grow, though the blunderbuss of the whole British Press be turned against it. That is the crux of the whole situation. Far more important than the question of economic unity is the vital question of defence of Empire; of the power necessary at all time and in all eventualities to safeguard this island and our colonies

from invasion, to be able to defeat the possible combination of any two fleets that conceivably may be opposed to us, and to vindicate not only our own national trust and honour, but also the trust and the honour of our allies.

'These are no words of fear or panic. But looking around at the gigantic armaments rising on all sides, at the martial preparations of Germany and Austria, looking back into the past, looking forward in the future—can there be any man, I say, can there be any man who seriously will question the singular gravity of the whole situation or the obvious lesson that it enforces? What Friedrich List, father of Pan-Germanism, what Treitschke founded, lives to-day in one central national idea focussed and concentrated upon the sea, where eventually it must find issue. It is nurtured, as Bismarck prepared collision with France. It is a force rising to shape a destiny, trusted and accepted by an entire race. At once a policy and a fate, it holds all Europe in enthrallment, and yet with all Europe staggering under its burdens we alone complacently disregard it; and our mob howls vapidly at the Crystal Palace, and the man on the golf links practises his "putts," and the women of the country shout, "Votes for Women," and the party man yells mechanically approval or disapproval, and in the superfection of an absurd sentimentalism we are all engrossed with Mr. Teddy Bear.

'Observe the "Mr." It is characteristic and symptomatic. It is all very well for the Americans, for they, at any rate, do have, and do shoot, bears. But we don't; we don't even have any. We shoot goals, not bears, yet how typical the Teddy Bear worship is of our modern sentimentalism! It is the greatest danger of modern England. While all the nations of Europe, led and dominated by Germany, are increasing their offensive and defensive arms, we are trafficking with theoretical sentimentalism. We are suffering from an over-rich ancestry, from a heritage of wealth and ease, which, in the new conditions of economic competition, we find it harder and harder to maintain. Our rich have been too comfortable, our poor too pampered, and both are now unwilling and untrained to work. We take the German system of Old Age Pensions, transpose it as we travesty a French play, place the policy in front of the economy and produce a nefarious scheme of demoralising charity. We wrangle about the censorship of plays, but because in England nothing may be done without appealing to precedent, our dramatic literature lies in the pocket of a policeman, and there is no bauble of man to remove him. We are vexed because the Germans build ships. We think it unkind, unfair, unsportsmanlike, no doubt. And then when we have thought about it for a moment we decide that it is only the tattered-boggart of a few raving scaremongers, of a few journalists who perhaps have married German wives, of a few politicians who think that it is politic,

of a few scarecrow publicists and party hacks who, like the whale, have no teeth, and only "blow up" froth and bubbles.

'And so we go back to our "Dear Teddy Bear." "Oh, Mr. Teddy Bear!" "Oh, lovely Teddy Bear!"—like a lot of maidens "enthusing" in a dormitory. The women return to the paper vote, politicians to the party rut, publicists to the *role* of party fags, and the country to the topical questions about "Mr. Tapster's millions," or "the Lloyd George," or the "Australian Test Match," or whether "Lady Mary" is really to marry the Hon. Stilskin, or how much cigarettes have "gone up," or what horse is going to win what race, or who will be "runner-up" in this or that golf match—to sport and the divorce news, yellowplush snobberies and sentimental vapourings about baby's bonnet and dear Teddy Bear. Oblivious, sweetly and sentimentally oblivious, to the central fact in Europe to-day, the fact that Germany is building up to us, we go our way, playing with soldiering, while all the rest of Europe is arming to the teeth; neglecting the two-Power standard while Germany and Austria are building to crush us; "foozling" on the village greens of party and parochial politics, while the island and the Empire are bleeding for unity, regardless of the new conditions, the new forces, and new combination of forces and dangers which threaten our integrity and the very structure of Empire, as if the question of German power had remained unmoved since the year 1852, when the German Navy went under the hammer.

'Gentlemen, the bane of England is that we have unlearned the vanity of work. It has become alien to our habits, and so the alien comes in and does it for us. It is strange to walk about this London of ours, which harbours the greatest aggregate of misery and has the largest derelict population of any country in the world, and find the foreigner battenning on the land while the Englishman, ignorant and indifferent, walks about with his hands in his pockets, as often as not hungry and homeless. It is difficult to persuade oneself that this vast foreign clerical, tailoring, hairdressing, purveying, serving—yes, and time-serving—increment conduces materially to the welfare of England; or that the louts and larrikins of our towns and countryside would not be better and more useful men by a year with the colours of their country.'

'Hold hard, John, you're in that boat, if it comes to that,' interposed Lord Ottoway. 'Keep to the point, John. Never mind the foreigner. The Englishman's home is a free place, you know.'

John Hodge looked at his Lordship almost fiercely.

'Gentlemen, I must ask you to bear with me. I will not detain you much longer. Was it not at the Battle of Fontenoy, in the year 1745, that an English captain called to the "Pragmatic" army, as it was called, "*Messieurs, faites tirer vos gens*," to which the gallant Frenchman responded, "*Monsieur, nous ne tirons jamais les premiers*"—an

incident which Carlyle described as the "martial boy and his English *versus* the laws of Nature"? Well, in those days it did not very much matter who fired first. But in these days of mines and torpedoes and *Dreadnought* guns it matters very much indeed. But that is the spirit, the pococurante spirit of sniffing politeness, which exists in England to-day. We are becoming a sentimental, an unmartial nation at the very time when the Powers of Europe have become healthily selfish and militant. And I ask you in all earnestness to consider this. We cannot now say with Louis the Fourteenth on his deathbed, "We were too fond of war. Let there be an end to it, now that our ships are rulers of the waves." Rather should we say with Napoleon that a nation, if it is to live, must also know how to die. And that is just what so few of us seem to think about. The doctrine of "muddling through" is all very well in the case of mimic warfare against "mad" mullahs and prophets, and infidels, and assegai opponents, but it will avail little against the white science of a million Continental conscripts. It caught us napping in the South African War; caught us because, as we now know, the reports of our military intelligence department went "intelligently" into the waste-paper basket; caught us because, almost like the Popes of old, we live in the illusion of a glass infallibility.

'What notional form of madness is it that prevents our seeing the nature of the danger which threatens us? Are not the pages of history red with the tragedies of fallen Empires? Can we, this small island of people, in these days of universal scientific national service alone continue to defy the world with a dwarf army of Volunteers? Have our land alliances any value in such conditions? Has our voice in Europe any genuine effective power, other than tradition, or any military justification? And can we, before all things, now when the Continent is competing with us on the sea, afford to economise in the one arm which holds this Empire and the island together, which alone protects us from the devastation of invasion, which alone safeguards the nation's continuity? Not only a nation, an Empire, but a race is at stake, and the grandest civilisation that the world has ever known. We cannot afford to jeopardise such a heritage. The crown of freedom is upon our trust, the most sacred emblem ever won by man, and the noblest and the proudest flag waves over it in glory. Gentlemen, I give you the "Jack" and the Union—the union of our lives and dominions beyond the seas. And this only I would say to you.

'Keep them intact, inviolate, whole now and for ever. They are your right, your possession, your national and historical legacy, handed down to you with the voice of immortal Shakespeares. But, ladies and gentlemen, they are only yours by virtue of your own proud right of self-justification. They were not conceived by magic, but by the power of man, and by the power of man will they be held or blasted asunder.

On you and the force you have to defend them their whole future depends, on your initiative and strength both now and always.

'Close to our shores a giant Power is growing in conscious virility, fired with the zest to challenge our supremacy. Gentlemen, let us keep Teddy Bear in his place in the nursery. This is no time for playing at wooden soldiers; this is no age to tempt the providence of fortuity. When all Europe is an arsenal and an army, can we, with our vast Empire scattered across the globe, hope or expect to survive without one? On the spirit that we display now, on the wise preparations for offence and defence, on the building programme of our Fleet, the fate of England and the Empire must in no very remote future depend. And this I say deliberately. Only the creation of a national trained Army can in the end save us, and an Armada ready at any moment, and superior at any moment to the striking power of any two possible effective combinations.'

AUSTIN HARRISON.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABDUL HAMID II AND HIS COURT

III

THE SULTAN AS A PRIVATE MAN AND A POLITICIAN

It is very natural that after many years of close intercourse with Sultan Abdul Hamid I should have been often asked to give my opinion about the character of the ruler of Turkey. In spite of all my efforts I never succeeded in satisfying the curiosity of my inquirers, nor can I do it now, for, despite the fairly long run of my life, I never met with a man the salient features of whose character were so contradictory, so uneven and disproportionate, as with Sultan Abdul Hamid. Benevolence and wickedness, generosity and meanness, cowardice and valour, shrewdness and ignorance, moderation and excess, and many, many other qualities have alternately found expression in his acts and words. If there was a predominant feature in his character it was his timidity, the constant wavering and the apprehension of having committed a wrong step, which left an indelible mark upon all his doings. This unfortunate quality, the disastrous effect of harem education, frustrated his best intentions; it blunted his otherwise splendid mental capacities and made his reign a misfortune to his country. If he could have been made accessible to ripe and disinterested advisers, he might have been shaped into one of the most successful rulers of Turkey; but a host of sycophants having envenomed his mind, he fell very early into self-admiration, he despised the counsel of others, he grew angry and jealous at the slightest sign of mental superiority, and, favouring unbridled autocracy, he hurled his country with his own hands into hopeless ruin and destruction.

In the beginning of his reign, and in the face of such people as he liked to please, he played most successfully the part of a humble and modest man who feigned to be innocent as a child, and sometimes he went even so far as to be taken for an awkward and clumsy fellow. When I first met him in the Chit Kiosk, in his splendid room of reception, the antechamber of which was filled with generals, marshals, and

other high dignitaries, he sat down most humbly, after having accorded me a warm reception, in the corner of his sofa, and, bending his head towards his breast, he spoke in a most humble, quiet voice. Instead of using the word 'accession' he said, 'When I unworthy came to this place,' and took particular care to avoid the expression 'Sultan' or 'Padishah.' On such occasions he used either to shut his eyes or to look timidly to the ground, feigning the greatest innocence and playing the part of a helpless victim who has been forced upon the throne against his own will. Hand in hand with this attitude of a humble man went his effort to show extreme politeness and amiability to the visitor he wanted to ensnare. Orientals in general are known to excel in the quality of flatterers, but Sultan Abdul Hamid surpassed in this regard all that I had seen and experienced heretofore. In spite of his being illiterate I was astonished at the choice of high-flown and artful compliments he used to apply when in the company of European ladies, and even sometimes to men. He had always some poetical expression ready at hand, which he accompanied with a humble smile and bashful eyes. In fact, he was quite justly called a first-rate *charmeur*. When sitting with him alone he used to light my cigarette, holding the match until it was properly lighted.

One evening—it was in winter—being invited to dine with the chief dignitaries of the palace, I was much surprised when a servant arrived bearing a plate of fine big strawberries ranged in a conical form. The bearer presented it to me with the remark, 'His Majesty has plucked and ranged them with his own blessed hands.' Of course, upon this the whole company rose from their seats. I took one strawberry, carried it to my forehead, kissed it in obedience and reverence to the royal donor, and offered to share the fruit with those present.

The higher the rank of his guests the more precious were the presents offered, and the Imperial Treasury was taxed to the utmost in order to provide for the numerous visits of the German Imperial Family to Yildiz. If I am well informed, it happened that on one occasion it was the same jewellery which the wife of Peter the Great offered during the Russo-Turkish war of 1711, in the utmost stress of her husband, to the Turkish Grand Vizier Baltadji Mehemmed Pasha as a bribe, and which was later on confiscated by the Sultan, that had been used in the making of a valuable brooch presented to the German Empress. If this story be true, it would be a very curious coincidence that the jewellery of one Christian Empress had in the course of time got into possession of another.

Abdul Hamid was not only generous to the princely visitors from abroad, but he always tried to show good taste, although he never received any counter-present worth mentioning. In his relations with European princes he took particularly great care to show himself as standing on the same level of aristocracy; nay, he very often

mentioned the greater age of his family, saying that, excepting the Bourbons, the Osmanides were the longest reigning family in Europe. As his personal intercourse with European rulers was very limited, he liked to refresh his memory from the time of his visit to Europe in 1868, and amongst other mementoes he used to extol the amiability of the Emperor-King Francis Joseph, relating to me that having fallen ill on his passage through Austria, and having been left behind in Vienna, the Emperor had every day sent his interpreter, Baron Ottokar Schlecht, to inquire after his health. 'It was a graceful act, which I shall never forget all my life.'

It was not merely with foreigners but also with his own subjects that he liked to appear and to act as a Grand Seigneur. Quietly and avoiding publicity he gave away valuable properties, houses, and thousands of pounds to his favourites; and as he gave with free hand to the manipulators of all kinds of concessions, many of his chamberlains and Court officials amassed big fortunes and quondam poor fellows became millionaires. He used to say, 'It is the royal fountain of favour which produces the best harvest on the field of sovereignty,' and in spite of his being often disappointed with regard to this principle he nevertheless continued to apply it. His means permitted him to do so, for he was very rich, and steadily augmented his private fortune, partly by all kinds of undertakings, partly also by the cultivation of his vast landed properties in Mesopotamia, which were well managed by modern Turkish officers. He had no expensive hobbies. One time he took a fancy for collecting various specimens of dogs and another time for different birds, but these passions did not last very long. It was only for horses that his affection remained steady, and these he mostly got as presents. For the rest he was decidedly very modest and unassuming in his own personal wants, and there is no exaggeration in stating that in his dress and fare he spent less than many other members of the Imperial Family. It was only in winter that I saw him at public receptions parading with very costly furs, whilst his house dress in summer was very simple. The same refers to his fare. He ate very little. Two or three dishes, consisting of vegetables, rice, and meat, were served at lunch and dinner, to which occasionally were added fruits; and, as far as I noticed, his meals did not take more than half an hour. Less moderate was he, however, in the use of black coffee and in cigarettes. There was no limit to the number of cups consumed in a day; and as to cigarettes, he used to smoke only half of each. In one hour's conversation I found the tray before him entirely filled with half-burnt cigarettes. With regard to spirits, he was a total abstainer at the time when I saw him in the palace, but he himself admitted that formerly he was much addicted to *mastic*, and also to wine, which he much regretted, for many of his bodily infirmities, as he said, were the outcome of that bad habit. At public dinners, when the table is dressed *à la Française*, each of the

guests gets four or five glasses for the different drinks which are served ; but it is only the Christians who partake freely. The Mohammedans can only use water ; of course, to their sorrow. It is superfluous to mention that the Imperial table on the occasion of banquets is provided by the culinary skill of a most perfect French *chef*, but the Sultan himself hardly touched any of the dishes. In his stricter family circle, and so also in the harem, Turkish food was served by the two large Imperial kitchens, to the produce of which the Sultan sometimes gave preference, if his apprehension about poison was duly allayed. I daresay it was this anxiously practised temperance in eating and drinking which enabled him to keep up his health so long a time. He was of a weak and frail bodily constitution, which he inherited from his parents, who were both tuberculous, his father having died when thirty-nine years old and his mother at the age of twenty-six. He often mentioned this to me, and said, ' I must take care of myself ; any excess may prove fatal to me.' Judging from the foregoing remark, one may be inclined to assume that the Imperial household was in harmony with the simplicity of his manners and with his economical turn of mind. This, however, was not the case, for he had to keep up strictly the splendour and luxury of an Oriental court, inseparable from the dignity of a ruler. I never could ascertain the number of dignitaries, servants, attendants and relatives in his immediate neighbourhood, for there was a constant change going on, but I believe there is no exaggeration in stating that wives, favourite ladies, *khalaiks* (*odaliskes*), retired ladies, sisters, daughters, aunts, and other female relatives, together with the household of his grown-up sons, as well as the eunuchs, coachmen, grooms, gardeners, watchmen, *equerries*, *aides-de-camp*, &c., amounted to three thousand. Of course this large retinue is in contradiction with his often extolled economy and simplicity.

Instead of tiring my reader with further details about the palace and the Sultan's daily life, so often described by competent and incompetent writers, I will rather turn to the sketch of such of my relations with him as throw a proper light upon Sultan Abdul Hamid's personal character, upon his views of life, and specially upon his religious and political notions. By this I hope to add a few strokes to the portrait of a man so variedly depicted, and whose personality will long remain a riddle in the events of our modern history. Judging from my previous remarks, it will have become apparent that, owing to his innate timidity and distrust, he was very cautious in his utterances ; but when once his speech became fluent he was usually carried away by his zeal, and on such occasions he showed himself in his genuine light. In religious matters he was not a bit more enlightened than many of the male inmates of the palace, and, leaning to mysticism, he was often subjected to accessions of fanaticism. But, on the other

hand, his incontestably sharp mind brought him into collision with theories founded upon supernatural matters, and, in spite of his firm decision to keep up his holy character as a successor of Mohammed, he nevertheless entered into the discussion of delicate religious questions, by which he betrayed a good deal of scepticism. 'Tell me, Reshid Efendi' (he used to call me by my Turkish name as an excuse for his familiarity with a foreigner), he said to me one day, 'were you not afraid of God's punishment in playing the part of a dervish, whereas you did not believe in our religion?' 'No, Sire,' was my answer—'emergencies of life very often necessitate a difference between our inner feelings and outer appearance; and is not your Majesty, too, the ruler over many millions, so often obliged to show friendliness to certain persons whom you deservedly dislike and despise?' He turned from the subject, somewhat dissatisfied, continuing, however, on other occasions the discussion of the same topic, until he was convinced of the hopelessness of his efforts to convert me to a true believer, when he never touched it again. In the society of sheikhs, mollas, and learned priests he exhibited a good amount of religious fervour, but always with the view of rising high in the estimation of this influential section of his subjects, who could not be trifled with. I took great care to study his religious feelings, but, judging from what I saw and heard, I came to the conclusion that *he was not at all an unshakable believer, but, keeping in view his character as a successor to the Prophet, he accommodated himself in public life to the duties of a pious Mussulman.* This is proved by the fact that when he retired to his private rooms he neglected the five daily prayers, he did not keep the Ramadan fasting, and disregarded the prescribed ablutions after certain bodily functions.

In spite of his personal laxity in religious matters he expected from his Mohammedan subjects a most rigorous observance of the religious laws, and in this respect he surpassed his predecessors on the throne in many points. Not only had Turkish women to adopt a thicker veil and to avoid all kinds of luxury in their outer garments, but they were strictly forbidden from shopping in Pera magazines, from associating with Christian ladies, and from keeping Christian *gouvernantes* in their houses. Even the male portion of Mohammedans, particularly those who were in office, had no permission to frequent the coffee-houses, restaurants, and theatres in Pera; nay, they had to avoid all intercourse with Europeans in Turkey, for his main object in view was to keep them intact from contamination with political and religious views of far-advanced Westerners. His severity concerning this prohibition had no bounds. The son of a high dignitary, Military Attaché in Rome, was suddenly dismissed from office because it had oozed out that he had taken part in a Court ball in Rome and danced with a lady. A similar fate befell a young friend of mine who was seen walking arm-in-arm with a Pera belle, whilst

any Turkish lady who ventured to travel to Europe was banished for all time from the dominions of the Sultan. The rigour of these Draconic laws, aiming at the separation of his Mohammedan subjects from intercourse with Europeans, defies all description and calls forth a serious doubt as to the sanity of his Imperial mind. On one or two occasions I touched slightly upon this matter, but I found him inexorable in his rigidity, and when pressed too hard he said to me, 'You do not understand the gravity of the question. It is only through the strict and minute observance of the tenets of our Koran that we can preserve the purity of our religion, for the slightest infraction of our laws may cause the relaxation and gradual downfall of Islam, and, as you know, without Islam my empire and our independence must cease to exist.' Admitting the correctness of this argument from the Sultan's point of view, I am inclined to think it was rather his own personal interest and the strictly absolutist principle of his rule which were present to his mind, for Sultan Abdul Hamid was a tyrant and an Oriental autocrat in the truest meaning of the word. Of course, he never admitted the correctness of such a qualification, for he liked to parade with the title of a benignant father of the nation who has made up his mind first to educate his children and afterwards to confer liberty and a Constitution.

His tyrannical propensity, derived from his early experience in the harem life of the palace, manifested itself above all in the relations with his own family, from the various members of which he exacted strict obedience, and the slightest neglect of his orders was enough to forfeit for all time his paternal affection, as proved by the case of his eldest son, Mohammed Selim Efendi, whom he hated and persecuted many years ago. Father and son got into a relation similar to that of Philip the Second of Spain and his son Don Carlos. Generally speaking, the great curse of polygamy manifests itself in the absolute want of tenderness in the family, where fraternal love and attachment are nearly unknown. This is proved by the relation of Abdul Hamid with his brothers Murad and Reshad, of whom the former was relegated to the palace of Chiragan and the latter to a corner in Dolma Bagtche. Murad, who had some private fortune, had no need, but Reshad had to suffer greatly from want of means. His annual pension amounted to 6000 Turkish pounds, which was irregularly paid, and sometimes he was even unable to cover the expenses of his kitchen, whereas the adherents to Yildiz were opulently provided for. Surrounded constantly by spies, the members of the Imperial Family lived in the same terror and anxiety as the Sultan's subjects. No outsider ventured to approach, to look at or talk to them; and when one day on my way from the palace Chit-Kiosk to the library I met a royal prince, I had suddenly to turn into a byway as if I had met with somebody affected with a deadly disease. A prey to his unbridled passions, Sultan Abdul Hamid was easier addicted to enmity and hatred than to

love and friendship, and woe betide the man who tried to come in as a mediator and appease the Imperial anger in hopeless cases. When at the height of his favour it happened that one chamberlain asked me to put his case before the Sultan, but hardly did I mention the name when the Sultan grew angry and said to me, 'Never try to act as a go-between; as an outsider you cannot mix in the internal affairs of the palace.' On another occasion when he intended to send me to London in the matter of his brother-in-law Mahmud Pasha, he spoke to me of his sister Seniha Sultan, the wife of Mahmud Pasha, with a spite and hatred quite unfit for a sovereign and a brother. But of course I had to keep a dead silence during the outbreak of such Imperial fits, for any remark would only have raised his anger and caused a paroxysm, of which I was much afraid, remembering one evening when I was alone with him he had a serious fit of suffocation, and I said to myself, 'If the Sultan dies in my presence I am hopelessly lost.'

From this behaviour in his family circle it may be easily judged that the outer world, and in particular his civil and military officers, had much more to feel his autocracy, and they were often subjected to all kinds of humiliation and harsh treatment. With the Grand Vizier, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and other high dignitaries of advanced age he used an exceptionally mild language. He paid them compliments and consented to their proposals and advice, but only in appearance; for as soon as they had left the palace he began to reflect on the matter anew, or consulted with one of his favourite secretaries, or even with one of those stupid uneducated courtiers, and the end of it was that his own view carried the day and his own discretion prevailed in most of the affairs. If the Sultan had added due information and knowledge to his natural shrewdness, there would have been no harm in his presumption; but he was ignorant and inexperienced, and hence the failure and confusion in many of the political and administrative measures planned by him. Utterly servile and timorous as most of the Turkish officials were, Sultan Abdul Hamid rarely met with an open opposition on the part of his advisers, and those who had the courage of their own opinions would hardly maintain their position very long. Amongst the Grand Viziers of my time I can quote Edhem Pasha, a thoroughly civilised modern statesman, who could not agree with his master, and falling in disgrace he was relegated, with the rank of a Governor-Generalship, to Smyrna, i.e. to the province of Aidin. A much harder fate befell poor Djavad Pasha, whom the Sultan raised from the rank of a military captain to the Grand-Vizierate; but as his soldierly character could not bear the vile intrigues of the palace he was dismissed and sent into exile to Damascus, where he died. Another ex-Grand Vizier, namely Küçük Said Pasha, once his favourite private secretary, fared somewhat better. Full of cunning and ruse, like his Imperial master, he

was initiated into too many secrets, and became consequently very troublesome and dangerous to the Sultan, who tried in vain to appease him by reiterated appointments to the Grand Vizierate, and the end of the continuous quarrel was the flight of Küçük Said to the British Embassy, from which time no mention was made of the former mighty man till later, when his former misgivings were pardoned and he was installed in the Imperial favour, and even made Grand Vizier again. A similar fate befell the ex-Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha, the well-known friend of England, who attracted the displeasure of his master and was sent to Smyrna, as Governor-General of the province of Aidin. But even here he was under constant fear of the enmity of Abdul Hamid, and after having taken refuge in the British Consulate-General of Smyrna, it was only under the shelter of the British flag that he was able to return to Constantinople.

As I happened to be present at some of the audiences accorded to his dignitaries, I was greatly struck by the dissimulation the Sultan practised even with his own servants. He used to point to either one of them, telling me, 'You see N. N. Efendi or Pasha is a very gifted, faithful officer'; but no sooner had the man left, when he said to me, without blushing, 'Oh, do not believe what I said. N. N. is a first-rate scoundrel. I do not trust him.' The effect of this unprincipely and mean treatment may be easily imagined, and, having become commonly known, I do not wonder at all that he was feared by all and loved by nobody.

Judging from the foregoing sketches of his character, it is not so easy to say whether his good or bad qualities were preponderating. If in the eyes of his own subjects he appeared as a ruthless tyrant and a cruel revengeful man, we must not forget that all the crying injustice of secret murders, exiles, and life-long imprisonments committed in his name were the work of his too zealous servants in whose acts in the beginning he reluctantly acquiesced, but in the course of time fear, ambition, and lust of power had suppressed all delicacy of his feeling and made of him a bloodthirsty tyrant of the first order. Occasionally he was tormented by remorse, as was the case after the Armenian massacres, and without any reason he used to exclaim, 'Yes, yes, the Armenians! Alas! I had to be rigorous.' In a word, he was not very kindly disposed from nature, but circumstances had afterwards made of him an abominable tyrant. Next to the Armenians it was 'Young Turkey' which gave him most trouble and anxiety, and the most severe punishment awaited those Young Turks who were accused and convicted of adherence to that party. He used to say to me, touching that question, 'Is it not sheer impudence on the part of these youngsters to presume that they know better the weal and woe of Turkey than myself? Constantly exposed to foreign attacks they aggravate our situation by interior troubles. What a pity for their sinful behaviour!'

It is difficult to say how far our diplomatists accredited at his Court were aware of their being a playball in his hands, or if they ever penetrated his steadily plotting and intriguing mind. The main feature of his intercourse with the foreign representatives was politeness and courtesy. In addressing them through his interpreter, Munir Pasha or Ibrahim Bey, he always complacently smiled, and even occasional stings he used to hide under the cover of a sweet-sounding sentence. But this did not prevent his having a general aversion and hatred for all of them, for our diplomatists have been at all times the most troublesome element in Turkish Court life, and best liked have been the ambassadors who never come to the palace. To the rare exceptions belonged Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in the time of Abdul Medjid, Ignatieff in the time of Abdul Aziz, and Sir William White during the reign of Abdul Hamid. With regard to the latter diplomatist the Sultan said to me, '*Bu baba adamdır*—he is a fatherly, i.e. kind, gentleman, who knows how to manage our susceptibilities, who has got a sparing eye for our shortcomings, whom I esteem, and whom I would also like if the policy of England would not contrast so much with the charms of his personality.' Quite the reverse were his remarks about the predecessors of Sir William White. With Sir Philip (later Lord) Currie he found fault with his independent and too free behaviour, whereas Sir N. O'Connor very much pleased him by his mild and quiet mode of speaking, and by sedate, thoroughly gentlemanly manners. Sir Philip Currie had the misfortune to exhibit before the Sultan his independent and open English character, and by using free language he attracted the displeasure of the absolute ruler. The Sultan consequently played against the British Ambassador all kinds of tricks in order to annoy him. Such was his command not to heat the room when Sir Philip was received one day in the midst of winter; and whilst the Sultan was wrapped in an overcoat lined with precious fur the Ambassador had to stand for a length of time in his thin official dress and consequently caught a cold, by which he was kept indoors for a fortnight. Amongst the rest of the diplomatists I heard him often praising the German Ambassador, von Radowitz; the American Minister, Mr. Oscar Strauss, whom he called a quiet, obliging, and intelligent diplomatist; the French M. Constans, whose acuteness of mind was frequently inopportune; and the Austro-Hungarian Count Calice, whom he called a *gentleman* (a Turk is unable to pronounce three consecutive consonants). His sympathies and antipathies greatly depended on the ruling policy of the day, and nothing did excite better my astonishment than the way in which this, so to say, illiterate Turk, unacquainted with any European language, managed to get duly informed about the political events in the world; how he shaped his judgment and how he was able to grasp the points in the changing situation. In this respect Sultan Abdul Hamid showed undoubtedly a most remarkable acuteness of

mind, and what aided him mostly was the strong retentive power of his memory, so often characteristic of Orientals in general. This memory extended over small, unimportant as well as serious matters. Twenty-five years after his journey to Europe in company with his uncle Abdul Aziz, he remembered the streets—nay, single houses—in the towns he passed through; he repeated to me, after five years, word for word, a Hungarian sentence I had quoted before him, and, having appeared before him as usual in a Hungarian braided dress, he asked me how it was that my coat was trimmed formerly with nine braids and this time he saw only seven.

In Europe the extraordinary mental qualities of Sultan Abdul Hamid were not at all unknown. Prince Bismarck paid him a compliment by calling him the most astute diplomat in Europe. I often said to myself, 'What a great pity that this man could not make better use of his splendid faculties, and that his education was so utterly neglected!' Unfortunately there was no use trying to persuade or to teach him. The mainspring of all his actions was the fear of losing his throne and life, and all his efforts tended to ward off even the most distant danger he had suspected. It was this perpetual terror which made him a ruthless tyrant, sometimes even against his own will, and in this feeling of constant anxiety he had to have recourse to the vast number of spies and *agents provocateurs* in his service. Arriving sometimes early in the morning at the palace, I met in one of the rooms of the Secretariate-General many suspicious-looking *kiatibs* (scribes) going through various scraps of paper written with pencil, which contained the secret reports and annotations they had made the day before, causing frequently by these denunciations misfortune to innocent men or women. These scraps of paper, called *djurnal*, were handed over to one of the secretaries, and, after having been sifted by the latter, presented to the Sultan, who read them with keen interest and took special notice of them.

He was besides informed and kept *au courant* by official and semi-official persons about all occurrences and events of political, social, commercial, and religious bearing; he wanted to know, to see, to hear, and to arrange everything. And in fact he had sometimes before him lying on his table the most different matters waiting for the Imperial decision. The request of a private man in some distant place in Asia Minor for permission to open a coffee-house; the report of a minister about a railway concession; the account of an affray at Basra between Turks and Arabs; the proposal of the Sheikh-ul-Islam concerning the abuses noticeable in the public appearance of women; a short summary of the daily papers; the statement of an ambassador about his conversation with the Minister of the country he was accredited to, &c., &c.; all were found lying pell-mell on his table awaiting his decision. In the beginning of his reign he really read everything, and used to work from early in the morning till late in the

night. But as his age advanced and his vitality diminished he was unable to satisfy his craving; matters were delayed, neglected, and ultimately confusion and disorder had set in. Reluctant to notice the real cause of this retrogression, he began to lose temper and reproach his secretary, and even the most polite and sparing remark about the physical impossibility of realising his intentions was obstinately rejected.

By trusting to nobody he had passed over many gifted honest men and felt, so to say, compelled to shut an eye before the grossest speculation of his favourites, and he once said to me, 'I am well aware of the big fortunes my servants have amassed, but alas! the old time of confiscations has gone and I am powerless to prevent their greed.' In illustration of his indulgence may be quoted the following witty remark of his. One day it was reported to him that a conjurer had performed the rather extraordinary feat of swallowing knives, forks, and spoons, upon which the Sultan remarked, 'I find nothing miraculous in that; my minister of naval affairs swallows big ironclad frigates without doing harm to himself.'

In his desire to co-ordinate the interests of the State with those of his own family, or rather of his own person, he did not even take the trouble to disguise his feelings. One day he addressed a well-known diplomatist, who spoke to him of the interests of the Turkish State, in the following way: 'I find it rather curious and strange that you (Europeans) always speak of the interests of the country and never of my own, nor of those of my family.' In fact, Sultan Abdul Hamid became one of the most rigid autocrats on the throne of the Ottoman dynasty. There was no shadow of opposition left, for the revolutionary party of Young Turkey of that time had no influence on the bulk of the nation, and after having obliterated every trace of the Constitution he began to work havoc against any liberal movement. Even the word *Hurriet*, i.e. Liberty, was forbidden to be printed in the dictionaries. The Press was most cruelly gagged by a society called *Endjumen-Danish*, i.e. Company of Scientists, and books having the slightest pretension to politics, history, and philosophy were put on the list of dangerous publications.

Scientific acquirements should, not extend, according to his views, beyond the limits of primordial knowledge, and when I was invited by him to give a programme of the studies in the University he intended to found, on the occasion of the anniversary of the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and laid particular stress upon the study of history, philosophy, and political economy, he sprang up and said, 'No, sir, such knowledge will be dangerous for my people; they cannot be included in the programme.' Of course, as a University without history and philosophy would be nonsense, the plan of a high school fell to the ground and I declined any further co-operation. Once or twice I took courage to open a discussion on the subject of

liberal and absolutist government with the object in view of heating the motives of his own rigorous measures against all liberal tendencies. As an incarnate autocrat he looked somewhat aghast at me, wondering at my audacity, but he soon regained his composure, quoting in excuse of his rule the following pretexts. First of all he alluded to the discontent and enmity of his Christian subjects, who, incited by Europe, would use liberal concessions as a dangerous weapon against his own rule; 'and you cannot ask me,' he said, 'to arm my own implacable adversaries myself.' As to his Mussulman subjects, he said he would very much like to accord them full liberties, of course not in imitation of far advanced Europe, but they were still too young and unripe for such institutions as constitutional and parliamentary life; 'and, you know,' he added, 'it is very dangerous to give a sharp knife into the hands of a young and inexperienced child.' As a third plea he brought forward the great difference between East and West, and the historical development which alienates both fractions of mankind. He used to say, 'The Asiatic thinks, speaks, and acts quite differently from the European. My subjects have very modest wants, and it would be sinful to arouse in them desires which are useless and which they cannot satisfy. You see our labourers are happy with a bit of bread and cheese; what is the use of whetting their appetite for noxious and costly meals?' Besides this he liked to use the word 'Besheriet,' i.e. human frailty, saying that men in general are much subjected to weaknesses, excusable from a human point of view, but it is the duty of rulers of men to consider and to mitigate these foibles.

I am sure he was himself fully convinced of the shallowness of these pretexts, but he had to find an excuse for the despotism and autocracy in which he was brought up in the palace, and which most Oriental, and even Occidental, princes think inseparable from the crown.

In studying the despotic character of Sultan Abdul Hamid I always wondered how this man could endure the strong hand of Europe weighing so heavily upon him, and with what repugnance must he have borne the powerful restriction upon all his deeds and purposes. And yet he gave no sign of despondency; he evidently feigned indifference, for he liked to show high spirits and hopefulness about the future destinies of Turkey. He said to me once, 'I am fully satisfied with the march of events. The increasing sense of political and economical rivalry in Europe makes me safe against a sudden attack, and my utmost desire to get rid of the capitulations will be also realised.' Thus spoke the ruler of a country in the most desperate situation; the head of a State in the throes of bankruptcy, revolution, and dissolution.

Being undoubtedly one of the most clever diplomatists and shrewd men who ever sat on a throne, he really played most adroitly his

game against the open and secret plots of our cabinets, and, representing in his own person all the different ministries, the department in which he showed the greatest skill was decidedly that of foreign affairs. It is true that in latter times he made also big mistakes, but this was the ominous influence of one or other of his obscure advisers. As far as I can judge from the last decade of the past century, the main feature of his foreign policy was a strict adherence to the alliance with Germany, a country he did not suspect of land-grabbing, and of which he said, 'My ancestors, more than a hundred years ago, have shown me they had great confidence in Prussia.' He alluded to the embassy sent by Sultan Mustafa in 1771 to the Court of Frederic the Great, and the laudatory report given of the Prussians by his envoy; and he liked to mention the confidence given by his grandfather Sultan Mahmud to the afterwards famous General Moltke. He did not ignore the great profit the Germans drew from this alliance, but he used to say, 'The material benefits they reap are a just return for the services they render to the material future of Turkey and for the moral example they furnish to my people. It is useless cavilling against my friendship with the German Emperor. The Germans do me as much good as they are permitted to do, whereas the rest of Europe do me as much harm as they can.' This confidence in the Kaiser was in fact unlimited, everything coming from Germany had won his favour, and his most beloved son, Burhan-ed-din, had very early to begin his German lessons.

The Sultan's relations to Russia were more of a personal character, inasmuch as the Czar Alexander the Third had given full promises to the Sultan not to interfere in the affairs of Turkey as long as the Porte adhered to the stipulations of the last treaty, particularly regarding the regular payment of the war indemnity. The Czar also gave full assurance that, whatever might befall the Sultan, he would find in the Emperor of Russia a personal friend and protector; and I daresay this gave rise to the current rumour about the conclusion of a secret alliance between Russia and Turkey. Abdul Hamid felt exceedingly happy about this security of his person, and in his delight he was anxious to impress his *entourage* with admiration for Russia. It was in this frame of mind that he recommended me a friendly disposition towards Russia, saying 'Russia, the old enemy of Turkey, has acted hitherto by the unalterable decree of the Almighty, and being moved by the same heavenly power to become in future our friend, there is no reason to repulse the tendered hand of amity, and if you are my friend, you must also become the friend of Russia,' &c. When replying that such a change of principle would be highly injurious to my character, he turned to me, quite astonished, saying, 'And you believe character to be a regulative with public men?' It must be said in the praise of many Turks,

even in his own surrounding, that this friendship for Russia was not shared in the palace, although the Sultan personally kept faithfully to it.

Sultan Abdul Hamid never made a secret of his pro-Russian feelings, originating from his outspoken love of despotic rule, so flourishing in Russia. During the late Russo-Japanese war, whilst sitting with him and with Ibrahim Bey, I began to speak of the chances Turkey would have just now to attack her old enemy and to take revenge for so many aggressions. I dwelt at some length on the details of the plan, he listened attentively, and when I finished speaking he turned to me, saying, 'At what scientific work are you engaged now?' showing somewhat impolitely that he was averse to the discussion of politics with me.

In his views regarding England he was less reserved, for he was not only an outspoken enemy, but a fanatical hater of Great Britain, in whom he saw the *fons et origo* of all the evil which befell him, and it was impossible to alter his views and to mitigate his rancour. The main reason lay (as I mentioned in *The Story of My Struggles*) in the fact of his having been brought up in the notion that England was the best friend of Turkey, whereas the events following his succession to the throne had shaken his confidence, and his stubborn belief in the intentional mischief planned against him by the Cabinet of St. James's grew always stronger. When it was said to him that the hands of the British Government are bound by the Parliament, he grew angry, saying, 'And you think me really so naïve as to believe in the power of Parliament and constitution? These institutions may serve to deceive the public in Europe. Parliaments may speak, but the King can act as he likes.' Owing to this misconception he had several times the idea of sending me with a private mission to Queen Victoria, and it was with great difficulty that he could be talked out of it. His enlightened Turkish subjects, and even the masses, were and are, on the contrary, full of sympathies for England, but nobody had the courage to assert such an opinion. One day, when discussing Anglo-Turkish relations, he grew rather excited and said to me, 'And you really have doubt as to England's enmity against me? Look at their machinations with the Armenians, and is it out of friendship that they support the rebel Arab in Yemen? In taking away from me Egypt they have injured my title as Khalifa, for you know the right of the Khalifate rests upon the possession of the holy cities and Egypt. I can assure you I know who are my friends and enemies, and the pay-day of England will certainly come.'

To the political relations with France, Italy and Austria he devoted but a secondary attention, thinking that the interests of these Powers are either too remote from Turkey or too irrelevant for independent action. Pursuing a policy from hand to mouth, his main care was

bestowed on questions of immediate importance, but the much more astonishing was the zeal he showed sometimes in the defence even of rights as to which he was sure to be defeated, and where his only object in view was to show teeth and to prove to the world that Turkey is not dead. With this seemingly useless opposition he aimed at the raising of his prestige in the Mohammedan world, to which he looked as a great factor in the future destiny of Turkey, although, as I gathered from occasional conversations with him, he had very dim notions about the Moslem world at large.

Very defective likewise was his knowledge of his own race and his country, which he never visited personally, and it was quite a revelation to him when I said that the Turkish race had got the largest geographical extension and that the Turkish language shows comparatively the slightest dialectical deviations. Despite this ignorance he sometimes showed Turkish national pride, but only as far as regards his own family; for when I asked permission to deliver a lecture in the Galata College on the ethnology of the Turkish race, he bluntly refused, saying, 'We must not touch the question of nationality; all Mohammedans are brethren, and any national partition wall will cause serious dissensions.'

In connection with his foreign policy it is worth mentioning his position and behaviour towards Christian princes and distinguished foreigners visiting his Court. Apparently a strict Mohammedan, he took great trouble to treat European princes on a par and to exhibit at the same time the quality of a grand seigneur. Anxious about the details of etiquette, every word and motion of his was studied, and the amount of care he paid to news and gossip concerning the Courts and high life of Europe is hardly credible. Nor was he indifferent to what the public opinion in Europe thought about his own person. For this purpose he spent large sums to fit up his palace with all the luxury of the princely mansions of the West. His table service was very rich in gold vessels and plates, his library contained the most valuable Oriental manuscripts, his stables were full of the finest horses, and in order to procure an amusement for his European guests he had his own opera, consisting of Italian and Armenian singers, which was attended by his own person and a few ladies seated in the closely latticed box. Once I too was invited to such a performance. The theatre was quite empty, excepting two boxes; in one was the Sultan with Baron Marschal, the German Ambassador; in the other were Prince Burhaneddin with Baron Wangenheim and myself.

Being desirous of creating a good opinion in Europe, he spent large sums of money to influence the press in his favour, and I remember his efforts to silence some obscure Neapolitan paper which had spread a scandalous report about his person. It was of no avail to call to his memory the Turkish proverb, 'The dog barks but the caravan

continues its way.' The much greater was his sensitiveness when a respectable European paper attacked him, and in such cases he not only appealed to the respective governments but also to the sovereign of the country, asking the punishment of the offender. There is no exaggeration in stating that the money he spent in this direction, together with the salary of his numerous spies, amounted annually to several millions sterling. How this and many other foibles can be accounted for in the face of his undoubtedly mental superiority is really difficult to explain. Inexplicable is the whole personality of this extraordinary man. In viewing the various features of his character, as sketched in the preceding pages, and in examining his good and bad qualities, we must come to the conclusion that he was at all events a remarkable man; a prince who could have left a great name behind him, if he had had a proper education, if he had found an influential minister to mitigate his passions, and if the throne he inherited had not been beset with so many insuperable difficulties, dangers, and trials.

What I deem the greatest misfortune for the late Sultan was his having been behind his own subjects in education, in knowledge, and particularly in his notions about the tendencies and views of modern life. Whereas the more or less educated Osmanli was decidedly progressive and a staunch adherent to liberalism, the Sultan not only clung spasmodically to the antiquated form of administration, but his main effort was directed towards the strengthening and increasing of absolute government, and in this regard he found himself always at variance with the large majority of the better-class Turks. In the beginning of my personal connection with him I have, as I have said above, cautiously touched this question, alluding to the ease and comfort enjoyed by constitutional rulers in remitting the great and heavy work of government to responsible Ministers, i.e. by ruling instead of governing. He was at once ready with an answer, saying, 'Nobody would be happier than myself if I could alleviate the burden resting on my shoulders and if my officials were ripe for self-government. But can I trust to them? Are they patriotic and honest to be relied upon? I am sorry to say "No!" They must be educated for the enjoyment of liberty and free institutions, and before planting the noble tree of liberalism I have to clear away the rubbish and weed which cover the ground, and I must consider before all the unpreparedness of the man in the East to adopt the manners, habits, and views of the man in the West.' When in conversation of this kind I used to bring into relief the eminently democratic spirit of Islam, he endeavoured to point to the happy state of morals of that time and to the deplorable change which has taken place since the first epoch, called the 'Time of Happiness' (*Vakıı Seadet*). In a word he spared no trouble to justify his despotic rule, and was not the least confused when finding himself called a 'tyrant.'

And let me say at once he fully deserved that title, and as a tyrant he was most intensely hated by the leading society of the Turkish nation, not even excepting those who crouched and bowed before him, and whom circumstances had forced to be executors of his despotic will. It is not only the so-called Young Turkish party that used the most insulting titles and epithets when mentioning his name, but I heard even his Ministers and Ambassadors cursing and execrating him and calling him the black misfortune of the Ottoman nation. This aversion and abhorrence were particularly noticeable at the time when his grave sickness became known to the public at large. Excepting the Yildiz clique, the Turks grew impatient of his approaching end, and everybody was anxious for his disappearance from the world; they most ardently wished a change and a speedy redemption from the terrible misfortune caused by the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid.

This change has set in sooner than the Turks and the world in general believed, and has evidently surprised nobody more than the Sultan himself. It was during the concluding portion of his life that Sultan Abdul Hamid gave us the most splendid proof of his sagacity, endurance, and capability to accommodate himself to the most unexpected events, and to look into the face of the most cruel turn of fate. I allude to the Turkish revolution in July 1908, and to the behaviour the Sultan manifested towards that emergency. There were certainly sundry signs of the approaching storm noticeable in May and June of the said year. One of my friends wrote to me: 'The dejection of the Sultan owing to his illness (cystic catarrh) is daily increasing, and the effect is painfully felt in his *entourage*. He is much more irascible than before. . . . I have got very sad forebodings of the near future before us.' *Mens sana in corpore sano*, says the Latin proverb; no wonder, therefore, that the gradually weakened body of the despotic ruler had unavoidably lost its pristine mental force, the unflagging energy and perseverance so much admired by all who knew him. The discontent in all classes of society was audible like the distant rolling of an approaching tempest. Up to the present the Sultan had had fair ground to rely upon the unswerving fidelity of his soldiers; but when, owing to great financial straits, these faithful servants were neither paid nor fed and clad, and were besides forcibly kept under arms beyond their terms under the murderous sun of Arabia, the love and veneration for the holy person of the Padishah had gradually disappeared. The first leader who availed himself of the discontent was nearly sure of success, and when the young officers Enver and Niazi, tired of continual privation and threatened by the humiliating influence of the palace spies, appealed to their regiments, they found at once a willing ear, and unfurled the standard of revolution.

The news of the military revolt in Macedonia had hardly reached Yildiz, when the Sultan, perceiving the high importance of what had happened, gathered round him the chief supporters of his rule to deliberate about the necessary measures. Of course the first thing to be done was to order military assistance against the rebel forces in Macedonia. Regiments stationed in Asia Minor were brought to Salonica, but having been worked eighteen months before by Nazim Bey, who, disguised as a preacher, had won them over to the revolution, they refused obedience, and, joining their mutinous brethren, swelled the ranks of the rebellion. At this juncture, when all wisecrackers of the absolutist rule had lost their heads, the Sultan alone kept firm. He showed a resolute mien, and, to the great surprise of the members of the Council, he said : ‘ ‘ I see there is only one course left, and this is the restitution of the Constitution. I think the nation is now riper than at the time of my accession to the throne. At all events, this is the only way out of the puzzle ; we must try it.’ Having made up his mind to become a constitutional monarch, Sultan Abdul Hamid had no scruple as to undergoing at once the extraordinary change from the extremity of absolute rule to that of a democratic, nay, ultra-Liberal, prince, trying to surpass in words and acts the most advanced of his rebel subjects. He fixed to his breast the cockade of revolution, and, without being asked, he declared his desire to become president of the Committee of Union and Progress—the very committee which planned and executed the whole rising against his wild despotism, and which many years ago called him a murderer and a most horrible miscreant. •

When I remember the Sultan using, in my conversations with him, the strongest language against Liberal institutions, and that in his ear the words ‘ Constitution,’ ‘ Parliament,’ and the like, sounded as the most shocking death-knell, while he prohibited the printing of the word *Hurriet*—i.e. Liberty ; and when I picture to myself the Sultan as the chief guardian of the Constitution, delivering a speech in Parliament and inviting to his table his former deadly enemies, I cannot help declaring that he is the most clever prince that ever sat on a throne, and his adaptability to the most cruel exigencies is certainly most astonishing. And this extraordinary mental self-coercion took place at a time when suffering from various bodily diseases, and his mental power was by no means adequate to the task before him. There is no doubt his sudden conversion was met by his former enemies with a similar quite unexpected *volte-face*, for the *ci-devant* rebels did not shrink, when his guests at dinner, from kissing his hands and the hem of his dress ; nay, some of them shed tears of emotion when in presence of the exalted person of the Pādishah. Such is the East with all its extravagances and all its queer manifestations of human soul !

Those who knew the character and the leanings of Abdul Hamid

could not conceal their doubt in his sincerity, and the opinion was prevalent that his entire behaviour, all his assurances of fidelity to the Constitution, and all signs of his conversion were based upon falsehood and the outcome of his mastery in the art of dissimulation. This scepticism was quite justified, as the event of the 13th of April has fully proved that what is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh. Sultan Abdul Hamid was the last man to renounce his dear habit of intriguing and plotting; he thought, with the rich means at his disposal, and assisted by the host of malcontents, he would succeed in getting rid of the fetters imposed upon him by the Constitution, and that he would regain his former position of an unrestricted tyrant and autocrat. This shows that he still clung to his former notions and views about the character of his people, in whose political awakening he did not believe at all. He evidently thought that the Young Turks were accessible to bribes and amenable to all the perversities of his Imperial will, like the Old Turks, and that, having broken the charm of the new era by his mock constitutional bearing, the collapse of the movement would soon follow. He remained in utter ignorance of the real state of things, and he really had no knowledge of the great change which has taken place in the mind of his nation. As far as I can state on personal experience, his *entourage* intentionally concealed from him the various symptoms of political change which preceded the rising in Macedonia; he did not know the distress, the privation, and the discontent in the ranks of his army; and when he appealed to their attachment and loyalty in the time of need, he saw his utter disappointment and forlorn condition.

His last effort,* bordering on despair, is an unmistakable sign of his decaying mental capacity. Once again he has set in motion his favourite game of intrigues and secret machination by seducing his own soldiers to disobedience and murder of their own officers—a most cruel and horrible act, brought about by money and the fanaticism of ignorant mallas and dervishes. Their war-cry, ‘The religion is in danger,’ or ‘The Sheriat is neglected,’ was quite enough to drive the plain Anatolian mad; the name of Young Turk was declared to be equivalent with Unbeliever; and who knows what the end of the riot of the 13th of April would have been if the Young Turks had not seized so quickly the importance of the situation, and if the army of Salonica had not remained faithful to the cause of liberty? Their hurrying to Constantinople formed the decisive turn in the whole movement, for the nearer Shevket Pasha, the commander of the Salonica troops, approached to the walls of Constantinople, the weaker grew the spirit of resistance in the barracks, whose garrisons had been all determined to fight for Abdul Hamid. The bugle of their brother-soldiers sobered one portion of the so-called defenders of the absolute ruler, whilst the bayonets of the advancing columns lifted the veil from the eyes of the other portion, and after a comparatively short

struggle the fight ended in the complete victory of the liberating army of Salonica.

Had this catastrophe occurred some ten or fifteen years before, I am sure Sultan Abdul Hamid, then in full possession of his bodily strength, would have put himself at the head of the Yildiz garrison and would have made a last effort to save his throne. But with the advance of age, and suffering as he did from various infirmities, he was bodily weak and spiritually broken, and he could not resist the intruding army. As behoves a thorough Oriental, he made *bonne mine au mauvais jeu*, acquiesced in the ordinance of *kismet* (fate), and declared himself ready to abdicate in favour of his brother Reshad Efendi, and to submit unconditionally to the will of his victors.

Thus ended the career of one of the greatest tyrants and most gifted rulers that ever sat on the throne of Turkey. The man in whose presence even the strongest men trembled, for he was the unrestrained arbiter of the life and wealth of thirty millions of his subjects; the man who never suffered the slightest opposition from any mortal, whether native or foreigner, had to submit to the order of a simple officer and to leave at midnight his palace, his family, his treasures, and all the luxury of his princely mansion, to be transported to Salonica in the summer-house of one of his Jewish subjects; and this under the influence of terror and anxiety of being killed on the way. Verily such a sudden fall and such an extraordinary turn of fate, rare in the history of mankind, must have been overwhelming even to the blind fatalism of an Oriental, and when leaving the gate of Yildiz Abdul Hamid may have remembered the Persian poet's verse :

The spider hangs the curtain over princely palaces ;
The owl stands sentry on the cupola of Efrasiab.

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BRITISH ART AT VENICE

VISITORS to Venice even in the torrid months of summer are many—Southerners naturally rather than Northerners—Egyptians, Greeks, Turks, dwellers in Southern Italy and on the coasts of the Adriatic, and those from mid-Europe to whom the luxury of ideal sea bathing is unattainable in their own country. All these as soon as possible after their arrival wend their way to the shores of the Lido, now no longer

a bare strand
Of hillocks heaped from ever shifting sand
Matted with thistles and amphibious weeds,

as when Byron took his daily gallop along it, but strewn with fresh accessories yearly in the shape of huge, many hundred-roomed caravanserais, termed 'Tours de Babel' by the Armenian monks dwelling on the island hard by, whose prescriptive rights of light and air from over the blue sea they block out.

Among this heterogeneous throng of visitors, as they either laze down Lidowards in a gondola on the outgoing tide, or form one of a crowd on the fussy little steamers which take them thither for twenty centessimi a head, there will hardly be one but will cast his eyes with pleasure beyond the grim guardship, always stationed in mid-stream, over to the agreeable bank of green foliage which, forming the Giardini Pubblici, stretches seaward from the Riva degli Schiavoni, and is the more attractive owing to the paucity of foliage to be found in the waterways of the city, and in most of the lands from which the visitors have come.

But standing out from amongst and above this boskage another object, namely, a large Union Jack, is sure to attract attention. Flags are not usual forms of decoration ashore in Venice, save of course that trinity, grandiose in size, which, at much yearly expense to the Municipality, fill the air on fête days in the Place of St. Mark's with the brightest of colouring, and by their magnitude dwarf and hide the incomparable façade of its Basilica. The British flag therefore, which dominates the greenery on the way to the Lido, may well elicit questionings, the reply to which will be that its novel appearance in the public gardens is due to the fact that it surmounts the British Pavilion at the Venice International Exhibition of Fine Arts, a pavilion which

good fortune has placed on the summit of the highest, perhaps one might with truth say the only, piece of elevated ground in Venice.

These Giardini Pubblici were made just a century ago, and are due to the insatiable energies of Napoleon, who demolished any number of monasteries to make what was, until lately, a park of little use to the Venetians, although it is the only public place where the limbs of energetic citizens can be stretched, or a hundred yards of soil can be found unencumbered by a crowd of foot passengers. It would appear to be an ideal receptacle for the usual denizens of such places in foreign cities, namely, nursemaids and children, but unfortunately it is almost impossible of access by land, save through many intricacies of pathways too unsavoury for well nurtured children destitute of perambulators (for such means of conveyance exist not in Venice), and unpalatable to the gutter children, whose quarters surround the gardens, they preferring to play on the small pieces of foreshore afforded by the boat builders' yards that interpose themselves so picturesquely (as artists know) between the gardens and the Riva degli Schiavoni.

George Sand in her *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, speaking of these gardens, informed the world that the Venetian ladies feared both heat and cold, for they were so frail and delicate that a ray from the sun hazarded their complexion, and a breath of wind their life—hence they never ventured to gardens where they might have benefited their health, and consequently the place was deserted save 'pour quelques vieillards grognons, quelques fumeurs stupides et quelques bilieux mélancoliques.'

The Municipality of Venice (owing perhaps to the enjoyment of the gardens being made so little of) has of late years assigned the greater part of them to other uses, although by so doing they have raised the ire of a certain section of their constituents, who see in this utilisation an encroachment on rights of free access of which they never availed themselves.

Italy just now is filled with an activity strangely in contrast to its former lethargy—activity in the fields of thought, religion, politics, industry and art—an activity in some of these domains which, perhaps, tends towards destruction as much as construction. It permeates the whole peninsula, but is most in evidence in its northern provinces of Piedmont, Lombardy, and Venetia. No one can traverse the southern watershed of the Alps without seeing from west to east the energy that is being displayed, and the prosperity evidenced in the expansion not only of the cities of Turin and Milan but those of lesser size, and the recognition and utilisation of the benefits which Nature has bestowed upon the whole valley of the Po.¹

Venice thirty years ago seemed to those who then visited it a city

¹ Venice obtains her electric supply from water-power in the Euganean Hills, many miles away.

of the dead. Yriarte in his *Venise*, published in 1880, spoke of its inhabitants as 'un monde qui semble d'avoir perdu son âme et sa vie,' and added that it was permeated with a 'tristesse douce et constante, qui gagne peu à peu le cœur le plus viril et s'impose à l'esprit le moins sentimental.'

But the Venetians, now that they form part of Italy, have not only shared with their countrymen in the Renaissance but appear determined once more to dominate the Northern Adriatic. Unfortunately they have more than one serious difficulty to contend with. Whilst other cities can extend their borders north, south, east, and west, cover them with houses of the well to do, and factories with dwellings for those who toil therein, and can carry these workers far afield by means of tramways and other forms of cheap locomotion, Venice has no such possibilities. Every yard of her soil that emerges above her waterways is already covered, and remunerative industries on any large scale that require large ground space appear impossible. The stillness that is one of the charms and attractions of the city remains unbroken by the riveting of girders, or even the clink of the trowel, and save for a large new railway terminus and the doubling of the viaduct which carries the line over the lagoons—in themselves testimonies to the increasing prosperity of the place—the builder's occupation seems non-existent.

Again, the increasing size of ships and the decreasing depth of the approaches to the city render the future of the shipping industry, for which they have been so renowned in the past, a very uncertain one.

To the outsider, therefore, the perspicuity of the Venetians, in seeing a way out of the impasse that Nature had placed in the way of outlets such as these to their energies, through the medium of a huge Biennial International Art Exhibition, appears little less than a heaven-born inspiration.

In formulating such a world-wide scheme, however, Venice had abundant reason to expect success, whether she regarded it from a political, geographical, or artistic standpoint. No other nation in Europe has so few political antipathies as Italy. An International Exhibition in France, for instance, could not command the cordial co-operation of Germany or *vice versa*. England is too far afield, and besides, as a nation, is only now beginning to show that she is not altogether a negligible quantity in all matters pertaining to Art. Besides the capitals of these countries have already old established exhibitions, whose domains and *personnel* it would be impossible either to annex or ingratiate. Venice has the advantage in this respect of being able to start with no vested, hide-bound interests to contend with.

From a geographical point of view also she has everything in her favour, for she stands almost at the central point of Europe, having connexion by land or sea with every quarter of the globe, to such an

unequalled extent that works of art even from America or Japan can, if desired, be unloaded at the gates of her Exhibition grounds.

And as to her artistic advantages, it is almost a waste of ink and paper to set them down.

It has been said of Japan—

Art is Art all over this quaint country,
Art is almost air, for everybody breathes it. 7

To Venice such words not only apply to-day but have done ever since she rose from the sea. Where in Paris, Berlin, London, or any of the world's capitals, nay, even in that of Italy itself, shall we find such magnificent specimens of the Art of all the ages, not displayed in a single example, nor in a single branch, but covering the whole range of architecture and painting, as expressed in Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance, and Rococo times, and all of which *chefs-d'œuvre* are placed in settings such as it is the aspiration of every lover of art the world over to see before he dies? A city unique in its inspiration, its beauty, its seductiveness. A city endowed by the hand of Nature quite as much as of man, owing its existence to an enchanted wand, concerning whom every poet who has sung has dwelt as much upon the setting,

Roofed with clouds of rich emblazonry,
as upon the
Temples and palaces,
Fabrics of enchantment piled to heaven.

Lastly, a city the home of such giants of painting as Giorgione, Titian, Tintoret and Veronese, not to mention Tiepolo, Canale, or Guardi.

Thus it came to pass that when in 1893 it was a question amongst all the cities of Italy how to commemorate fittingly the twenty-fifth anniversary of the marriage of their sovereigns, those in power at Venice were sage enough to inaugurate a policy which should not only carry on the old æsthetic traditions of their city but should attract to its portals a host of participants who would bring honour as well as prosperity in their train. And so every other year since then a considerable part of the city's efforts has been spent in organising an International Fine Arts Exhibition, until it has not only assured itself of the cordial co-operation of the nations of the world but provided a biennial congress of Art which it is impossible for any country to ignore if it wishes to take a share in the world's progress in Art, to show what its countrymen are doing, and to obtain an accurate estimate of its position in comparison with other nations.

Every artist on the Continent now knows that Venice dominates the situation, and English artists are slowly beginning to realise that fact. The recognition too by the profession of the benefits that have accrued to them through the Venice Exhibition has been spontaneous, whole-hearted, and unanimous, as was evidenced in the enthusiasm that prevailed at the breakfast given to Professor Fradeletto at the opening

of the present Exhibition, enthusiasm unknown in art circles in England. On that occasion some 200 artists from every nation, save our own, assembled to tender their indebtedness and thanks to the Professor, and the plaudits which greeted every mention of his name, and punctuated every sentence of his eloquently expressed thanks, must have been very grateful to the Member of Parliament for Venice and the Honorary Secretary of the Exhibition, for it is mainly due to his unwearied efforts that the present achievement has been arrived at.

What this achievement is may thus be summarised. Venice has herself expended over a million and a half lire on the erection and decoration of her main buildings. She has been the medium whereby artists have effected sales during the last seven exhibitions to the extent of three million lire. For British artists, hitherto a very small section of the whole, she has obtained recognition in the shape of many decorations granted to them; her King and Queen have purchased no fewer than fifteen British pictures; Venice, for its modern Art Gallery, has acquired twenty-seven, and many others have passed into municipal and private collections in Italy.

But having laboured so hard to secure this fruition she now naturally feels herself in a position to dictate her terms to those who wish to participate in her success. Hitherto she has admitted to a place on the walls of her Exhibition buildings the work of all nations, but now she finds even the thirty-seven galleries insufficient for the needs of the kingdom of Italy and certain privileged artists who on each occasion she invites to fill galleries with their productions. Many countries foreseeing this have been quick to recognise the importance of acquiring permanent habitations of their own, and the Governments of Belgium, Hungary, and Bavaria, countries where Art is just now in a very vital condition, have secured and built for themselves suites of galleries which their artists have been glad to decorate most sumptuously. The Government of France and probably Germany will at the next Exhibition be also the possessors of their own buildings.

Such being the condition of affairs, the authorities at the close of the last Exhibition felt themselves, in fairness to other nations, unable to extend any longer to Great Britain hospitality on any such extended scale as her Art demanded, and an intimation was conveyed to those who then represented her that steps must be taken to provide a locale of their own. At the same time a building, in what is undoubtedly the best situation in the gardens, was offered to them for the sum of 2900*l*.

The task of providing this sum, and the further amount necessary to furnish and decorate the interior and instal a fitting collection of pictures, should not have been a difficult one, but it proved to be so, and it was only at the last moment, through the liberality of Sir David Salomons, who came forward and offered to find a sum sufficient to secure the building in perpetuity for the adequate

representation of British Art, that Great Britain was not deprived of further participation in this all-important show.

Sir David Salomons gave as his reasons for making the gift that—

English artists should not be placed in a worse position than foreign artists at such an important International Exhibition.

They might extend their means of becoming known and earning their livelihood.

Their Art might be improved by competition of a healthy character.

Other contributors provided a further sum of 500*l.*, which enabled the Committee to decorate and furnish the interior of the building in a measure, not of course comparable with that of buildings which rely on Government aid, but sufficient to present a quiet and dignified setting to the 150 pictures by which our artists are now represented, and also to pay the expenses of supervision and upkeep during the present Exhibition.

The complete success of any undertaking of this kind cannot be assured without much being done for the artist. He is too often indisposed (perhaps by the nature of his profession) to combine, in any matter requiring much expenditure of time or trouble. The Venetian authorities, aware of this artistic trait, doubtless owe much of their success to its recognition. For in contrast to the treatment of the artist elsewhere (in Great Britain, for instance, where he has to deliver his picture unpacked at the Exhibition doors, or in France, where at the Salon a stranger has to pay ten francs before he can get his picture as far as submission to the jury) they have arranged that, in the case of a picture for Venice, it is fetched, packed, sent thither, and returned to the studio without one pennyworth's expense to the artist, even though he may reside at the furthestmost point of the British Isles. Of this considerable expense the Venetian Municipality bears 75 per cent., the remainder being defrayed by the British Committee. In fact, the only tax imposed on the artist is one of 5 per cent. if he sells his picture. More than this: In case the artist should wish to visit the Exhibition he is furnished with a voucher, which enables him to obtain a rebate of from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. on Italian railways, not only on his journey to and from Venice, but wherever he may wish to travel in Italy during the continuance of the Exhibition.²

To secure these benefits for the artist and organise the English section has entailed an amount of work and expense for the British Committee that can hardly be expected to be renewed with each recurring Exhibition. Fortunately, since the task was entered upon, the English Government has determined to interest itself in the exhibition abroad of Great Britain's arts and industries, and has founded a Department under the Board of Trade for that purpose.

² An appeal by the Venetians to our railway companies to grant a similar advantage met with a polite refusal.

Italy, curiously enough, will be the first country over two of whose Exhibitions this *agis* has been cast. It would seem proper, therefore, that to Rome and Turin should be added Venice, where British Art could be very materially assisted in the future at a very small expenditure to the nation, now that the preliminary outlay has been met out of private purses. Great Britain would then fall into line with other countries, whose sections are all under governmental control.

As no account of any fulness has appeared in any of the English news-sheets as to the Exhibition itself, it may be of interest in conclusion to say a few words, not of criticism, but merely of description, to show its cosmopolitan character, its completeness as representing European Art of to-day, and its value as an educational factor for artists all the world over.

The main Palace consists of thirty-seven galleries of varying dimensions, the visitor entering through two large halls, the first the Salon of the Cupola, domed and with decorations just completed of the most sumptuous kind from the brush of Galileo Chiri, an Italian artist of much repute. The whole of this gallery is furnished with hangings of magnificent Genoese velvet, made in Venice. Passing on we come to a fine, well-proportioned hall, which forms a cool and quiet lounge. It is decorated with frescoes, the gift of the King of Italy, by Aristide Sartorio, an artist whose work is well known in England, and who is now engaged on a colossal frieze for the Chamber of Deputies in Rome. What are known as the 'International Galleries' open out on either side of this, and contain works by artists of various countries, who are practically *hors concours*. Italian pictures are for the most part separated in rooms according to the schools they represent, and we find chambers assigned to the artists of Rome, Piedmont, Naples, and Venice. But the most interesting feature is the 'one man' shows, where selected artists have each a room placed at their disposition for the exhibition of some fifty canvases. The artists selected this year for this distinction are the well-known Frenchman, Paul Albert Besnard; Anders Zorn and Peter Kroyer, Scandinavians; and Franz Stuck, now the most sought after painter in Germany, who combines the idealism of Boecklin and Klinger with the realism of Max Liebermann, and whose thirty-one pictures are appraised by their owners (for they are for the most part loans) at some 60,000*l*. Besides these we have galleries assigned to native artists from all parts of Italy, some living, some deceased; amongst these may be named Camillo Innocenti (who recently exhibited in London), Jeface the sculptor, Tallone, Tito and Ciardi (foremost among Venetian artists), Bergler (a Sicilian), as well as Passini, Fattori, and Cairati, who have all passed away. The distinction of a 'one man' show is now a much sought for honour by Italian artists. The only nationality that still has a place to itself in the main Palace is America, a gallery being placed at the disposal of a collection

organised by the National Academy of Design, New York, and a smaller room to American artists resident in Paris.

Flanking the Palace on either side are the handsome pavilions of Hungary and Belgium, and further afield those of Great Britain and Bavaria. Our pavilion stands on an eminence approached by a broad avenue of planes. The galleries are five in number, three of which are occupied by oil-paintings, one by water-colours, and one by black and white.

The collection selected by a committee in England consisting of Sir George Frampton, R.A., Frank Brangwyn, A.R.A., and Grosvenor Thomas may be termed unacademic in character, with a Scottish flavouring, but is remarkable for the high level of attainment, for the absence of eccentricities which so frequently mar the exhibits of other nations, and for the reserve of power it suggests. Every picture is spaced and hung on the line. 'Un grand succès' was the verdict unhesitatingly given by the authorities at the opening, and this has been endorsed by the Commission appointed to acquire pictures for the National Gallery of Italy selecting as its first choice an English picture. It was the only picture by a foreign artist that was purchased, and it was chosen even before any by native artists. The canvas in question was *Polymnia*, by John Lavery, which many will remember having seen at the Franco-British show. Besides this, almost all the exhibits of porcelain were acquired for the National Museum of Industrial Art.

A word more. One Englishman's name is still on everyone's lips who visits Venice. Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Browning, and Dickens, not to mention other immortals, have been moved to pour out impassioned language concerning the beauties of the Queen of the Adriatic, but their most ardent speech leaves one unmoved when compared with the burning words of Ruskin, who lavished all the best of his marvellous diction in his determination to make the world appreciate those glories of Art that the city he loved so well contained. His teachings may in these revolutionary days be questioned and his preaching combated, but he still magnetises the most lukewarm tourist and compels him to study what he would otherwise pass by. Englishmen wonder that Venice, for whose pre-eminence he laboured so long, has raised no monument in testimony of the debt she owes him. Maybe she considers that an imperishable one exists in the words that he has written concerning every palace, church, picture, and stone of any worth in her city. But Venetian memorials apart, should not Englishmen place somewhere their tribute to the debt they, too, owe to their great countryman, who has enabled them to enter into the heart and soul of Venice, and where better could they erect it than on the one spot in Venice over which Great Britain's flag may be flown, namely, the British Pavilion in the Giardini Pubblici !

MARCUS B. HUISE.

FRÈRE JACQUES

A LATE spring arrives this year in Corsica, only just in time to welcome Easter, but as if to atone for such unprecedented delay, she comes at last decked out with prodigal magnificence.

The solitary places and the rocky wilderness put forth belated blossom of wild hellebore and asphodel. The mantle of pungent *maquis* which clothes the mountains becomes starred with the mauve and white flower of the cistus, and within a few hours the roadsides are strewn with violets and hypatica. Ajaccio, freed at length from the heavy pile of clouds which for several weeks has lain overhead like a canopy, blotting out even the lower range of mountains and only occasionally disturbed by the rough breath of the Mistral, basks once more in sunshine by unruffled blue waters. Roses are nodding over the high garden wall of the Préfecture, pale purple buds are visible among the green tendrils of the wisteria, and there is more than a hint of the orange blossom which will soon be too heavy in the atmosphere. The old women on the Place du Diamant have exchanged their baskets of hot chestnuts for sugar-covered cakes, and there is a promise of green even in the corpse-like branches of the plane trees above their heads.

The Corsicans remain a devout people, notwithstanding their present allegiance to the French Government, and they cherish a note of austerity and harshness in their religion. Certainly the sweetness and sunshine of the outside world are not allowed to penetrate into the gloom of their churches on Good Friday. Passing from the sunny, squalid street into the cold interior of the Roman-Byzantine Cathedral, it is at first impossible to distinguish anything but a dense sombre mass of humanity. *Tenebræ* are drawing to a close and the lights on the altar are being extinguished one after another. The last is out, and the gloom seems to hold a sinister suggestion while the harsh voices of the priests read the concluding sentences of the office. Then there is a pause, one candle is relit and immediately extinguished, while at the same moment the building resounds with a violent banging on the floor, which in its turn is succeeded by a complete and awe inspiring silence. The noise may presumably be intended to represent the rending of the Veil of the Temple—no other explanation offers itself—but if this is so there is no regard for the hour. Before one of the side altars is a painfully

realistic bier with a life-size waxen figure recumbent, and round this at the close of the service the whole congregation is pressing in a compact body. Children are dragged mercilessly by their mothers and lifted up to have a better view of the very material atrocity presented for their worship. As a whole they appear unmoved, so perhaps imagination is not one of the strong points of the Corsican temperament. Only one small boy wriggles himself free from the detaining hand and darts out before us into the sunshine. He is a very little boy, but he appears rather to be bent upon his own business than to be flying from the terrors of his religion. He darts across the Place du Diamant and down the Cours Napoleon under the orange trees laden with yellow fruit. Here, however, his career is checked in lamentable fashion. Round the corner a light carriage of the country, drawn by a pair of small fast trotting horses, comes swinging at a dangerous pace. It is evidently returning from an expedition into the country, and the coachman, a handsome young man with shiny silver buttons on his velveteen suit and a red sash round his waist, is anxious to make his entry into the town effective. He flicks his whip first to one side and then to the other, and whether from malice or sheer carelessness he curls it round the bare legs of the small boy. The latter, brought up short, makes no sound, but walks on a few paces, and then flattens himself in sudden and silent agony, with his face against the wall of the Préfecture. The carriage goes callously on its way, but one or two passers-by have stopped to offer consolation. At first the boy, who is cautiously lifting and rubbing each leg in turn, refuses to make any response. He does not come of a race of hard fighters for nothing, and he is trying not to cry. The smart does not immediately grow less, probably it increases, and it is not until a sou has been slipped into his hand with the suggestion of a cake shop, that a grimy woe-begone face is turned from the wall; but he is still inarticulate. At this moment his mother, who has missed him from the Cathedral, appears upon the scene. She is a handsome but weather-beaten young woman, dressed in black with a black handkerchief tied over her head, and she is disposed to regard her offspring's misfortune with tolerant amusement rather than compassion. In a voluble and almost incomprehensible flow of French and Corsican she explains that this is her youngest and a naughty one. He does not attend to his prayers, he thinks only of 'Jacques' and Mesdames must excuse him. Mesdames assure her that there is nothing to excuse, rather he is to be commended for his fortitude; but who is Jacques? The question receives no answer, for she is already smoothing down his black pinafore with terms of endearment mingled with those of indignation against the aggressor. Feminine pity indiscreetly offered may prove unnerving to the greatest hero, and this little boy's tears now begin to flow in good earnest and he is led off loudly lamenting under the orange trees.

It is not much after six on the following morning, and the drowsy stillness is broken by an approaching hubbub of children's voices, accompanied as it seems by the beating of tin kettles. Neither the voices nor the kettles are musical, and the rudely awakened sleeper, who has unwillingly assisted at a frog concert lasting into the small hours, and has been further disturbed by a prolonged conversation between two donkeys, not to speak of a chorus of cocks, which in this island are apparently night birds, has a right to feel offended. The discordant sounds, however, come relentlessly nearer, and presently halt under the window. The words of the refrain, incessantly repeated, are now quite audible—

Frère Jacques, dormez-vous,
Sonnez la matina, sonnez la matina.
Dormez-vous—dormez-vous,
Ding, dong, dang !

It is the Saturday before Easter, a day set apart in Ajaccio as one upon which it is legitimate to make all the noise of which the human boy is capable, and it cannot be said that he neglects his opportunity. They are mocking Judas, these disturbers of our peace, and with their perpetually reiterated *dormez vous*, they seem to be mocking all the would-be sleepers in Ajaccio. The mocking of Judas, preliminary to the more familiar scourging of the traitor a few hours later, is an ancient Corsican custom, the origin of which is lost in the mists of antiquity, but tradition does not explain why upon this occasion he is addressed as 'Jacques.' Meantime there he sits, a small rosy boy, borne aloft by his fellows in a basket work cage, covered with greenery and gaily decked at the top with pink roses, stocks, and floating coloured ribbons. He is no other than our friend of yesterday, and it becomes obvious why the prospective rôle of 'Jacques' should have occupied his imagination to the curtailment of his religious observances. But the troubles of yesterday are all forgotten in the pride of his present position. The cropped head of Judas is crowned with flowers and he has discarded his black smock in favour of a red pinafore, while a blue ribbon is tied about his neck. He must enjoy his brief reign while he can, for last year his mother thought he was too little for such a responsibility, and next year his companions may think he is too large. Meantime the mock pomp of the moment is a delightful reality, and the scourging of the betrayer a few hours hence will happily have no connection with his small person. So he sits solemn eyed under his green canopy, not daring to smile lest it should detract from his dignity, while the bigger boys who form his court beat the empty biscuit tins and old kettles they have assiduously collected, and a small urohin with a gourd slung round his neck is pushed in front to collect sous from all the good Christians they have succeeded in arousing. It is to be feared,

indeed, that the refrain of the song is occasionally varied with the words 'donnez deux sous' pronounced with some emphasis, but they appear very well satisfied with the few coppers which are contributed from various windows. There is a clapping of hands in token of gratitude, a good deal of noisy discussion between the elder boys, during which 'Frère Jacques' sits as unmoved as a Buddha, and then the little procession forms again and moves slowly up the wide, dignified Cours Grandval towards Napoleon's grotto in the olive woods above.

'Ding, dong, dang.' The monotonous chant and the discordant sound of beaten tin become gradually fainter, and the drowsy silence characteristic of Ajaccio reasserts itself. The blue waters of the bay, which at no time betray the unpleasant character of the sea without, seem to be literally asleep this morning. The surrounding mountains melt into a soft blue haze through which the snowy peaks of the Corsican Alps, culminating in the magnificent heights of Monte d'Oro, peer dimly like ghosts. From this point the ugly town with its tall narrow houses situated at a junction between the inner harbour and the gulf, is not sufficiently obtrusive to spoil the view. A woman in the austere black dress of the country comes softly padding barefooted down the road from the woods. Not much of her is visible, for on her head she balances a load of brushwood rather more than twice as long as herself. . . .

'Sonnez la matina, sonnez la matina!' the boys are coming back again, their voices harsher than ever with fatigue. There are few houses up the road before the open country is reached, where picturesque flocks of goats and black sheep scramble all day among the granite boulders and the *maquis*, under the care of a venerable goat herd, coming down in the evening for the goats to be milked outside the large girls' school opposite. Here the boys do not think it worth while to pause at all. Such a proceeding would indeed be regarded as indecorous. So they pass on down the road, past the military hospital and the Bishop's Palace and across the Place du Diamant to the old town, the din getting mercifully fainter, and once more the aristocratic quarter of Ajaccio is left to slumber if it can.

It is in the squalid streets of the old town that later in the morning we catch and photograph Frère Jacques and his companions. There are several other Judases being mocked and crowned, but our original friend, as no doubt he knows, is by far the smartest and his decorations are the least faded. To get the group to stand in position, however, is no easy matter, for the whole juvenile population of Ajaccio wishes to be included in the picture. The boys whose claim to be represented is legitimate are ready enough to fall in with our views, but the girls, who admittedly have nothing whatever to do with Judas, insist upon crowding about us and are distinctly rude and naughty. Some even clamour for sous, and that in a country where begging is not only not a profession but is almost unknown. Had it not been for the

kindly intervention of a passer-by, who appears to be the father of several of these young people, and, exercising a mild but effectual authority, reduces them to something like order, Frère Jacques would have had small chance of being handed down to posterity. Forty years ago, in his *Journal of a Landscape Painter*, Edward Lear, while he complains of the superabundance of children in Corsica, also refers to them more than once as being a 'race unique for good behaviour.' We only wish truth permitted us to agree with him! Undoubtedly the middle-aged men and women who were children when he visited the island, have a very unique gift of courtesy, one indeed shared by the majority of the adult population, though more marked in the country districts than in the towns, but conspicuously lacking in the modern children. It would be melancholy to think that the deterioration is due to improved education or to the increase of visitors; but as we tread delicately among the rubbish heaps of the Rue Fesch, painfully conscious that in Corsica it is the universal habit to throw everything out of the windows, it is not the children, handsome though many of them be in the Italian type, who will tempt us to linger in this unsavoury neighbourhood. We can only hope that the mantle of good manners will fall with adolescence upon these rough, noisy young things, who, fighting and scrambling, share the dominion of the gutter on equal terms with pigs and chickens, and are obviously as healthy as they are neglected.

But now it is close upon noon, and the town which is usually quiet to dulness seems to be suddenly turned into pandemonium. Groups of boys of all sizes and ages are gathered round old tubs and barrels which have been placed at the corners of the street, and these they are savagely belabouring with sticks and wooden implements of every description. Frère Jacques is deposited roughly on the ground by his bearers, who fly to scourge the wooden bones of the traitor. The dethroned hero is a sweet-eyed little boy who on a slight acquaintance impresses us as having gentler manners than his companions. He does not instantly understand or appreciate the sudden desertion of his followers. For a moment he stands a little wistful and uncertain, then suddenly the violent side of his nature asserts itself. If others can beat Judas, why, so can he, seeing he is no longer Judas! Snatching the faded flowers from his head, and armed with a piece of brushwood out of the gutter, he is off in a flash, red pinafore, blue ribbon and all, to add his mite to the intolerable clatter which is echoing between the tall houses of the narrow street.

A memory occurs to me of an Easter Saturday three years ago in Florence. Outside the church of the *Sanctissima Annunziata* is a gaily decorated stall covered with slim, white willow wands, round the handles of which are twisted coloured ribbons. The children are pressing up to the stall to spend their soldi, and on the steps against the great doors of the church is a group of curly headed purchasers.

Presently these get up, and with much solemnity they tap the pavement with their fairy wands. 'They are beating Judas,' explains an old woman standing near me, with an indulgent smile, 'but they do not hurt him much, il povero.' *Autre pays, autres mœurs.* The tradition is the same, but in the execution there is a difference, and could Judas have his choice, he would probably prefer to suffer his penalty in Florence than at the hands of these young Corsican barbarians. The noise now becomes indescribable. Church bells are ringing, cannon are fired from the fort, and every man in the place who possesses a gun seems to be using it. Under the high-handed rule of Napoleon the Third no firearms were allowed in the island, a measure aimed successfully at the suppression of the Vendetta. But in these more callous days of the Republic the whole population appears to go armed, with results naturally fatal to the discouragement of violence.

We seek temporary relief from the racket in the Casa Buonaparte, which stands on a small square, the Place Létitia, and is a surprisingly spacious and dignified mansion to be hidden away in such squalid surroundings. The woman who shows us over is, like all Corsicans, extremely inquisitive, and would much rather hear what we have to say than give us any information concerning the few relics of the great Emperor which remain in the house where he and his brothers and sisters were born. The first Napoleon is not indeed a popular hero with his own countrymen. They do not consider he was a good patriot since he left the island to become a 'continental,' and in Corsica patriotism is the most highly cherished virtue. On the Place du Diamant, mounted on his charger, surrounded by his four brothers, he gazes for ever across the sea towards that continent to conquer which he forsook his native island. But this fine equestrian statue finds its chief use when the boys chase one another round its base in the evenings, while the military band discourses music and the better class women of the town, the female Buonapartes of the present day, take the air under the plane trees and exchange views on the prevailing fashions.

Madame answers our questions a little vaguely. Yes, she believes that was Madame Mère's spinet—she has heard so, but, *will* the ladies tell her whether they have a fine noise like this on Easter Saturday in England? When answered in the negative she expresses extreme surprise and commiseration. What, then! Have we no religion, no churches? We try ineffectually to explain that we have both, but, these privileges notwithstanding, we do not celebrate the greatest event in the history of Christianity by making an uproar. She shakes her head commiseratingly while we admire the few fine pieces of contemporary furniture which the house still contains, and when we leave she congratulates us upon having escaped to spend Easter elsewhere than in our own heathen country.

As we make our way under the luxuriant palms of the Avenue du Premier Consul to the market there is a lull in the noise. 'Judas' lies in broken fragments on the cobbles, though some of the boys are still busy belabouring him. Frère Jacques, in his gala dress, is chasing a pig which in its turn is in hot pursuit of a hen, for the hen running with wings outstretched and the flustered manner which invites disaster has a particularly savoury morsel in her beak, just redeemed from the gutter. The boy wins the race, but it is better not to see what becomes of the prize! The market is held on the quay, where there are usually more signs of animation than elsewhere in Ajaccio. To-day, however, is 'festa,' and it is remarkably quiet, not to say melancholy. There are no bare-legged men and boys dragging in their nets, no crowd gathered round the wicker baskets to watch a consignment of lobster or *langouste* being packed in fresh green leaves for exportation. Even the blind man who makes the baskets is taking a holiday somewhere, and the steamer which has arrived in the morning from Marseilles is lying to all appearance deserted along the quay. The men who hire out the boats are asleep in them, though it is seldom at any time that it occurs to them to invite a stranger to go for a sail. Meantime there is the market, always picturesque in a southern country. Here baskets of fresh vegetables and piles of strange-looking fruit are heaped up in a covered building, while outside is a row of stalls for poultry and butchers' meat guarded by a number of old women in the almost invariable black jacket and skirt of the country, with a black handkerchief tied over their heads. This black handkerchief is a relic of the Genoese occupation of the island, and is only occasionally varied by the adoption of a large flat straw hat such as is worn by the peasant women of the Alpes Maritimes, and no doubt comes over in the steamer from Nice. It appears that mourning is never observed for less than five years in Corsica, so that even the young women are seldom in colours, and as the men wear black or dark brown corduroys, and the children black pinafores, the general effect of a crowd is decidedly sombre. Many of these women are handsome, especially the older ones, but they are not probably as old as they look, since they are worn with the hard manual labour which falls almost exclusively to the share of their sex in Corsica, and with much exposure to sun and wind. They have a peculiar air of dignified gravity, and a very stately carriage, due to the fact that from their earliest girlhood they are trained to carry heavy weights upon their heads. The men, in Ajaccio at all events, seem to find sufficient occupation in sitting outside the café, drinking some innocuous green beverage, and talking politics. Under the stalls are wire cages filled with live poultry, and above these are laid the tiny carcasses of black sucking lambs and kids, and of small ducks and chickens, near relations probably of those which are scratching

in the dust below. Further along is another group of aged wrinkled crones, each squatting on the pavement behind a basket which contains some very strange-looking loaves of bread. These are flat and round and have a varying number of eggs baked into them in their shells, and on the eggs are laid crosses of crust or pastry. They are called *cacavelli* and are highly spiced cakes, equivalent to our hot cross buns, except that they are essentially an Easter delicacy and do not appear until Good Friday is over. Every child in Ajaccio expects to have his *cacavello*, which should be eaten on the rocks on Easter Monday, and the richer the child, the greater number of eggs his loaf will contain, but the poorest expects to have at least two to his portion. An indiscreet inquiry on my part leads to a friendly invitation from one of the old crones to taste her cake, and a fragment is produced from the depths of a capacious and most unclean pocket. Having been told that a gift must never be rejected in Corsica—they are fond of giving presents—and being aware that the chief pleasure of the giver is to witness the enjoyment of the recipient, I nibble a corner of unspeakable nastiness from which happily the egg is absent, buy a cake to be bestowed upon the first child available, and incontinently fly.

The long road which leads by the sea shore to the Punta Parata and the Îles Sanguinaires, those red rocky islets which guard the entrance to the harbour, is for some little distance a street of tombs. These curious mortuary chapels, where the well-to-do bury their dead, stand back, each in its own little walled enclosure filled with flowers. Some of these chapels are comparatively new and domed, others old and square in shape, but they are all singularly characteristic of Corsica. Two of them have been built by notabilities of a past century higher up on the hill. One of these has fallen into melancholy decay, but the other, standing on a little plateau in a field of pale purple asphodel with a grove of ilex behind it, and beyond a background of blue bay and distant snowy peaks, is suggestive both in architecture and situation of a Greek temple, and is perhaps the most beautiful spot in the neighbourhood of Ajaccio. On the shore there is also the public cemetery, where those may lie who cannot afford to be exclusive. And here also is the Cappella de' Greci, the chapel devoted to the use of the Greek colony in the eighteenth century, when they were forced to abandon Paomia, their earlier settlement, and take temporary refuge in Ajaccio during the Corsican revolution against the Genoese Government.

But the tombs and the chapels are soon left behind and the road is bordered by a very rich vegetation. On the one side are hedges of prickly pear, covered to an extravagant extent with the forbidding-looking fruit which nobody seems to gather, asphodel, arbutus, myrtle, and all those aromatic shrubs which go to make up the *maquis*, the scent of which is carried some distance out to sea. On the other

side are granite boulders, seaweed-covered rocks and sand. It is here that on Easter Monday it is the custom for parties from Ajaccio to come and picnic. There are plenty of them to-day, but they seem to take their pleasures soberly, these people. Family groups are scattered about on the rocks, eating those unattractive cakes which we have seen in the market. *Broccio*, the country dish of cheese made from goat's milk, is another favourite delicacy on this occasion, and the feast is washed down with plenty of white wine. A few of the fathers are fishing and others are making their own particular mess of *bouillabaisse*, which they would no doubt very courteously offer to share with the stranger who was unwary enough to enter into conversation, but we have learnt our lesson. As the afternoon wears on there is a little mild dancing, for many of the parties have brought a guitar or a mandoline. The children wander about on the shore, picking up sea-urchins which abound on this coast, pieces of cup sponge and curious round balls of varying sizes, formed, it is said, by the action of the sea on a species of seaweed peculiar to the Mediterranean. The fine silvery sand is full of delicate little shells, and here and there washed up amongst the seaweed are fragments of coral in the making. Like their elders, the children appear to be taking their Bank holiday pleasures quietly; they are no doubt less at their ease than on their native rubbish heaps, or else the older and rougher contingent have elected to remain at home.

Further on is a gay little tea house, screened from the road by a magnificent hedge of pink geranium, whilst bushes of marguerites and clumps of white iris have broken loose from the confines of the garden and have strayed out upon the shore. Here we encounter Frère Jacques, for by no other name do I know him. He has been on a private plundering expedition, and his hands are full of yellow mimosa tassels which an old and twisted tree in the garden hangs temptingly over the hedge. Jacques' mother is scolding him vociferously, for whilst a man may murder his neighbour in cold blood for some real or fancied insult in his own or a previous generation, thieving is regarded as an unpardonable offence in Corsica. She is easily diverted, however, to more cheerful topics. Yes, he had been very contented on Saturday, the little one. But he would like to play at Judas every day. He had spent the *sou ces dames* had given him on a ribbon for his neck—the vanity! Frère Jacques meantime smiles at us with kindly recognition, but is not to be drawn into conversation. He is occupied in seeing how near he can stand to the little waves without allowing them to break over any point higher than the tops of his new boots. His mother pursues the conversation with the gentle and persistent flow of questions with which a Corsican of her class may usually be trusted to entertain a stranger. Our nationality, our social status, our reasons for coming to Corsica, form as usual the opening clauses of a quite polite but relentless catechism.

We are *Continentales*? Ah! we are English. The English are good people, but always adventurous. We are travelling alone? We have no *messieurs* with us? *Bien! Ces dames* are very wise. *Les ménages ne sont pas toujours heureux*, and gentlemen do not content themselves so easily *en voyage*. We are agreeing with the wisdom of the last observation, when madame's stream of interrogation is abruptly checked. Jacques has apparently got tired of unconsciously playing the rôle of Canute, and now uttering loud war cries of fury, he dashes past us waving a torch of blazing paper above his head. He is in pursuit of another little boy of his own size who is dragging a toddling girl by the hand. It is the prevailing fashion in Corsica at present for children to play with fire whenever paper and a match can be brought together, and that there are not perpetual tragedies must be due to a special intervention of Providence. Before we have time to interpose, the other boy turns and flings himself upon Jacques, who drops the burning paper in alarming proximity to the little girl's skirts, and the two roll over in the sand together kicking and scratching and biting like a couple of young tigers. To our amazement Jacques' mother remains quite unmoved except by admiration of her offspring's latest performance. 'Ah, he is brave, *le petit*,' she says, turning to us for a sympathy which is not forthcoming. 'Yesterday they insulted him, those *malheureux*; they told him that he was a traitor, that he would be beaten, that he would burn in fire. To-day it is they who may burn.' Indeed, had it not been for the prompt intervention of a fisherman who has stamped on the paper and shaken the boys apart, it is not improbable that her suggestion might have been fulfilled. 'Bah! That is only a game,' she adds, observing our lack of appreciation; 'the ladies must not be frightened,' and she captures and shakes the culprit for our benefit, who with his blazing eyes and ruffled hair and scarlet cheeks is hardly recognisable as the gentle be-ribboned, flower-crowned little Judas of Saturday. The baby girl seems in no way alarmed, and toddles cheerfully in between the combatants to add her voice to the duet of abusive epithets which still continues. After all she is a Corsican baby, and some day she will no doubt be equally upset if her little son steals a handful of blossom from his neighbour's garden, and equally callous if in an access of passion he tries to set fire to his neighbour's children!

In his small person Frère Jacques may be regarded as an epitome of the national characteristics. From the cradle to the grave, the Corsican temperament seems to be one of gentle dignified gravity, disturbed on occasions by outbreaks of unbridled violence. Of gaiety, of mere lightness of heart, there are few symptoms. To-night as they go home some of these sober, well-conducted merry-makers are singing a melancholy dirge in a minor key. The majority, however, are silent. Some are driving, packed into public conveyances, or their own carts. Others are walking; the children, their arms full of

treasures from the shore ; the fathers, carrying their fishing rods and tackle ; and the mothers, of course, laden with the heaviest burden of cooking utensils and baskets. Behind them the sun is setting in a lurid glow over the Îles Sanguinaires, and turning the placid waters of the bay to a glory of gold and blue and purple. But their faces are set towards the mountains which stand round about Ajaccio, scenes of violent deeds and of brave ones, the battlefields and the defences of Corsica. Dark, forbidding, and magnificent these mountains look in the evening light ; but they have been powerless through the ages to preserve for the islander that which he values above everything—his independence.

ROSE M. BRADLEY.

THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK PSALTER

IN his retirement at Hawarden Mr. Gladstone published a little volume on the Psalter, in the preface of which he speaks of the Prayer Book version as one of 'incomparable beauty.' This verdict with reference to Coverdale's translation will be generally accepted. Indeed it is difficult to exaggerate the beauty of the Prayer Book version of the Psalter. Coverdale was a master of English prose, and must have possessed, as it has been pointed out, 'a natural aptitude for finding felicitous turns of expression, and for casting them into harmonious and finely rolling periods.' His version exhibits 'an exquisite rhythm, a graceful freedom of rendering, and an endeavour to represent the spirit as well as the letter of the original.' If less accurate than the Authorised Version of 1611, it was felt to be 'smoother and more easy to sing,' and was therefore most fortunately retained in the Prayer Book of 1662, when the other portions of Scripture were ordered to be taken from the revision of James the First. A comparison of the Prayer Book version of the Psalter with that of the Authorised Version of the Bible will at once reveal the striking supremacy of the former with regard to the vigour and melody of the language. A large number of forcible and picturesque expressions, familiar to the ears of English Churchmen, come to us through Coverdale's translation. Among the multitude that might be selected, the following may be quoted by way of illustration: 'O Lord our Governor,' viii. 1; 'fat bulls of Basan,' xxii. 12; 'like as it were a moth fretting a garment,' xxxix. 12; 'with lies thou cuttest like a sharp razor,' lii. 3; 'a drink of deadly wine,' lx. 3; 'like a giant refreshed with wine,' lxxviii. 66; 'the vale of misery,' lxxxiv. 6; 'the iron entered into his soul,' cv. 18, quoted by Bishop Perowne as a notable instance of the superiority of the Prayer Book version; 'like as the arrows in the hand of the giant,' cxvii. 5; 'He giveth medicine to heal their sickness,' cxlvii. 3; or these two from the 119th Psalm, which abounds in striking sentences: 'their heart is as fat as brawn,' ver. 70; and 'when Thou hast set my heart at liberty,' ver. 32. The Prayer Book Psalter, in Professor Earle's striking and appropriate phrase, constitutes 'a landmark in English literature.'

But while readily acknowledging the 'incomparable beauty' of the Prayer Book Psalter, it will at the same time be admitted that the version is disfigured by many inaccuracies, which it would be possible, without injuring the translation as a whole, to remove. It is therefore with satisfaction that we notice the resolution of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation on the Royal Letter of Business, 'that while the Prayer Book version of the Psalms cannot wisely be revised as a whole, it is advisable that some few passages should be retranslated.' As far back as 1879 the late Bishop Westcott, at that time Canon of Peterborough, expressed the hope that at no distant period the unquestionable errors of rendering and form might be dealt with by competent authority. And Dr. Driver in the preface to his *Parallel Psalter*, published in 1898, says, 'I should feel rewarded if my volume were in any degree to pave the way for what must surely be seen by many to be a desideratum, viz. a revision of the Prayer Book version, which, while not altering its general character, or disturbing its melodious rhythm, might remove misleading archaisms and correct the more serious mistranslations by which it is disfigured.'

With regard to the archaisms of the Prayer Book version, they fall into two distinct classes. Some expressions, though no longer in common use, are still quite easy to understand, and, moreover, are of such a nature as to lend force and dignity to the language. Others are open to misconception, owing, in the majority of instances, to their meaning having materially changed since the far-off days of the sixteenth century. Of these misleading archaisms the most serious is the use of the word 'hell,' which has now lost its original significance of the unseen world and is used almost exclusively of the place of torment. In the Revised Version of the Bible the word is translated 'Sheol,' a rendering adopted by Dr. Kirkpatrick in his edition of the Cambridge Bible, and by Dr. Driver in his masterly version of the Psalter. 'Hell' in the Psalms is simply the Old English equivalent for 'Sheol,' which is always used in the Old Testament as a general name for the abode of departed spirits. This, however, is hardly the conception in the minds of modern worshippers when they sing, 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the people that forget God,' ix. 17; or, 'Let death come hastily upon them, and let them go down quick into hell,' lv. 16; or in this sentence, 'The pains of hell gat hold upon me,' cxvi. 3.

After the use of the word 'hell' the three archaisms most liable to be misunderstood are probably, as Dr. Driver points out, *health*, *wholesome*, and *worship*. The word 'health' is in most cases a translation of the Hebrew word commonly rendered 'salvation'; but how many English readers can be expected to know that in the following passages, among others, 'health' is the Old English equivalent for 'salvation': 'Thou art so far from my *health*, and from the words of my complaint,' xx. 1; 'in God is my *health*,' lxii. 7; 'the

voice of joy and *health* is in the dwellings of the righteous,' cxviii. 15; '*health* is far from the ungodly,' cxix. 155? In the same way the word '*wholesome*' was frequently used in regard of spiritual experiences where we should now say '*saving*,' as in the sentence '*even with the wholesome strength of His right hand*,' xx. 6; or '*He is the wholesome defence of his anointed*,' xxviii. 9. The word '*worship*' too was often used in the sense of '*glory*' or '*honour*,' as in the sentences '*to crown him with glory and worship*,' viii. 5; '*even the worship of Jacob, whom He loved*,' xlvii. 4; '*His worship and strength is in the clouds*,' lxviii. 34. Among other archaisms which obscure the sense of the original for the ordinary reader the following may be quoted: '*Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing*,' v. 6; '*such as are of a right conversation*,' xxxvii. 14; '*making mowes at me, and ceased not*,' xxxv. 15; '*but letteth the runagates continue in scarceness*,' lxviii. 6; or this sentence from the psalm of our Burial Service, '*Comfort us again now after the time that Thou hast plagued us*.'

Many instances of mistranslations might be quoted, but in the great majority of cases the sense of the original is not seriously distorted. Still, without spoiling the rhythm and melody of Coverdale's version a large number of passages might be greatly improved. To take but one or two examples, it is a pity that in the 23rd Psalm the beautiful expression '*He refresheth my soul*' should be translated '*He shall convert my soul*.' In iv. 8 the point of the Psalmist's statement is entirely missed in the Prayer Book version, '*Thou hast put gladness in my heart since the time that their corn and wine and oil increased*': what he said was, '*Thou hast put gladness in my heart more than that of the time when their corn and wine and oil increased*.' In xxiv. 6 the reading '*that seek thy face, O Jacob*,' should almost certainly be, with the Septuagint, Syriac, and Vulgate versions, '*O God of Jacob*.' In the splendid description of a thunderstorm in Ps. xxix. the expression '*discovereth the thick bushes*' should be, with the Revised Version, '*strippeth the forests bare*.' A curious rendering, derived from the Jewish Targum, is found in Ps. xxxvii. 20, '*the enemies of the Lord shall consume as the fat of lambs*.' The psalmist's simile for the evanescence of the wicked was the singularly graphic and picturesque one, '*the splendour of the meadows*,' the flowers of which, in Palestine as in Alpine valleys, so quickly fade and disappear. The beautiful sentence in one of the pilgrim psalms, rendered even more familiar by Mrs. Browning's exquisite poem, '*so He giveth His beloved sleep*,' cxxvii. 3, should be rather rendered, '*so He giveth*,' or perhaps '*surely He giveth to His beloved in sleep*.' The thought is an anticipation of our Lord's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and in the parable of the '*seed growing secretly*,' that the Heavenly Father's blessing rests on His beloved while they sleep, without effort on their part or anxious care. It would also be well to remove certain legendary expressions

from the text of the Prayer Book version. Thus, for the word 'unicorn' we should rather read 'wild-ox'; and for the word 'dragons' we should substitute 'jackals' in Ps. xlv. 20, and 'sea-monsters' in Ps. cxlviii. 7.

But however much, from considerations of accuracy and scholarship, the revision of the text of the Prayer Book psalms is to be desired, a far more important matter is the removal of certain psalms from their present position in the ordinary course of public worship. The Psalter is absolutely unique in the devotional literature of the world. It is, as Dean Stanley said, 'a Bible within a Bible, a little Bible in itself.' There is no other book of devotion with which it can be even distantly compared. Neither the *Confessions* of St. Augustine nor the *Imitatio Christi*, nor the *Saint's Rest* of Richard Baxter, nor the *Christian Year* of John Keble can be placed in the same class with it. It is, as Mr. Gladstone well said, 'the highest known treasure-house of individual and personal devotion.'

But the Psalter, while it has become, in a sense that is true of no other religious composition, 'the devotional handbook of the world,' is in its origin a national collection of lyric poetry, composed under various circumstances and covering a period of many centuries. It contains, as Mr. Prothero finely says, 'the whole music of the heart of man, swept by the hand of his Maker. In it are gathered the lyrical burst of his tenderness, the moan of his penitence, the pathos of his sorrow, the triumph of his victory, the despair of his defeat, the firmness of his confidence, the rapture of his assured hope.' 'The Jewish Psalms, in which is expressed the very spirit of the national life,' wrote a distinguished Nonconformist teacher, 'have furnished the bridal hymn, the battle songs, the pilgrim marches, the penitential prayers, and the public praises of every nation in Christendom since Christendom was born.' It would not therefore be strange if, in so many-sided a collection of Hebrew poetry, written under such diverse circumstances, and dating from such different periods, some of the pieces were found to be unsuitable for public use in a Christian assembly. And this is exactly what turns out to be the case. Indeed it is so abundantly clear, that the Church of England seems to be the only Church in Christendom which regularly goes through the whole of the Psalms in its ordinary services, as distinguished from the services of religious communities. In the preface to his interesting volume, recently published, on *Select Readings from the Psalms for Family and Private Use*, Professor J. B. Mayor writes :

The American branch of the Church of England gives permission to its ministers to substitute any one of twenty authorised selections instead of the ordinary psalms of the day. Among the Wesleyans I learn that the minister is not bound to the use of any particular psalms. Even the authorised Prayer Book for the United Hebrew Congregation of the British Empire omits nearly half of the Psalms, among them Psa. xxxv., lxix., cix., and cxxxvii. ; and Mr. C. G.

Montefiore, in his very interesting volume for the use of Jewish parents, entitled *The Bible for Home Readers*, omits about thirty psalms, besides curtailing others.

It is, however, with reference to the imprecatory psalms that a change is most urgently needed. That they should have been retained for so long a time as an integral part of Christian worship is one of the strangest anomalies of religious history. Dr. Sanday, as Professor Mayor reminds us, has publicly stated that he finds the repetition of certain psalms a greater burden than the repetition of the Athanasian Creed. It is happily proposed by the majority of the Committee on the Royal Letter of Business that the use of the latter document be no longer compulsory in public worship, but with regard to the imprecatory psalms no such relief is suggested. It was, however, admitted in the *Report of the Lambeth Committee for the Adaptation and Enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer*, published last year, that 'the psalms which are called comminatory are a serious cause of difficulty to many devout and thoughtful persons.' And, partly with reference to the same question, a resolution was proposed by the Dean of Winchester in the Lower House of Convocation last May, and finally accepted—'That a Committee be appointed to consider what changes, if any, are desirable in the Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.' The psalms to which we refer may well be a cause of difficulty. 'Not even in the wars of Joshua or the song of Deborah,' as Dean Stanley pointed out, 'does the vindictive spirit of the ancient dispensation burn more fiercely than in the imprecations of the 69th, 109th, and 137th Psalms.' What must be the effect on the mind of an intelligent Indian or Japanese, pertinently asks Professor Percy Gardner in a volume of *Essays on Anglican Liberalism* (quoted by Professor Mayor), who, attending the service of an English church, hears the congregation solemnly singing: 'Let his children be fatherless and his wife a widow. Let his children be vagabonds and beg their bread; let them seek it also out of desolate places. Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand. Let there be no man to pity him, nor to have compassion upon his fatherless children?' And this passage does not by any means stand alone. Take the following from the 69th Psalm: 'Let their table be made a snare to take themselves withal: and let the things that should have been for their wealth be unto them an occasion of falling. Let their eyes be blinded, that they see not: and ever bow thou down their backs. . . . Let them fall from one wickedness to another, and not come into Thy righteousness. Let them be wiped out of the book of the living, and not be written among the righteous.' Or these sentences: 'Let death come hastily upon them; and let them go down quick into hell,' lv. 16; 'the righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly,' lviii. 9; 'let hot burning

coals fall upon them ; let them be cast into the fire and into the pit, that they never rise up again,' exl. 10 ; or this truly awful malediction, occurring with startling incongruity at the close of a psalm of singular and touching pathos, ' O daughter of Babylon, happy shall he be that taketh thy children and dasheth them against the stones.'

It is no longer possible to explain away these and similar utterances by regarding them as predictions, or as spoken in the name of the nation, or as representing the curses, not of the psalmist, but of the psalmist's enemies. One or other of these explanations may be legitimate in certain passages, but other passages of a similar nature remain, which cannot be so interpreted. The imprecations in the Book of Psalms must be frankly accepted, like the minatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed, in their natural and obvious sense. They belong, as Bishop Perowne stated in his commentary on the Book of Psalms, to the Old Dispensation, not to the New ; to the spirit of Elijah, not to the spirit of Christ. ' In what light then,' asks the present Dean of Ely, in summing up the question, ' are these utterances to be regarded ? They must be viewed,' he says, ' as belonging to the dispensation of the Old Testament ; they must be estimated from the standpoint of Law, which was based upon the rule of retaliation and not of the Gospel, which is animated by the principle of Love ; they belong to the spirit of Elijah, not of Christ ; they are the language of the age which was taught to love its neighbour and hate its enemy.' ' It is impossible,' he adds, ' that such language should be repeated in its old and literal sense by any follower of Him who has bidden us to love our enemies and pray for them that persecute us.' This view of the imprecatory psalms is now generally accepted by the great majority of Old Testament students. Nothing but disservice to the cause of religion can come from attempting to defend, with John Calvin in his commentary, such utterances as the last we quoted from the 137th Psalm. It only leads, as history abundantly demonstrates, to the justification of such deeds as those committed by the Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon after the siege of Jerusalem, or as the massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day. ' By what law can you justify this atrocity which you would commit ? ' asks Henry Morton, the humble minister in *Old Mortality*, of Balfour of Burley. ' If thou art ignorant of it,' replied Burley, ' thy companion is well aware of the law which gave the men of Jericho to the sword of Joshua the son of Nun.' ' Yes,' answered the divine, ' but we live under a better dispensation, which instructeth us to return good for evil and to pray for those who despitefully use us, and persecute us.'

Since, then, the curses of the imprecatory psalms are not only alien to the entire spirit of the New Testament, but are distinctly forbidden by our Lord and His apostles, it may surely be hoped that the public use of them will before long be discontinued in Christian assemblies. The late Father Dolling once told the writer that he

never allowed 'the cursing psalms' to be sung at St. Agatha's, Landport. We cannot all follow the bold and independent line taken by that intrepid Churchman. But if, as seems probable, the time is not far distant, to which in 1879 the late Bishop Westcott looked forward, when 'unquestionable errors of rendering and form' in the Prayer Book Psalter should be dealt with by competent authority, may it not be reasonably expected that at the same time the imprecatory psalms shall be removed from their present position in the public services of the English Church?

JOHN VAUGHAN.

TRUE TEMPERANCE' AND THE PUBLIC- HOUSE: A REPLY

THE article in the June number of this Review, by Mr. Barclay, on 'The Future of the Public-House' is of special interest to Temperance Reformers as an authoritative statement, from an eminent brewer, of the policy of the licensed trade in the near future.

During the past twelve months there has been a marked change in the public utterances of the leaders of 'the Trade.' The widespread support of the Licensing Bill of last year evidently came as a startling surprise to them, revealing the fact that temperance sentiment had made enormous advances, and that many thoughtful persons, who were perhaps not themselves total abstainers, were at last convinced that the national indulgence in alcoholic liquors had become a grave peril to the community. Ever since the significant admission by the representatives of the licensed trade on Lord Peel's Commission, that 'a gigantic evil remained to be remedied,' there has been a quickening of public interest on the subject of the national intemperance. The finding of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, that 'the Committee are convinced that the abuse of alcoholic stimulants is a most potent and deadly agent of physical deterioration'; the National Conference on Infantile Mortality in 1906, and the terrible studies of female intemperance, and consequent child suffering, published by Mr. G. R. Sims under the titles of *The Cry of the Children* and *The Black Stain*, have all deepened the interest thus aroused.

It is not too much to say that from every department of social study there has come during the past few years evidence which has amply justified Mr. Balfour's famous utterance in the House of Commons on the 27th of February 1908, that, 'Among all social evils which meet us in every walk of life and sphere of activity, the greatest of all the evils is the evil of intemperance.' Even within the last few months we have also had the impressive judgment of the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission, that 'A great weight of evidence indicates drink as the most potent and universal factor in bringing about pauperism. Some witnesses also indicate gambling

as a serious and growing cause; but gambling, though it wastes the resources of its victims, does not lead to such physical and moral degradation as drink.' Hence it was that, during the struggle of last year, social reformers, almost without exception, laying aside differences of creed and party, united in hearty support of the Government Licensing Bill. The strength of this public feeling led to the placing on the Statute Book of the national judgment that alcoholic liquors were injurious to the young life of the nation, and must be prohibited (Children Act, sec. 119); and also that the drinking-bar of the public-house was an unfit place for children under fourteen years of age (sec. 120). The importance of these enactments, passed with the unanimous consent of the House of Lords, can hardly be over-rated. Well might a leading Trade organ, *The Brewers' Gazette*, write (17th of December 1908): 'The debates and the voluminous discussions which the Licensing Bill has evoked in the press surely teach us that there is a widespread feeling abroad that all is not right with the licensed trade, and that feeling will have to be not only recognised but reckoned with by the Legislature.' Not only had the dissatisfaction of large classes of the community with the Trade become too vocal to pass unheeded, but there was also the more threatening danger of an increasing fall in the consumption of intoxicating liquors throughout the country. To some extent this might be attributed to bad trade; but even as long ago as the 11th of May 1905 *The Country Brewers' Gazette* wrote: 'This continuous decline in the production of beer and its constantly increasing ratio cannot, *we are afraid*, be entirely accounted for by the depression in the general trade of the country. . . . Changed modes of life are gradually transforming the habits of the people.' Perhaps even to-day, as the Trade representatives wrote in 1899, 'the zealous labour of countless workers in the Temperance cause counts for much.' But whatever be the cause, the Trade finds itself face to face with a decreasing demand—a fall of more than three and a half million standard barrels of beer, and of over eight and a quarter million proof gallons of spirits, since 1899-1900 (*Brewing Trade Review*, April 1909). It must, however, be borne in mind, as Mr. Herbert Samuel recently pointed out, that 'that decline followed a great increase, and, as a matter of fact, the consumption now per head of the population is practically the same as it was twenty years ago.' A falling consumption; an official declaration by King, Lords and Commons that alcoholic liquors are not a food, but a poison to (at any rate) the child-life of the nation; a public-house discredited by the same high authorities as a place of resort for that rising generation to whom the Trade has ever looked to keep up the consumption of liquor—these were all matters to cause grave uneasiness to the licensed Trade, which has been financed on the assumption that the National Drink Bill will increase, or at any rate will certainly not diminish; in

other words, which depends for prosperity, and, in the case of many brewery companies, for very existence, on the intemperate drinking of the working classes.

Here I am met by Mr. Barclay's declaration that 'anything that will reduce drunkenness and improve the status of the public-house is directly to our pecuniary advantage' (p. 994).

It is, of course, obvious that brewers do not desire their licensees to imperil their licences by convictions for permitting drunkenness ; but I hope I do not do Mr. Barclay an injustice when I say that by 'drunkenness' he means the police offence bearing that name, and does not use the term as synonymous with the word 'intemperance.' I agree that a 'drunken' man may possibly bring the licensee within the grasp of the law, and—a much more serious practical risk—may drive away the steady drinking customers from the house ; but the excessive drinking in this country which results in 'police drunkenness' is as nothing compared with the habitual excess of men and women who never find themselves before the magistrates. Few persons outside 'the Trade' have any conception of the large quantities of liquor consumed by thousands of persons who are habitual drinkers. At present the average consumption of beer (to say nothing of spirits) per adult of eighteen years old and upwards is one gallon per week, and when we bear in mind that there is a very considerable number of avowed abstainers in this country of both sexes, and that, in addition, a very large number of women and many men are practically abstainers from beer, and a much larger number abstainers from spirits, it is clear that the consumption (and expenditure) of the persons who habitually drink alcoholic liquors is much greater than the average figure just mentioned. This is almost certainly the case in all our large cities. Liverpool, for example, according to the evidence of Dr. Hope, the Medical Officer of Health, when before the Arsenical Poisoning Commission in 1901, had a beer consumption approximating to 750,000 gallons per week, or approximately a gallon per week per man, woman and child. 'It is,' he said, 'an enormous consumption'; and in answer to Lord Kelvin's remark that 'it seems to indicate two or three or four gallons a week being consumed by heavy drinkers,' Dr. Hope replied, 'Yes; quite that, or even more.' He also stated that the 'calculation had not been questioned by those who might question it if it were inaccurate.'

Dr. Hope, in his Annual Report for 1906, also wrote: 'A vast amount of poverty and misery are caused by the great waste of money in drink. For example, in one limited area, the main characteristic of which was its extreme squalor, a sum of approximately 5000*l.* was annually expended in drink in three public-houses alone.'

In Manchester and Salford it was officially stated that the beer production, which in the month of November 1899 amounted to 4,900,000 gallons, had fallen by the month of November 1900 to

3,955,000, or nearly 1,000,000 gallons, and there was no suggestion that the working-class community suffered in the least by this reduction of 20 per cent. The Medical Officer for Salford, reporting on 150 special cases of arsenical poisoning, said that 97 of these patients admittedly drank more than one quart a day, and 53 of them actually owned to drinking more than half a gallon a day, in one case going up to sixteen pints (i.e. two gallons) regularly drunk. Dr. Niven, Medical Officer for Manchester, gave similar evidence, saying 'I think that a great many people drink enormous quantities of beer.' Testimony to the same effect comes from Birmingham. Dr. Robertson, the Medical Officer of Health, after lengthy investigation, in 1904, into the social conditions of a typical slum area, well known locally as 'the Floodgate Street area,' as to which the present writer gave evidence before the local justices, issued a special report, from which the following extracts are taken :

We found a large number of skilled artisans who admitted receiving good wages, and who were apparently living in conditions of poverty from drink, gambling, and other unnecessary expenditure.

A large number of men and women in the area soak themselves with drink every day, thereby ruining their constitutions, bringing on poverty, and indirectly causing most unhealthy conditions. . . . The drink question has a public health aspect of the greatest importance.

An interesting light is thrown on 'the Trade' standards of 'moderate drinking' by the following extract from *The Brewing Trade Review* of the 1st of October 1894, which, in an article discussing drunkenness in breweries, recommended 'half a gallon per day as a reasonable amount, given out a pint at a time at stated hours.' The amount is rather startling as an example of moderation, being more than three times the average consumption ; but it was evidently mentioned by the editor as a strictly dietetic dose, for he goes on to say : 'If this principle were carried out we should find our brewery workmen generally smarter and more intelligent, for *constant beer-soaking, even though it may not reach the stage of drunkenness, cannot fail in time to deaden the intellect* and induce that chronic state of drowsiness characteristic of some of our workpeople.' The term 'drunkenness,' then, according to the official Trade standard, does not apply to 'beer-soaking,' even when 'it deadens the intellect and induces a chronic state of drowsiness.' It is upon that class of constant 'beer-soaking' which temperance reformers, other than brewers, term 'intemperance' that the Trade must rely for its profits ; for Mr. Barclay will, I am sure, readily admit that if the present consumption of beer and spirits was reduced by one-third—an amount admittedly in excess of the proper and reasonable requirements of those who drink—the great majority of brewing companies would find it impossible to pay any dividends on their ordinary, and probably on their preference, shares.

'The Trade' has, therefore, two dangers to face :

First: The growing alarm of the community at the menace of intemperance to the national well-being.

Second: The necessity for maintaining the consumption of intoxicating liquors at its present high figure.

To ignore the first was to court a measure of drastic licensing reform, imposed with the consent of the nation. To ignore the second was to court financial disaster in the near future. The problem was to find a policy which would safeguard the Trade against both these perils; which would, on the one hand, disarm the adverse criticism which prevails, and would yet, on the other hand, ensure a consumption not less than at present.

The leaders of 'the Trade' have not been unequal to the situation. They have come forward with the proposal that the Trade should be allowed to try a fresh experiment. They have come to the conclusion, says Mr. Barclay, that 'a new type of house, more suited to present needs, would be of public benefit' (p. 995). This ideal house should be large; the owner should be encouraged to enlarge it; open-air space should be utilised as much as possible; games and music should be provided; singing and entertainments and debates should be encouraged; and women and children should be welcomed. It is also suggested, though not actually proposed, that the hours of opening should be left to the will of the licensee (see p. 1003). The public-house thus 'improved' would be large enough in future to hold not merely the men and women who at present frequent licensed houses for drinking purposes, but also the men and women—especially the young men and women—who at present do not use them, but may be induced to do so by the attractions provided. Of course, no one will in future get drunk; but the old steady customers will not drink less than at present, and many of the new recruits will learn to drink. To adapt a popular phrase, the Trade will broaden the basis of drinking, and though it is contended that fewer persons will drink very heavily, a much greater number of persons will drink than do so at present.

It is on this policy that I desire to offer a few criticisms, but before doing so it may be interesting to note the way in which the new policy has been developed.

The first step was taken in June last year, when a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. W. W. Rutherford, and backed (*inter alios*) by Mr. Gretton, Colonel Hall-Walker, and Mr. John Rutherford, the eminent brewers, entitled 'The Public-houses (Extension of Facilities) Bill.' The measure consisted of only one clause, preventing the licensing justices from exercising their existing control so as to interfere with alterations or extensions by the licensee (really the brewer) of his licensed premises, when such alterations or extensions were ostensibly for the provision of additional accommodation for supplying food, for sanitary purposes, or for the provision of games, newspapers, music, or gardens. This measure having been dropped

in the House of Commons, it was introduced by Lord Lamington into the House of Lords, but after a second-reading debate it was abandoned in view of the pending discussion of the Licensing Bill.

The next step was the issue of a pamphlet by Mr. Edwin A. Pratt, author of various books in defence of 'the Trade,' entitled *The Policy of Licensing Justices*. This brochure, on the plea of 'real temperance'—Mr. Barclay's 'true temperance' (p. 995)—unsparingly attacked the policy of all known temperance organisations; it exonerated the Trade from the responsibility for the existing drunkenness, and laid the blame entirely on the justices and the drunkard; and it advocated in express terms Lord Lamington's Bill. This pamphlet has been very widely circulated among the justices. Vigorous pleas for the adoption of the new policy, under such headings as 'The Fight for Freedom,' then appeared in the Trade papers, and prominent Trade representatives expressed their concurrence.

Following modern precedents, the promoters of the new policy next proceeded to form a society, under the title of 'The True Temperance Association,' which held its inaugural meeting a few weeks ago, under the presidency of Lord Halsbury, who was supported on the platform by, amongst others, Mr. Edwyn Barclay himself. The phrase 'true temperance' is very familiar to readers of Trade literature and speeches. As far back as the year 1895 the Board of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society issued an appeal to the clergy, in which they stated, 'with *true temperance* we have no quarrel, but would willingly join in any well-devised scheme for the suppression of drunkenness and other excesses which unfortunately hang upon the outskirts of our business.' Last year the National Trade Defence Association protested against the Licensing Bill as not being calculated to 'advance in any way the cause of *true temperance*'; and a similar resolution of the Brewers' Society made use of the phrase 'the interests of *true temperance*.'

Some of the avowed 'aims' of this new Association are worthy of a little consideration. The first is to create a 'healthy and reasonable public opinion on the subject of temperance in drinking.' Lord Salisbury, a speaker at the inaugural meeting, denounced drunkenness as 'a great public evil and an evil to the prosperity of the country,' but urged that 'temperate drinking was all right'—a view in which he will find the leaders of medical science in all countries almost unanimously against him. The third aim is 'to promote fairness, justice and common-sense in dealing with the problem of intemperance.' No. 2 of the 'True Temperance Pamphlets,' a sermon by a clergyman, exhibits this conspicuous moderation in the following sentences:

Every year something like a quarter of a million of money is spent for the purpose of circulating incorrect statements, untrue libels and the twisting of statistics. . . . I have worked among criminals in the slums of a large town.

The favourite drink was invariably cocoa—one might argue, so much cocoa so much crime. . . . To study (*sic*) the epidemic of subsidised falsehood and unfairness, to steady public opinion and direct it on the true object of temperance, this True Temperance Association has been formed.

Standards of moderation in language differ as do standards of moderation in drinking; that in the 'True Temperance' clergyman is 'but a choleric word' which in the teetotal advocate is 'flat blasphemy.'

The sixth aim is one which deals with a subject in which Mr. Barclay has recently declared himself to be greatly interested—the food-value of alcoholic beverages; but it is interesting to note the ingenious way in which the real question at issue is evaded. The words used are: 'To promote inquiry into the physiological effects of the *componen parts* of alcoholic beverages.' The investigation is not to touch the physiological effects of *alcoholic beverages*, as Sir Victor Horsley, Dr. Sturge, Dr. Sims Woodhead, and Professor Kraepelin and others have investigated them, but simply to certify as to the food-values of the ingredients, entirely regardless of the changes brought about by fermentation. The inquiry is, however, needless, as the pamphlet quoted above dogmatically declares that 'Beer is food. It is barley water *plus* hops or other bitter tonic, with a small percentage of alcohol. On bread, cheese and beer man will keep fit for a time. Will he long continue fit on bread, cheese and water?'

One of the promoters of the Public-houses (Extension of Facilities) Bill, Colonel Hall-Walker, M.P., has also, in his place in Parliament, declared beer to be 'liquid bread,' and the President, the Earl of Halsbury, in the House of Lords, has also stated that alcoholic liquor 'is one of the important foods of the people.' Mr. Edwin Pratt goes even further than this, asserting that 'English beers now contain, as a rule, so small a percentage of alcohol that they may already count as, practically, temperance beverages.' Inquiry really seems unnecessary when the new Association has already come to a decision after the manner of the Jedburgh justices. I may, however, call the Association's attention to the new Syllabus of the Board of Education, issued since Mr. Barclay's article appeared, where, speaking of the food-value of beer, the Board says:

It is true that there is a certain amount of nourishment in beer. There is, for example, a little sugar, and there is a small quantity of the food-substance found in meat. To obtain enough food from beer really to benefit the body, however, it would be necessary to take an extremely large quantity. For this reason the good that might be done by the nourishing part of the beer would be more than counterbalanced by the harm done by the alcohol contained in so large a quantity of beer. This is one important reason for not taking beer as a food. Another is the expense, for even if no harm were done by the amount of beer which it would be necessary to drink, the cost of such a meal would be far greater than the cost of an equal amount of nourishment taken in the form of ordinary food. For these two reasons, therefore, beer cannot be considered to be one of the 'foods' which the body requires.

I have, however, omitted any reference to the second 'aim,' which discloses the real object of the Association. It is 'to encourage the development of the public-house in the direction of making it in the best sense a place for the present-day social needs of the people, and to help in the removal of all legislative and administrative hindrances to such developments'; in other words, to support a measure on the lines of the Bill of the liquor trade noticed above.

The main objects of this 'True Temperance' Association are, then, first, to encourage national family moderate drinking, and, secondly, to promote the passing of a Bill for depriving the justices of their control over licensed premises, and for giving to the Trade an absolutely free hand to alter or enlarge their licensed houses at their will.

I desire to criticise the new policy very briefly under three headings :

- (1) Is this policy desirable in the interests of temperance ?
- (2) Is it safe to trust the Trade with the extensive powers asked for ?
- (3) Is the policy as sketched out a practicable one ?

First, Is the policy desirable in the interests of temperance ?

The nation stands to-day, as it did in 1899, face to face with the fact that, even in the official opinion of 'the Trade,' 'a gigantic evil remains to be remedied,' for Mr. W. Waters Butler, the chairman of the Brewers' Society in 1908, admitted in a public debate with the present writer a few months ago that the statement made in 1899 was still true. That gigantic evil can only be lessened by a great reduction in the consumption of liquor. Such a reduction is not likely to come about to any large extent by increased temperance among confirmed drinkers—whether 'drunkards' or not; it must be attained by preventing the rising generation from becoming habituated to the use of intoxicants. No one denies that it is undesirable for young persons to drink. Is it wise for the State to sanction by its legislative action the association with the sale of liquor of amusements which appeal so strongly to young people, and by its action practically to issue invitations to come within the sphere of influence of liquor to young persons who in many cases would never dream, under present conditions, of going upon licensed premises ? Is it not time to do away with the idea that amusement is only possible when accompanied by liquor drinking ? The present association of music with the public-house is not satisfactory. The public-house degrades the music more than the music refines the customer. The Majority and Minority Reports of Lord Peel's Commission both agree in saying that no public music or dancing should be allowed on licensed premises without a licence from the licensing justices; Lord Lamington's Bill would destroy that control. Nor does it seem very desirable to encourage gambling among our young people; and yet Mr. Pratt, in his *Policy of Licensing Justices*, expressly states that as long as the present gaming provisions of the Act of 1872 'are remorselessly enforced the ideal public-house, as a place of entertainment on "re-

form" lines, can hardly be realised,' and he considers that ' games which are obviously, or, as a matter of reasonable assumption, played for the purposes of recreation only and not for gain, should be allowable, even although the players may have a small stake upon the result ' (p. 76). What is ' a small stake ' to a man of business might be something very different to the office boy just learning to sip his beer and desiring to ' be a man.'

Alderman E. Johnson, chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society (the *Trade Paper*, January 1909), agrees with Mr. Pratt, and he goes even further, and requires the repeal of the section of the Children's Act excluding children from drinking bars—a very significant pronouncement, and one which should make Social Reformers pause before they give in their adhesion to the new policy. It is, of course, incorrect to say that games are not allowed on licensed premises. Baccarat is not, and there are other illegal games ; but most games are allowed, unless they are played for money or money's worth, so that Mr. Balfour was wrong in saying that people could not play dominoes in the public-house. Lord Lamington's Bill would sanction any kind of game.

What we desire, says the Trade, is the establishment of the Continental café system in the United Kingdom. ' It is to be remarked,' says Mr. Barclay (p. 1003), ' that in most countries the liberty permitted as to the hours of opening, and as to the type of building, and as to the entertainment offered, is very different indeed from our methods of constant restrictions and magisterial control. This is, no doubt, why the two systems have worked out so differently,' and the ' Memorandum ' to ' the Trade ' Bill contrasts the number of convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales with the extremely small number in France.

Mr. Barclay evidently thinks, and intends his readers to think, that the advantage is on the side of the countries which have the café system : but is this really so ? For answer, I turn to the February number of the *Brewing Trade Review*, ' the official organ of the Brewers' Society,' where (p. 81) under a heading in large type, ' The United Kingdom pre-eminent among the nations for sobriety,' there is reprinted a ' thoughtful and excellent letter ' from Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, ex-M.P. for the Truro Division. In this letter Sir E. Durning-Lawrence gives an interesting table (taken apparently from the official *Brewers' Almanack* for 1909) showing the average annual consumption of alcohol (reduced to proof spirit) among the nations during the years 1901-5 as follows :—

1. France	9.69	6. Portugal	4.27
2. Italy	6.53	7. Germany	4.19
3. Belgium	5.44	8. Denmark	4.18
4. Switzerland	5.42	9. Austria	3.71
5. Spain	4.62	10. United Kingdom	3.42

'The above,' says the writer, 'are the latest figures available, and being taken from the Government return are indisputable. It is not possible, therefore, that any other figures can be quoted excepting only through ignorance or for purpose of deception.' As if the figures were not sufficient to prove his case, Sir E. Durning-Lawrence proceeds :

No one acquainted with the facts can fail to feel proud of the comparative sobriety of our country as compared with other nations, especially with France, which consumes not much less than three times as much alcohol per head, and with Germany, which consumes almost exactly one and a quarter times as much alcohol per head. I have myself seen more drunken people in a day in an Austrian town than I have seen elsewhere in my whole life, and I was told that on that particular Sunday every man got drunk, and really such appeared to be the fact. We must also remember that in Germany, drinking contests are still publicly encouraged by the highest authorities. It was at one time hoped that Bismarck would not continue to lend his countenance to such disgraceful proceedings, but these hopes were disappointed. And only a few years ago a student succeeded in drinking in a single night nine gallons of beer, and by so doing was almost universally, and certainly in the highest quarters, considered to have gained glory for himself, and conferred distinction upon his friends. Thank God, in this country we are beginning to see that it is not glorious to consume large quantities of alcoholic liquor, and we are trying to put down drunkenness in a way that sets a brilliant example to neighbouring nations—an example which no doubt in time they will have the good sense to follow, so as to diminish the drunkenness of France and the drunkenness of Germany, which is to-day so greatly in excess of the drunkenness of the United Kingdom, where we rejoice to realize that enormous progress has already been made in sobriety, however strongly we may feel that much still remains to be accomplished.

If further testimony were needed as to the failure of the continental system to promote 'true temperance' as estimated by the amount of alcohol consumed, I may quote the statement of the French Government, cited by the Earl of Carlisle in the debate on Lord Lamington's Bill in the House of Lords, last year. The French Government, in 1905, said in the official volume which corresponds to our *Judicial Statistics*, that :—

Everything points to the belief, in fact, that a mere fraction of those who ought to be prosecuted fall into the clutches of the law against drunkenness. In Brittany, especially, proceedings against drunkenness ought to be counted by thousands. In this region people are so constantly seen under the influence of drink that the authorities do not intervene except the offenders are in a condition which prevents them from moving or which causes public scandal.

It may also be noted that the most lurid picture of alcoholism ever drawn by the most extreme teetotaler is surpassed by the descriptions in Zola's *L'Assommoir*, and that in a country where, it is said, drunkenness does not exist.

So deeply impressed was the French Government with the spread of intemperance that it took the unprecedented step of issuing a Government proclamation against alcoholism, specially warning the people against 'the habitual use of alcohol even when this is not

taken in amounts sufficient to produce drunkenness.' 'The Trade' was, however, strong enough to force the Government to withdraw the notice.

The rapid growth of the German Temperance Societies points also to the public uneasiness at the increase of drinking in Germany. An eminent doctor, not a teetotaler, said to Lord Carlisle :—

The real fact is that our people can consume a great deal more drink, because in the past our people have been so poor and frugal that their constitutions can bear it; but owing to the great commercial prosperity that has fallen upon us lately, our people are drinking a great deal too much, and in a generation or two they will be as bad as yours.¹

Was it not Von Moltke who said: 'Beer is a far more dangerous enemy to Germany than all the armies of France.'

The testimony from Belgium is to the same effect. Even if we ignore, as Mr. Barclay does, the differences of climate, of temperament, and of custom, it does not seem probable that temperance, as measured by a reduced consumption of alcohol, would be promoted by the introduction of the continental system into this country.

The second question is: 'Is it safe to trust the Trade with the extensive powers asked for?'

In the year 1894 the *Brewers' Journal*—a leading organ of the Trade—stated that of the 120,000 licensed houses in the country probably 90 per cent. were held by brewers. In 1907 Mr. Edwin Pratt (*Licensed Trade*, p. 93) placed the figure at 92 to 94 per cent. During the past fifteen years, therefore, and probably for a much longer period, almost the whole of the agencies licensed for the retail sale of liquor in England and Wales have been controlled by the Brewers. In 1895, as I have said, the Licensed Trade, having before it the prospect of Sir William Harcourt's Local Veto Bill, told the clergy that it 'would willingly join in any well-devised scheme for the suppression of drunkenness and other excesses which unfortunately hang upon the outskirts of our business.' Fourteen years have elapsed, and what do we find? Mr. Barclay says (p. 994) that: 'The present state of the public-house is in various ways unsatisfactory to all concerned;' and that, 'there has been little improvement in the last fifty years' (p. 995). Confessions of failure in the past are not the surest guarantees for success in the future. The brewers have, for at any rate the last fifteen years, had it in their hands to remove many of the more powerful incentives to intemperance by the simple expression of their will to their managers, mortgagors, and tenants, but they have done no such thing. They might, *e.g.*, have practically put a stop to early morning spirit-drinking amongst working men; and yet only last year the present writer opposed an application by a large firm of brewers in the Midlands, whose members hold high office in the Brewers'

¹ Debate in House of Lords as above.

Society, for the removal of a spirit-licence from an existing public-house to a beer-house situated exactly in the centre of an almost exclusively manufacturing district, where several thousands of workmen were employed. The applicant stated that the licence was required for an early morning trade in spirits; and the amount of trade which was hoped for may be measured by the fact that, for this privilege alone, the brewers were willing to surrender the full licence intended to be transferred and two other (presumably) valuable on-licences, so that they evidently contemplated an enormous sale during the course of the working day. There was no suggestion of a local demand for the licence. The chairman, Mr. Alexander M. Chance, a large employer, denounced the practice of early morning drinking, and the application was opposed by firms employing 3000 men, and was refused. The application, and it is only a typical one, was a curious illustration of the desire of the leaders of the Trade to promote 'true temperance.'

The brewers again might have put a stop to much of the drinking amongst women, and could certainly have excluded young children, but though in some districts pious opinions were in the past expressed, no effective action was ever taken, and attempts are even now being made to evade the Children's Act. They might also have anticipated the recent action of the New Zealand brewers, and raised the age limit so as to keep young lads and lasses under twenty, at the most perilous period of their lives, from the exciting and control-destroying dangers of alcohol; but they have not done this, and, in not a few cases, have catered for these young people. They might have put a stop to the temptations to secret drinking afforded by the side and back door: they have not done so. Instead of encouraging reforms, the Trade has consistently and determinedly opposed them. When every party in the State had agreed to shut out the children from the drinking-bar, the Trade members opposed the clause, and, on its becoming law, the *Licensing World*, the official organ of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society, waxed very scornful at the expense of our 'sapient legislators,' and the Trade members who sympathise with the 'True Temperance' Association insist on the repeal of the section. Up to the eve of the introduction of the Licensing Bill their view was that further reforms were unnecessary. In its official defence, 'The Case for the Trade,' the writers say: 'There is nothing in the present state of the licensing laws calling for interference in the public interests. . . . The existing regulations have been found perfectly sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended. . . . *The system should be left alone, the public interests being well protected.*'

The public interests being 'well protected' in 1908, is it indelicate to inquire in whose interests the suggested changes are now to be made?

I do not propose to follow Mr. Barclay in his defence of the Tied House system beyond saying that if the working men of this country

are agreed on any one subject it is that the Tied House system should be abolished : and the ground invariably given is the harsh treatment of the licensees by the brewers. Mr. Barclay says ' of course, brewery companies like tenants who increase the trade of their houses ' (p. 999), and it is equally true that they dislike tenants and managers who do not increase, or, at any rate, maintain the trade in their houses. It is this fact which accounts for the enormous number of transfers of licences every year. In Birmingham a detailed examination made last year by the writer showed that during the years 1905-7 over 1,800 transfers took place in a mean number of 2000 licensed houses. Of the 1,800 licensees who transferred their licences in the three years, more than 1200 were in 1908 no longer employed in licensed houses in the city of Birmingham. Some may have gone to houses outside the city, but the Trade, though repeatedly challenged to say how many, declined to give any information, so that the number may be presumed to be small. So great is the leakage in the Birmingham trade that no fewer than 600 persons came into the Trade during the three years from other occupations. Why is it that in Birmingham, for example, 55 per cent. of the on-licences changed hands at least once in the three years, and 25 per cent. more than once ? The brewers impress upon us continually that the licensees are selected with the utmost care, and have, they say, to pass a moral examination which would test even a bishop, and yet the men do not stop. Are the brewers almost invariably mistaken in their estimates of the characters of their candidates ; or is the nature of ' the Trade ' such that a few months' connexion with it is fatal to the moral integrity of the licensees ? As this surely cannot be the true view, we are driven to conclude that in a large number of cases the man goes out because he cannot keep up his returns without resorting to practices, which either are against his principles, or will bring him into conflict with the police. I have not yet come across a case where the brewer has accepted, as a reason for diminished returns, the statement of the licensee that he has been refusing to serve men whom he knew to be drinking to such an extent as to deprive their families of the necessities of life. The plain fact is that the brewer bought the licensed house that he might sell his beer in it, and the sale of beer must always be his principal reason for holding the house. It is the interest of the Trade to sell the largest possible amount of liquor : it is the interest of the community that the consumption of liquor shall be greatly reduced. The powers claimed will increase the brewers' facilities for selling liquor, and decrease the community's chance of reducing the consumption. Human nature being what it is, and the necessity laid upon this already over-capitalised Trade to pay dividends being so pressing, it does not seem wise to put its members in a position where their material interests conflict so strongly with their moral obligations ; especially when the history of the Trade shows conclusively that the pressure of such

material interests has in the past been so great as to compel the members of the Trade to forego reforms which as citizens, actuated by the highest desire for the national well-being, they must have earnestly wished to bring about.

Thirdly.—‘Is the policy as sketched out by Mr. Barclay practicable?’

‘If we are to have more public-houses . . . more money will have to be invested in them,’ says Mr. Barclay (p. 1004).

There are at present over 90,000 on-licences in England and Wales. When the Licensing Bill proposed to close about one-third of these, it was strongly urged that the number was so large as to touch many excellent houses, so we may safely assume that at least 60,000 houses will stand to benefit by this new policy. Thousands of these are in our large cities: thousands are so situated as to be practically incapable of alteration or extension except at enormous cost. If there is any virtue in the scheme it is one which should be immediately applied in the poorer working-class districts by preference, as they have fewest places of recreation. The difficulties—to say nothing of the cost—are enormous. Lord Lamington admits this, saying ‘The enlargement of premises is a difficult matter in large cities and towns,’ and he also agrees that ‘the expense of alterations and improvements is very great.’ The capital required by the brewing companies would be enormous and most difficult to raise. Mr. Barclay appreciates this point, for he says ‘more money will have to be invested in them. Consequently licences should not be taken away for merely *technical* offences:’ a line of argument which will again make Social Reformers pause.

But assuming that the brewery companies can raise the sums required, how do they propose to pay a dividend on the additional capital? ‘Catering in refreshments *other than intoxicants*,’ says Lord Lamington, ‘is not very remunerative except in the case of large central depots or of firms having many retail branches;’ and the experience of the various Public-House Trust Companies shows that where refreshments compete with alcohol in licensed houses frequented by the working classes the refreshments are not the gainers.

Take, for example, the following recent reports of Public-House Trust Companies:—

		Bar £	Restau £
Auchterderran (1907) half-year	. . .	1158	86
Bowhill do. do.	. . .	1158	85
Cowdenbeath (1908) year	. . .	5459	176
Kelty do. do.	. . .	4446	285

‘O monstrous! but one halfpennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack.’

The necessary return will not be made on non-intoxicants. In that department the Trade has no monopoly, and must face very keen competition by large companies with a special knowledge and ex-

perience to which the Licensed Trade naturally cannot lay claim. As the *Brewers' Gazette* recently pointed out, the Licensed Victualler has been 'unconscious of the new social conditions that were springing up all around him, and so has neglected to take advantage of the remunerative opportunities which these new conditions brought within his grasp.' The Trade has to face competitors whose businesses are not loaded with enormous burdens of capital created to purchase licensed houses at exorbitant figures. The English brewer goes into the catering trade with a load on his back, which neither his English competitors nor his continental confrère has to bear, for on the Continent there is free trade in alcoholic liquors, and consequently there are no monopoly values to be paid for as at home. If the brewer is to get a fair return on his money it is essential that he sell liquor rather than refreshments, for on the former he gets the wholesale, as well as the greater part of the retail profit, while on the latter he can only get a retail profit at a considerably increased cost of distribution owing to the necessity for employing many more servants and waiters. It is almost inevitable, under such circumstances, that the more lucrative side of the custom will be developed, and there will be an increasing probability that premises originally intended to be used for the sale of refreshments will gradually be devoted to the sale of intoxicants.

The whole subject of alterations was fully considered by the Licensing Commission, and Lord Peel's Report took a very strong view of the necessity for granting the Justices the control over the structure. Evidence was given of cases where the Justices had sanctioned plans which gave promise of large palatial-looking buildings with coffee-rooms and commercial rooms, and subsequently the licence-holder, having obtained his licence, enclosed these rooms and used all the accommodation to establish a long drinking bar. The Minority Report concluded as follows: 'It is of the utmost importance that the licensing authority should exercise the strictest control over any alterations, external or internal.' And the Majority Report also recommended that: 'As to rebuilding and alteration of premises, the custom of submitting plans should be made statutory.' This was, in fact, done by Section XI. of the Licensing Act of 1902, passed by the late Unionist Government, which gives complete control to the Justices. Now it is proposed to destroy that control, for, as the Lord Chancellor pointed out in debate 'Any publican could claim practically any extension of his premises, and when he had got it there is nothing in the Bill to prevent him using it for the sale of liquor.'

Lord Lamington in reply contended that the Justices could refuse a renewal in such a case, but on the Chancellor pointing out that the Licensing Act of 1904 had taken away that power, Lord Lamington made the significant remark: 'If a publican provides small tables and chairs, and, instead of serving tea, serves a glass of beer, I cannot

see that any great harm is done'; nor probably would the brewer—that is the root of the whole matter.

Universal experience has justified Temperance Reformers in regarding restriction of facilities for drinking as the only effective way of reducing the consumption of liquor and the resulting intemperance.

Universal experience has also shown that inasmuch as the financial interests of the Licensed Trade are necessarily opposed to the social interests of the community, it is wise to view with the utmost suspicion a policy which has for its object a measure that, in Lord Lytton's words, 'will paralyse altogether the action of the Magistrates and relieve them entirely of their discretion in the matter of sanctioning or refusing to sanction these alterations, and deliver them over bound hand and foot to the mercy of the Trade.'

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GEORGE B. WILSON.

DECENTRALISATION OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

II

IN a previous article on this subject¹ it was mentioned that there was one Department of our Indian administration which is the object of much criticism, but into the working of which the Commission were not empowered to inquire, as it affects the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. This is the Store Department of the India Office. In 1906 a Special Committee was appointed to examine into the methods of this Department, and it has, apparently, at last obtained orders on its Report, the gist of which was published not long ago in the Indian Press.

It may at once be stated that the Department has been well administered by its able head, Mr. E. G. Burls, C.S.I. (who has just retired) and his efficient staff, and that its drawbacks are merely the inevitable results of an antiquated and dilatory system. The Department sends out to India yearly about 4,500,000*l.* worth of stores, for which indents have been received from India. The cost of the Department is about 48,000*l.* annually, and to meet this an addition is made to the price of the stores of about 1½ per cent. This is less than would be charged by a house of agency, provided that the Department obtains the trade discount on its purchases, or procures the stores by tender. It is to be hoped that the Report of the Committee gives full information on this head.

Military services, including ordnance, account for about 1,750,000*l.*, and telegraph lines 250,000*l.*, while State railways take about 2,000,000*l.* There thus remains only about 500,000*l.* of stores for all the other public services with which we are particularly concerned. The quality of the stores supplied usually leaves nothing to be desired. It will then naturally be asked, what more can anyone require? The Standing Orders of 1899 lay down that stores of European manufacture can be purchased in India only: (1) when for any reason it may be more economical to do so; (2) when stores indented for from England have not arrived, or when a sudden emergency has arisen, and in either case only if serious inconvenience to the public service would be caused by waiting for the stores from England; and (3) when the articles are perishable. But orders must

¹ May 1909.

not be given to agents or firms in India for stores to be procured from England, and local purchases of European stores are to be restricted to articles which are actually procurable in India and can be delivered promptly. The Orders also lay down that estimates of requirements must reach the Government of India not later than the 1st of August in the year preceding that for which they are required, and which begins on the 1st of April. The estimates must reach the India Office not later than the 1st of October. An elaborate form of fourteen columns has to be filled up in duplicate and forwarded. The rules appear to have been interpreted with greater rigidity as time went on. Some years ago when it became necessary to supply the offices with typewriters, it was found that the agents of one well-known American kind offered to supply the typewriters in India at the usual price and to keep them in repair for, I think, six months. This common-sense offer and arrangement had to be refused; goods of American make became officially classed with English, and all the typewriters had to be procured by indent in August for the following April, and I think I am correct in saying that no particular kind of typewriter could be indented for; that had to be left to the discretion of the Store Department. Similarly, machinery of a particular kind by a special maker could not be indented for; the makers were to be chosen by the Department. Telegraphic indents were strongly objected to. The cause of the adverse criticisms of the Department is now apparent. The red-tapism that was responsible for making the rules could not realise that the prompt supply of an article was frequently of much greater importance than getting it at a lower price, and officers who were accustomed to a good machine by a particular maker naturally objected to being compelled to take a somewhat similar machine made by somebody else.

The one simple test of the utility of the Department would be to make the use of its services *optional*. The great Municipalities of India are not compelled to employ the Store Department, and I never heard of one that did so voluntarily. During my five years' tenure of the office of President of the Corporation of Madras we rejoiced in our freedom from the crippling incubus of the Department. If we wanted steam road-rollers, or pumps, or water-pipes, or electric apparatus we employed a trustworthy house of agency, and if time pressed the order was telegraphed home, and was completed with promptitude. We never had reason to complain either of the price or of the quality of the articles supplied. It is said that under the new rules about to be promulgated articles of European manufacture may be purchased locally up to a certain money limit when promptitude is of importance. Similar stores may also be included in the contracts for large works given to firms of Indian standing. But the grandmotherly solicitude appears in the admonition

that 'these modifications are purely experimental and are subject to revision if they result in deterioration of quality or increase of cost to Government.'

Under the rules of the Store Department no such undertaking as the great electrical works at the Cauvery Falls in Mysore could ever be carried out. In that case, when Sir Seshadri Iyer, the statesman Dewan of Mysore, had been convinced of the feasibility of the scheme, he gave *carte blanche* to Major de Lotbinière, R.E., whose services were lent by the Government of India. That officer went to America for electrical apparatus and to Switzerland, I believe, for Pelton wheels, and arranged with his contractors in both countries to erect the entire plant and keep it in efficient working for something like six months before final payment was made. The installation now supplies the Kolar goldfields with power for the stamps and illumination for the mines, and the town of Bangalore has been fitted with an electric lighting installation. It is, of course, possible for the Secretary of State to suspend the rules of the Store Department. This was wholly or partially done during the construction of the great Periyar Dam and connected works in South India, when Colonel Pennycuik, R.E., was empowered to go to England to select the machinery he desired. But anyone who is acquainted with the dilatory routine of official correspondence in such a matter will realise that this is an heroic remedy which is out of the question, save when prolonged delay is of little consequence. Major de Lotbinière is now engaged with similar freedom on a similar undertaking for the Maharaja of Cashmere, where the falls of the river Jhelum are being harnessed for industrial purposes. The archaic character of the *compulsory* rules of the Store Department becomes at once apparent if we can imagine the Secretary of State for the Colonies to require the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia to submit to similar conditions in the purchase of their stores!

The Government of Lord Minto when he was Governor-General of Canada could buy their stores, plant, machinery, *et hoc genus omne* wherever they liked. The Government of Lord Minto when he is Governor-General of India can do no such thing. If there can be an apotheosis of Red Tape, it is here.

We must now return to the Decentralisation Commission. An enquiry into the form of Government for the Provinces now under Lieutenant-Governors forms the introduction to Part II. of their Report. The two other Provinces, or 'Presidencies as they are called, Madras and Bombay, have always been administered by Governors in Council. Until the abolition of the separate armies for those two Provinces the Council consisted of the Governor, who was 'President in Council' (and hence the term 'Presidency'), the Commander-in-Chief, and two members of the Civil Service. The Commander-in-Chief usually voted with the Governor in Civil matters with which

he was not specially conversant, and as the Governor had a casting vote in cases where the voting was equal, his decision usually prevailed. Lieut.-General Sir C. Mansfield Clarke was the last Commander-in-Chief in Madras, and Lieut.-General C. E. Nairne was the last in Bombay. The separate Presidential armies were abolished in 1895, and the Governor then became liable to be outvoted by his two Civilian colleagues.

The five Provinces of Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma, are administered by Lieutenant-Governors alone, while the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan are ruled by Chief Commissioners. In the old days, ending with Warren Hastings, there was a President and Governor in Council of Fort William in Bengal. Then followed (1774) Governors-General of Fort William in Bengal, of whom Warren Hastings was the first and Lord William Bentinck the last, with a Council as before. Finally came the Governors-General of India, of whom Lord William Bentinck (1834) was the first. The title of Viceroy was added in 1858, when Lord Canning was Governor-General. The Governor-General in Council continued to administer Bengal until 1854, when Mr. Frederick J. Halliday was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. Agra, however, had a 'Governor,' Sir C. T. Metcalfe, in 1834, and the same officer became the first Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (now called the United Provinces) in 1836, and three Governors-General, Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, and Canning, subsequently for brief periods of a year or so were Lieutenant-Governors themselves of these Provinces in addition to being Governors-General. It was originally intended that the system of administration by a Governor in Council should be applied in the north of India as it had been in the south and west. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1833 for the creation of a Presidency of Agra, and in 1853 for the Province of Bengal, and these Acts have not been repealed, but with the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors they have remained in abeyance.

A large number of witnesses—chiefly non-official—before the Commission were in favour of the substitution of Governors in Council for Lieutenant-Governors to secure continuity of policy and the elimination of undue personal idiosyncrasies and prejudices. Many experienced officials on the other hand preferred the maintenance of the present system, urging that the Lieutenant-Governor was a man of high ability and wide experience, who in some instances had experience of other Provinces and might have been a member of the Viceroy's Council, and that the concentration of power in his hands secured greater promptitude and efficiency than could prevail in Councils, the members of which might be divided in opinion.

At this point it is of interest to recall the most revolutionary change in the Government of India ever proposed by a prominent

politician in England. In 1858 Mr. Bright proposed—as no one with a regard to the stability of our rule in India would do now—to abolish the Governor-General himself. He contended that ‘the power of the Governor-General is too great and the office is too high to be held by the subject of any power whatsoever.’ Mr. Bright would not have held this view if he could have foreseen the results of the telegraphic communication with India which he foretold. He would then have witnessed the power of the Viceroy and Governor-General gradually wane and shrink before the expanding and overmastering authority of the Secretary of State, until, as explained above, the nominal ruler of India cannot get a pump for his engineers or a typewriter for his clerks without asking the Secretary of State to buy it for him, and *a fortiori*, if differing from that authority in an important matter of policy can only resign like Lord Curzon, or, whether differing or not, must be content, like Lord Minto, to see serious changes introduced on which his Government have not deliberated and advised. Mr. Bright’s objection to the office of Governor-General was also due to the impossibility, in his opinion, that any one man could ‘govern twenty nations, speaking twenty different languages, and bind them together into one great and compact empire,’ and for this reason he favoured such a measure of decentralisation as the formation of a number of different independent Presidencies, each in direct communication with the Secretary of State. No Secretary of State in these days, however great a glutton for work, could face such a stupendous task, and all authorities past and present save Mr. Bright himself have regarded the controlling and co-ordinating power of the Government of India as vital to our rule in India.

To return to the views of the Commission on the question of the best government for the Provinces. They are of opinion that the Lieutenant-Governors of the larger Provinces are becoming overtaxed and overweighted with the increasing burden of administration in all its branches. The population of Madras and Bombay is less than that of Bengal and the United Provinces. It cannot be supposed that the complex work of administration and government is less in the two latter than in the two former Provinces. From a three years’ experience as member of Council in Madras I can testify that the work is incessant and most exacting. ‘*A fortiori*, therefore,’ as the Commission observe, ‘Lieutenant-Governors cannot attend to all the work which is supposed to fall upon them, and must delegate to their secretaries—who are often relatively junior officers—the settlement of a variety of matters which in the case of Madras and Bombay would claim the attention of the members of Government.’ Among the other advantages of the Council system are to be found a suitable distribution of work, to the relief of the Governor; greater continuity of policy; collective consideration of important matters;

greater facility in the control and management of the enlarged Legislative Councils; and the elimination of drawbacks pointed out by Sir W. Muir in 1868, such as personal idiosyncrasies involving over-zeal in some particular direction, indulgence of crotchets, remissness to grapple with special difficulties, and perhaps the neglect of particular Departments.

Lord Curzon fortified his vigorous criticisms in the House of Lords on Lord Morley's proposed reforms in general, and on this in particular, by a letter to the *Times* in which he insisted upon the opinions expressed in 1868 by Lord Lawrence and other distinguished administrators adverse to the proposal to introduce Governors with Councils into the Provinces governed by Lieutenant-Governors. A writer who signed himself 'Civilian' pointed out that Lord Curzon had omitted to quote the opinions in favour of the proposal expressed on the same occasion by other distinguished administrators. Lord MacDonnell, who will be remembered for his amazing indiscretion in advocating the reversal of the reconstitution of Bengal when Lord Morley's Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, made a controversial point on behalf of Lord Curzon in stating that the high officials who in 1868 were in favour of Governors in Council were thinking of the Madras and Bombay systems and not of a larger Council with a native member as one of its components, such as is now proposed. But the views whether *pro* or *con* which were held forty years ago are insufficient to carry conviction in face of the new problems of the present day. The riddle of the Sphinx presents itself anew for solution in each succeeding generation.

Lord Curzon also referred to the despatch of 1905 in which his Government discussed at length the reconstitution of Bengal, and rejected the alternative of a Governor in Council, and he emphasises the fact that the despatch was unanimously adopted and signed by all the members of his Council. He mentions that one of the signatories, Sir E. N. Baker, at present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, now favours the change. It may be added that another of the signatories of that despatch, namely, the present writer, is also now in favour of taking legal powers to effect the change in any Province where the Government of India consider it to be desirable. The discussion in 1905 was not as to whether in principle the system of administration by a Governor in Council was better or worse than administration by a Lieutenant-Governor, but as to whether a Governor in Council for Bengal was a fitting alternative to the reconstitution of Bengal into a smaller Province and the creation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. I venture to think that Sir Edward Baker would as cordially support Lord Curzon now in the rejection of that alternative as he did in 1905, and I would assuredly do so myself. The Indian world has moved rapidly since 1905, and the legal provision for gradual change in the direction hinted at by the Government

of India in their despatch of 1908 and embodied in the Bill presented by Lord Morley in the House of Lords, commends itself to many thoughtful minds who would have hesitated to accept it four years ago. One modified dictum of the despatch of 1905 must still be an essential condition, namely, that the rule, or at least the responsibility, must in the last resort be that of an individual. This is effected by giving the Governor power to override his Council in grave matters.

The criticism on Lord Morley's reforms that presents itself most forcibly to me is that as usual there was too much hurry. It is the fault of the age. Adapting Dante we may say :

The stormy blasts of *Time* with restless fury drive *our* spirits on.

'Why this haste?' Lord Elgin is said to have asked an eager Lieutenant-Governor. 'You forget my five years' term of office, sir,' was the reply. Lord Curzon, if I may say so, was driven by the time-limit hurriedly to undertake and complete the self-imposed task of his twelve reforms, and he left India vibrating with the energy which he had imparted. Lord Kitchener was in a hurry to sweep away the military member of the Viceroy's Council and to concentrate the united authority in himself, an authority he has undoubtedly used to full advantage in bringing the Indian army into a condition of very high efficiency. Mr. Brodrick (now Lord Midleton) was in a hurry to support Lord Kitchener, and would not communicate to the world the opinions which he had invited high authorities to give on this burning controversy. Lord Morley has been in a hurry to press forward certain administrative reforms without waiting for the express deliberations and recommendations of the Government of India, on whom will rest the burden and the responsibility of carrying out the new *régime*. I refer particularly to the power to substitute Governors in Council for Lieutenant-Governors—although I am personally in favour of it—to the abolition of the official majorities in Provincial Legislative Councils, and to the extension of the right of interpellation to supplementary questions of which notice has not been given. The present Government at home have given instances of the same precipitation in introducing the Old Age Pensions Bill without waiting for the Report of the Poor Law Commission and ascertaining the German method of making the pensions contributory, and the Bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Church in Wales without waiting for the Report of the Commission on that Church.

Since the remarks above were written Sir E. N. Baker has publicly announced in the Legislative Council that the creation of an Executive Council for Bengal is in his judgment a matter of pressing and urgent necessity. His reasons were thus given :—

When the project enunciated by the Secretary of State shall have been brought into operation—and that will probably be before the next winter session—

the Legislative Council will have been considerably more than doubled in numbers ; it will have been vested with greatly enhanced powers for the discussion of the budget ; for initiating debates on subjects of public interest and importance ; for proposing resolutions, and for asking supplementary questions ; and it will comprise a substantial majority of non-official members. In these altered conditions it is manifest . . . that the Council sittings will be greatly prolonged. . . . It is also certain that the preparation of work for the Council will occupy double or treble the time that it does at present. Moreover, in view of the fact that there will be a majority of non-officials, who must be convinced and cannot be outvoted by force of numbers, it will be necessary in future to devote much time to preliminary negotiation and private discussions. . . . To anyone who realises the burden of work which devolves on the head of the Bengal Government under present conditions, it will be manifest that the Lieutenant-Governor cannot undertake these additional duties without assistance. . . . The natural and appropriate solution of these difficulties is the creation of an Executive Council. A member of such a Council will be the colleague and not the mouthpiece of the Lieutenant-Governor. Though he will be in primary charge of his own portfolio, he will be required to possess a knowledge of the policy of the Government which no head of a department can acquire ; he will share the responsibility for all acts of State in a degree which can never devolve upon a member of the Secretariat ; and when it falls to him to announce the decision of Government on any matter, he will be able to speak as one having authority, and not as the scribes. . . . All shades and sections of the [Indian] community have joined in the prayer for an Executive Council in Bengal. In respect of the non-official European public one might have been prepared for more hesitation ; yet what do we find ? There are five principal English papers published in Calcutta, the *Englishman*, the *Statesman*, the *Daily News*, the *Empire* and *Capital* ; and out of these no less than four have voted decisively in favour of a Council : the *Englishman* alone holds out. . . .

The controversy has now been ended by a useful compromise which—introduced in the Commons—has been accepted by the House of Lords. Bengal is to have an Executive Council at once. If the Government of India desire to create an Executive Council in any other Province they will draft a proclamation to be laid on the table of each House of Parliament for sixty days. If an Address is moved by either House against the proclamation no further action will be taken upon it. Otherwise it will become operative after sixty days.

The next subject discussed by the Commission relates to *Boards of Revenue and Commissioners*. In all the major Provinces, except Bombay, there is a Board of Revenue (or its practical equivalent, a Financial Commissioner) dealing under the Government with all matters relating to revenue administration which can be controlled by an authority at headquarters. In all the major Provinces, except Madras, there are Commissioners of Divisions, who are authorities midway between the Board of Revenue and the officer in charge of a district, who is designated 'Collector' in some Provinces and Deputy-Commissioner in others. A 'district' is an area which in some instances is little more than 1000 square miles in extent. In the Madras Presidency it varies from 3000 square miles to 8000, and there is one which is 15,000 square miles in extent, or twice as large

as Wales. The main question under discussion was whether both the Board of Revenue and the Divisional Commissioners were necessary in a Province, and if not which of the two should be retained. It is needless to follow the somewhat intricate investigation into this technical question. The general conclusion is that with enlarged executive councils the Boards of Revenue might be absorbed, but that the Divisional Commissioners should remain. The latter should meet periodically for the discussion of important matters, and should be at liberty to make joint representations to their Government. The criticism which I would venture to offer is that there is too great a disposition on the part of the Commission to endeavour to secure uniformity in the system of administrative government, without sufficient regard to the varying conditions of the different Provinces. Even if the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay are enlarged, and if it has been decided by the Government of India that the time has arrived for the substitution of a Governor in Council for a Lieutenant-Governor in some other Province, it would in my opinion be wise to wait until experience has been obtained of the working of the new organisation before making further drastic changes in the administrative machinery. If a system is bad, change it; if it works faultily, amend it—but don't presume on *a priori* grounds that the machinery is so defective that half of it must be scrapped.

As in other parts of their Report, so in this, the Commission strongly advocate frequent or periodical conferences between the various officers whose duties bring them into frequent official communication with one another, and all who know how necessary to successful administration is the cordial co-operation of all the personalities concerned will endorse this wise advice.

The Commission discuss the suggestion of advisory councils for commissioners and collectors, which was advocated by many non-official witnesses with the patent object of restricting these officers' authority. The suggestion is rejected on the ground that the rural or district boards afford collectors ample opportunities of ascertaining the feeling of the people on any matters of public or local interest, and that both they and the commissioners can, and if they are efficient officers must and do, place themselves in touch with non-officials in all such matters. The final and conclusive reason is also given that advisory councils would have the mischievous effect of hampering the commissioner or the collector in his work of administration. It may briefly be said that any such advisory council would be fatal to efficient rule.

Honorary Magistrates.—There are already many benches of magistrates, usually presided over by a stipendiary, in the Major Provinces. The Commission would extend as far as practicable the system of appointing non-official gentlemen of position and influence to deal with criminal cases, both as a means of relieving the ordinary stipen-

diary courts, and in order to associate the local gentry with the administration. This recommendation will no doubt be cordially accepted.

Collectors, Deputy Commissioners, and Judges.—On the subject of the appointment of these officers, which is discussed at length in the Report, I will note, and with hearty agreement, only one point. It is that, while promotion should ordinarily be by seniority, the rejection of the unfit should be much more stringently enforced. To this I would add that when it is found that an officer is unfit for the active executive duties of collector or deputy commissioner, it must not be assumed as proven without actual experience that he is unfit to be a useful and capable judge. All officiating service should be taken as a period of probation. The important and responsible duties that rest on members of the Indian Civil Service are so great that the highest efficiency should be maintained, and if an officer is found to be unfit either for executive administration or for the judicial bench, he should either be kept in a subordinate position or be retired on a suitable proportionate pension, which must not be so meagre as to make the Government reluctant to dispense with his services.

Self-government in the Villages.—Throughout the greater part of India the population dwells in villages, varying in size from a hamlet to a town. In parts of Assam, Eastern Bengal, and the West Coast the population is scattered, living in homesteads or small groups of houses. There are two chief kinds of villages. Except in Northern India they are usually inhabited by cultivators, each of whom holds his land from, and pays the assessment thereon direct to, Government. These are known as 'ryotwari' villages. In each of these there is, or there used to be, an hereditary 'headman,' who is responsible for law and order and for the collection of the revenue arising from the land assessment. Each village used to be complete in itself, with the cultivators or farmers as the most important section, and conjointly with them the merchant and moneylender, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith, the barber, the washerman, the watchman, and the prædial serfs attached to the land. In Northern India the prevalent type is the landlord or joint proprietary village. Here the revenue used to be assessed in a lump sum on the village as a whole, whilst actually in practice it was distributed among the superior proprietors. These latter own the village building site and allot sites to the tenantry, traders, artisans, &c. The government of the village rested with what we should call a committee, board, or jury, called a 'Panchayat' (from *panch*, meaning 'five') composed of the heads of the more important families. At the present day one or more headmen have been added to conduct business with the Government officials. Though the ancient village autonomy has to a greater or less extent disappeared in most provinces, yet the village remains the nethermost unit in our system of administration. The headman, the accountant or registrar,

and the watchman or village constable, are paid by Government and are quite indispensable functionaries.

In some provinces the village headman decides petty civil suits and can lock up or put into the village stocks—which are now almost things of the past—low-caste or non-caste offenders for theft or drunkenness. In most of the provinces the village committees—sometimes specially constituted for a combination of two or more villages—are entrusted with funds, or levy a small house tax, to keep the village roads in order, remove rubbish and filth, cleanse and deepen the wells, and clear out the village tank or pond. The villagers have their own ideas of cleanliness and sanitation which do not necessarily accord with ours. Every cultivator desires to keep his own dunghill near his house or hut, and the privy and drainage arrangements are often *nil*. Nevertheless the great diminution in cholera epidemics is almost certainly due to the persistent though still imperfect sanitation and cleansing of towns and villages, and to systematic attention to water supply through a long series of years. Even a small village with only a single bullock-cart for the purpose will get a ton or a ton and a half of refuse removed daily throughout the year, or between 400 and 500 tons per annum, and in the larger villages and the towns the quantity removed is of course vastly greater.

The Commission, while recognising the disintegration of the village system that has unfortunately taken place in some provinces, are of opinion that 'the foundation of any stable edifice which shall associate the people with the administration must be the village.' They think, too, that the scanty success of rural self-government hitherto is mainly due to the fact that we have not built up from the bottom. They desire the development of the village committee system, and, under the guidance of sympathetic officers, would entrust the committees with certain limited powers. Civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases might be exercised by them. This would to some extent relieve the regular courts of trifling disputes and save the people from long journeys and legal expenses, for the rules would be extremely simple, and the parties would have to appear in person and not by a lawyer. Simple sanitation in the removal of filth and rubbish, the cleansing of tanks and wells, the repair of the village roads are duties that may be continued or assigned as the case may be. The construction and maintenance of the village school-house, and some limited control over the school in the matter of hours of attendance, holidays, prizes, exemption from fees on account of poverty might be added. The committees might also look after small fuel and fodder reserves, the village pound and the village market. The committees should be judged by general results, and not discouraged by harsh treatment for occasional failures not arising from serious misconduct. They would require both careful watching and steady encouragement. Their funds should be derived from an assignment of a portion of the local

land cess levied in the village, from special grants for special purposes, from the receipts of cattle pounds and markets, and from small fees in the civil suits. It is obvious that powers like these may with safety be delegated, at any rate experimentally, to certain villages, and would be entirely unsuited to others, and also that the conditions vary not only from province to province, but from district to district in the same province, and from village to village through the same district.

Rural Boards.—These have existed in most provinces since Lord Mayo's time (1871), and they were developed and popularised with a view to training in self-government by the Government of Lord Ripon in 1881. It may be said that in every 'district' there is a head or district rural board, and dependent upon it two or more sub-district rural boards comprising one or more of the administrative divisions of the district. All the rural boards contain a number of non-official members, and the chairman is usually an official; in the case of the district rural board he is almost invariably an official. The sub-district boards have not been altogether a success in every province. The Commission attribute this in the main to the circumscription of their powers and finances. In Madras and Assam, where they have been less hampered, they have done fairly well, and the Commission urge that, just as local self-government must commence in the village with the establishment of the village committee with definite authority and power, so the next step upward must be the establishment of rural boards for areas less than that of the district. The district rural board must, of course, be maintained, and must be possessed of a revenue which will enable it to aid the sub-boards as necessity may require. Sir S. Edgerley would make the district rural board a federal council of delegates for common objects financed by the sub-district boards.

The cardinal principle for this form of administration, the Commission consider, should be that the rural board should control the service for which it pays. The main duties of such boards are the maintenance and improvement of roads and other communications, primary education, hospitals, dispensaries, vaccination, sanitation, veterinary work, construction and maintenance of markets and rest-houses, and the charge of pounds and ferries. They are also liable to expend money on famine relief and on combating plague, cholera, and other epidemics. In Madras and the two Bengals every district rural board has its own engineer to control its public works. In other provinces the engineers belong to the Government staff and their services are paid for by the boards. It seems very desirable that where the work is sufficient to occupy a full-time officer and where duly qualified men can be obtained, each district rural board should have its own engineer. The drawback to the employment of the Government engineers is that they have to serve two nominal masters, the Government and the rural boards, and that they are tempted to regard the Government as the real one.

The Commission differ on the question whether sub-district boards should possess the duty of school inspection and the promotion and disciplinary control of teachers. Sir F. Lely and Sir S. Edgerley are opposed to the grant of such powers, while the rest of the Commission consider that departmental efficiency must give way to the education of the people in self-government. It is pretty certain that, whatever education in self-government may result from such a system, the education of the boys and girls for whose benefit the schools and the teachers exist, will lamentably suffer. The Commission, however, are willing to concede that there should be additional inspection by Government officers, on the plea that Government should be informed of the character and working of the schools, and be able to interfere if necessary. The two opponents here seem to have the best of the argument, especially when they point out the extravagance of a double system of inspection.

The Commission depart from logical consistency in the matter of the chief hospital of a district, which, they say, should be taken over by Government, because such a hospital serves municipal areas as well as rural, that it treats a number of Government servants, and should serve as a model for the rest of the district. But in that case what becomes of the argument that departmental efficiency must give way to the education of the people in self-government? The logical inference is that the Commission consider it less pernicious to injure or poison the minds of children with bad teaching than the bodies of adults with bad boluses or potions or clumsy operations. But, surely, as these latter evil consequences produce immediate personal consequences of a most convincing character, the gain in educational self-government would be far greater in case of a bad hospital than a bad school! On the whole the decision of the Commission appears to be thoroughly sound in the case of the hospital while the logic is bad. In the case of the schools the decision is bad while the logic is good! This is a good illustration of what is said to be the saving grace of the Britisher and the cause of his success—that when it comes to business he drops his logic and betakes himself to common sense! Let us hope that common sense will save the schools.

Light Railways and Tramways.—In Madras a district rural board may levy a limited special cess for this purpose, provided that the tax has been voted for by not less than three-fourths of the members present at a special meeting called for the purpose, and that the resolution has been similarly confirmed after six months and has also been approved by Government. The Tanjore board has in this way created a valuable railway property, and the Kistna board has recently had completed a railway thirty miles in length that promises to be equally successful.

Finance.—The chief source of the revenue of rural boards is a cess, which is usually one anna (i.e. $\frac{1}{16}$ of a rupee) on the annual rent value

of land. The Government give a grant in aid of 25 per cent. Prior to 1906 the rural boards in the United Provinces were so intricately interdependent in financial matters, and also so dependent upon the allocations made by Government, that they were practically without initiative or independence. This system has now happily passed away.

The Commission recommend a radical change to remove the strict control which has hitherto been exercised by Government over rural boards. The effect will be to give the boards power to pass their own budgets subject only to the maintenance of a prescribed minimum balance. This is a change *per saltum* from close dependence to complete independence, and would certainly be unsafe unless the chairman be an official with power to see that no specified duties are neglected. It is pretty certain that many boards with full power and with a non-official majority of Indians would desire to devote the entire revenue to water supply, lighting, and the maintenance of roads and schools in which the members were personally interested, to the neglect of the general public interests.

On the whole the Commission seem to advocate in regard to rural boards a relaxation of control that may lead to educational self-government of a retrograde character, and likely to be adverse to the true interests of the population. It is, however, proposed as a check to give the collector or deputy commissioner, in case of emergency, and the Local Government always, power to direct a board to perform any specific act or duty imposed on it by law, and in default to take action at the board's expense.

Municipalities.—The following table is of much interest as showing at a glance the development of municipal government in the different provinces of India :—

Province	No. of Municipalities	Average Population per Municipality	Number of Municipalities with Population			
			Below 5,000	Between 5,000 and 10,000	Between 10,000 and 100,000	Over 100,000
Madras . . .	60	31,947	1	2	55	2
{ Bombay . . .	136	14,489	14	52	67	3
{ Sind	25	15,582	10	8	6	1
Bengal	128	18,487	10	41	75	2
{ Eastern Bengal . .	35	15,151	4	7	24	nil
{ Assam	15	6,421	5	7	3	nil
United Provinces	89	35,003	nil	11	72	6
Punjab	138	15,143	35	59	41	3
Burma	43	16,021	3	22	17	1
{ Central Provinces	45	14,886	7	19	18	1
{ Berar	13	16,370	1	2	10	nil
North-West Frontier Province	10	16,469	1	6	3	nil

With regard to municipalities the Commission reaffirm their principle that if a municipality has to pay for a service it should control it.

They would limit the obligations of these towns in education to primary schools, leaving secondary education in the hands of Government. They would give a free hand in regard to the budgets, subject to a minimum standing balance, and municipalities should not be subject to any orders requiring the allotment of a percentage of their revenues to any particular service. The Commission realise that the full powers recommended

‘will no doubt occasionally lead to mistakes and mismanagement, but [they] consider that municipalities can attain adequate financial responsibility only by the exercise of such powers and by having to bear the consequences of their errors. They cannot make real progress if constantly kept in financial leading-strings, nor can self-government become a reality if local bodies are habitually protected against themselves.’

This is plausible and encouraging from one point of view, but what of the populations of towns which may suffer from disease, over-taxation, neglected roads, insufficient water supply, &c., at the hands of native members who may fail in administrative capacity or in honesty when the enlarged powers are thrust upon them? As David said when his people were punished with pestilence because he had made a census, ‘As for these poor sheep, what have they done?’ It seems to me that the risk of the course proposed by the Commission is too great, and that enlarged powers should be conferred gradually on municipalities and not *per saltum*. The checks proposed by the Commission are inadequate; they are (1) that a municipality which gets financially embarrassed will not be able to get sanction from Government for a loan,—in which case it must obviously remain in the slough into which ignorance or wickedness has plunged it; (2) that if it neglects its duties it can be made to undertake them,—and the stable door may be shut after the horse is stolen; (3) that a municipality which is hopelessly inefficient can be suspended or abolished,—a depressing conclusion to anticipate as the gift of self-government.

In concluding this review of the Report of the Decentralisation Commission, I should like to express my admiration at the searching, elaborate and painstaking character of their prolonged labours, and, while confident that much benefit will accrue therefrom to the Indian administration, to express a hope that the proposals which affect each individual province will be carefully examined by the Local Government concerned, that safe reforms may be promptly carried out, and that in regard to any that may perhaps savour of rashness, it may be possible, in spite of the hurry of the present age, to bear in mind the adage *Festina lente*.

A. T. ARUNDEL.

THE BUDGET AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE'S Budget of 1909 will for ever be regarded as one of the epoch-making events in the political history of this country. Whether it succeeds in finding its way on to the Statute-book—and it is much too early to say whether all the perils abounding in that path will be overcome—or whether it fails, no more ambitious attempt has ever been made to effect a Social Revolution by the agency of our fiscal system. Hitherto it has been the practice to separate social from financial reforms in our legislative measures. If, for example, it is deemed necessary and desirable to prevent land from being kept out of the market, the traditional and orthodox method would have been to give powers for compulsory purchase where land is proved to be required *bonâ fide* for development purposes. This is the principle which has been acted upon in the Small Holdings Act and the various Housing Acts, and statesmanship would doubtless have discovered means for extending the application of this principle to other cases. The orthodox method has many obvious advantages which justify the claim that it should not be abandoned for the alternative method which the Government propose to adopt. Parliamentary history can provide many instances of legislative measures which have failed to realise the objects of their promoters; and many also where the consequences have been the very opposite of those sought. What legislation has done or failed to do, it is generally possible for further legislation to remedy. But when social and financial reforms are coupled together in the same measure it must be at least more difficult, and it may even be almost impossible, to turn back on the social reform portion, because of the disturbance and disorganisation which may be produced in the finances of the country. Even where this result to the finances is not produced, the possibility must always act as a restraining influence, hampering and obstructing the development of social reforms in accordance with growing needs and increasing experience.

The land taxes in the present Budget are not the only examples it contains of the intimate association of financial and social schemes. The proposals for land taxation are defended on the ground that there is a need for greater access to the land by the people; it is believed

that the taxes on increments and undevelopments will tend to force reluctant owners to part with their land. The heavy increased taxation on liquor licenses is defended by leading spokesmen on behalf of the Government, and in fact by several members of the Cabinet, because it will effect what the rejected Licensing Bill of last year would have done. The Licensing Bill was unquestionably a measure of social reform, and its reappearance in the Finance Bill of 1909 is ominous. The large additions to the death duties in the case of the big estates will have the certain effect of breaking up many of these estates, and are justified because of this possible result. In all these cases it may properly be said that while they may be good or bad objects in themselves, no man can be certain that the anticipated results will be realised. In the case of every one of these proposals it is at least arguable that the consequences which are sought will not be realised, and to that extent the results contemplated are speculative and problematic.

This year's Budget is epoch-making from another point of view. It has been the recognised practice, hitherto, of the British Budget system to provide money only for those specific purposes which Parliament has already sanctioned. This follows as a natural corollary from the principle that no more money should be raised by taxation, no heavier burdens laid on the people, than is needed to meet the services voted for the year. The knowledge that any scheme costing money must be followed by a vote of new taxation has a salutary restraint upon the ardour of our legislators. Taxation is a necessary evil in civilised society, to be resorted to, however, only for those purposes to which the country—through the legislature—is formally committed. The case of Mr. Gladstone in 1853, when he fixed the income tax and tea duties for several years is, of course, no precedent. He was then dealing with purely financial questions. He desired to reorganise and remodel the fiscal system in order that, as he hoped, the income tax might be completely abolished, and the tea tax reduced from 2s. 2½d. to 1s. per lb. He claimed that the gradual process which his Budget proposed would be compensated by the increasing yield each year of his new legacy and succession duties. The method itself could not be objected to by the most rigid stickler to constitutional precedents. It is, however, entirely without precedent to submit proposals to Parliament in order to provide in future years the means for carrying out legislative reforms which have not yet seen the light, and some of which have not reached any stage beyond the preamble in the mind of some member of the Government. Suppose the present Budget were passed and these other schemes did not pass, or were modified or amended so as to involve a much smaller expenditure of public money than is now contemplated, the Government would have been responsible for promoting unnecessary taxation, a serious offence on the part of any Government. It is unconstitutional

and dangerous to create a fund, out of which a Government department will be able to draw the money required to pay for some expensive scheme which Parliament may be induced to sanction on the plea that it will not involve increased taxation. On the whole, the country will prefer to revert to the original system and draw its cheques in payment of those liabilities to which it is already committed with the amounts precisely specified on them.

So far as the current financial year is concerned the financial situation confronting the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and for which the present Budget makes claim to provide, may be briefly stated. According to the Budget statement the services already voted amounted to 136,152,000*l.* If 28,000,000*l.* were to be voted for service of debt in 1909-10, this being the sum provided in last year's Budget, the expenditure of the year would rise to 164,152,000*l.* The Treasury estimates show that the revenue of the year on the pre-Budget basis of taxation was expected to realise only 148,390,000*l.*, leaving the stupendous deficit of 15,762,000*l.* to be met, the largest deficit in peace time in the history of this country. In consequence of the largeness of this deficit the Budget proposed to reduce the debt charge by 3,000,000*l.* and hence to reduce the deficit to 12,762,000*l.* Since the yield of the existing taxes was estimated to be 122,900,000*l.* the deficit to be met out of new taxation amounts to 10·4 per cent. of the tax revenue. One simple solution of the Chancellor's difficulties would have been the all-round increase of the existing taxes by about 11 per cent. The relative burdens would have remained unaltered, and everybody would have been impressed with the equity of the Chancellor's proposals. The tobacco duty might have been increased by 4*d.*, the spirit duty by 1*s.* 3*d.*, the income tax by 1*d.*, or perhaps 2*d.*, and so on. The money would have been provided, the Budget would have been described as 'humdrum,' which means that it is sound, and the Government would have been spared a considerable amount of Parliamentary time, which they could have utilised for the promotion of their legislative measures.

The new taxation actually proposed does not claim to satisfy any such criterion, and admittedly departs from it in considerably varying degrees in many cases. It is difficult to discover, however, upon what principle or principles the Government have decided to impose their new taxation. Some supercilious persons are inclined to suggest the Budget is 'unprincipled,' but while this is probably untrue, one may read through the speeches of members of the Government, and fail to discover any trace of a principle enunciated. There is frequent use of the formula that the broadest backs should be made to bear the greatest burdens. But what if the back is broken by the burden—the formula would be regarded as justifying the result. The truth is, this is not a principle of taxation, but a mere *ipse dixit* for confusing and misleading the electorate as to the real objects of

the proposals. The formula would be as well satisfied by the old principle of uniform rates of taxation as by the extremest proposals of the Socialist party for steep graduation of the rates of taxation to the point of confiscation, when incomes or wealth above a certain amount were reached. What is the principle which determines that the income tax on a person with 10,000*l.* a year should be 758*l.*, on a person earning 1000*l.* a year should be only 37*l.* 10*s.*, and on one earning 100*l.* a year should be nil? If an income of 1000*l.* should be liable to one-twentieth of the income tax of a person with 10,000*l.* a year, it might be expected that the person with 100*l.* a year should pay one-twentieth the income tax of the one with 1000*l.* a year, namely 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* This is the income tax paid, however, by the person earning 210*l.* a year. Again, why should an income of 200*l.* pay 1*l.* 10*s.* in income tax, while one of 1000*l.*, or five times as great, should pay 37*l.* 10*s.*, or twenty-five times as much? Further, why should an 'unearned' income of 200*l.* be liable to 55 per cent. more income tax than an 'earned' income of the same amount, while the differentiation is less than 17 per cent. on incomes of 2000*l.* and nothing at all on incomes over 3000*l.*? One might run through the whole gamut of taxes and show the existence of fundamental anomalies of this description, bearing evidence to the fact not that there is no underlying principle in our tax-system, but that that principle is so effectively hidden that it may be unknown even to the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself.

So far as our indirect taxes are concerned the only discoverable principle of taxation is ability to smoke, ability to drink—spirits, beer, wine, tea, coffee, and cocoa. The man who cannot or will not smoke or drink is exempt from contributing to the revenues of the State.

A good deal has been written and said about the excessive under-estimating in the present Budget. Everyone must naturally be exceedingly reluctant to credit such a charge so far as it would reflect on the deservedly high character and integrity of the Permanent Officials at the Treasury. In estimating the yield of a new tax, or even the effect of a change in an old tax, there is always a considerable element of guess-work, especially when the statistics for founding the calculations upon are absent or defective. It is necessary only to recall how wide of the truth were the Treasury estimates of the cost and number of old-age pensions, to demonstrate the fallibility of their calculations. The original estimate of the cost of old-age pensions, allowing for amendments to the original scheme introduced in Committee and for cost of administration, was 7,000,000*l.* for the first full year; the actual cost is now estimated at 8,750,000*l.*

The estimates most open to doubt are those relating to (1) the yield of revenue on the pre-Budget basis of taxation, and (2) the yield of the increased (a) death duties, (b) income tax and supertax, (c) licence

duties, and (d) spirit tax. The probable yield of the new land taxes can be no more than a guess which it is impossible to check. The proposals themselves require a good deal of trimming before the most sanguine supporter of the Government hopes to see them become law. Already the amount available for the Exchequer has been seriously curtailed by the announcement of Mr. Lloyd-George in the House of Commons that the yield of the land taxes would be shared with the rating authorities throughout the country.

In estimating the yield in 1909-10 of the pre-Budget taxes, Mr. Lloyd-George assumed the product of the death duties as 18,600,000*l.*, which is 230,000*l.* more than the actual yield, but 900,000*l.* less than the estimated yield in 1908-9. The determination in advance of the yield of the death duties is of course impossible; the variations from year to year are considerable. 'Mr. Lloyd-George himself explained that 'the only reliable way (of estimating the death duties) is to take it for three years, striking an average, and taking that as the estimate.' But it is difficult to discover how the actual estimate squares with this formula. The yield of the death duties in the last three years has been 18,959,000*l.* in 1906-7, 19,108,000*l.* in 1907-8 and 18,370,000*l.* in 1908-9, making a total of 56,437,000*l.* During two years the enhanced rates of estate duties imposed by Mr. Asquith's Budget in 1907 have been in operation, the estimated yield of which was 600,000*l.* in the first year and 1,200,000*l.* in the following year. Deducting this 1,800,000*l.* the total yield of the death duties in the last three years on the old rates may be put at 54,500,000*l.*, or 18,200,000*l.* per annum. Adding 1,200,000*l.* as the amount in a full year of the estimated yield of the increased death duties according to the 1907 Budget, the figure at which Mr. Lloyd-George ought to have put the probable yield in 1909-10, allowing for no further increase in the rates, should have been 19,400,000*l.*, or 800,000*l.* in excess of the Budget estimate. Even this is 100,000*l.* less than the Budget estimate of last year.

The yield of the excise duties is another item upon which an extraordinarily, and, according to the writer, excessively, large reduction has been estimated. The actual receipts of the duties under this head in 1908-9 were 33,650,000*l.*, and including 360,000*l.* for patent medicines and playing cards, which are hereafter to be counted with the excise duties, 34,010,000*l.* The amount allowed in the Budget estimates is, however, 32,050,000*l.*, being an estimated shrinkage of very nearly 2,000,000*l.* on the year, an amount which is altogether unprecedented and deserving more explanation than it has so far been accorded. Having regard to the ordinary course of the excise revenue in recent years, a sum of 1,000,000*l.* would have provided amply for that decline which is euphemiously attributed to the improving habits of the people. On these two items alone—death duties and excise—there is very sound reason for believing the

Chancellor of the Exchequer has underestimated his revenue by at least 1,800,000*l.* This is a matter which, if well founded, is of the utmost importance, for it means that the deficit has been over-estimated, either accidentally or deliberately, by this amount, and the new tax-burdens on the people are correspondingly increased. In a year when so large an addition is being made to the country's taxation every care should have been taken to impose not one penny of burden more than is absolutely necessary. The country should be made to feel some confidence in the estimates also, and full explanation is due of these extraordinary calculations on which the Budget is founded.

Before proceeding to a similar examination of the estimated revenue resulting from the changes proposed by the Budget, it will be convenient to examine first the enormous increases represented by them. Leaving out of account the new land taxes for which the ultimate yield is put at anything from 10,000,000*l.* to 20,000,000*l.*, but for which no materials are at present available to make any estimate having the slightest statistical value, the largest changes are proposed in connexion with the death duties. According to the statement issued by the Treasury, the new rates as well as the changes in the law will produce a sum of 2,850,000*l.* in the present year, 6,520,000*l.* next year, and 7,300,000*l.* ultimately. The estate duties alone are estimated to produce a further 2,550,000*l.* in the present year and 4,400,000*l.* in future years. It is possible to give some sort of check to this last figure, for the return of the Inland Revenue Commissioners shows each year the net value of the estates of persons dying each year, classified according to the rates of estate duty to which they were liable. Applying Mr. Lloyd-George's new rates to the estates of persons dying in 1907-8, this being the last year for which these figures are available, the result is to show that the ultimate yield of the new taxes cannot be less than 5,000,000*l.*, or 600,000*l.* more than the official estimate. This means that another 350,000*l.* should be added to the yield of the present year on account of the estate duties alone.

The most astonishing miscalculations appear to have been made with regard to the yield of the new spirit duties. The rate has been increased by more than 33 per cent., yet the revenue which last year amounted to 21,386,000*l.* is expected to show an increase of only 1,600,000*l.*, or 7·5 per cent. It is true that some allowance should be made for exceptional clearances of spirits at the old rate of duty during April in anticipation of the Budget. But even when the most liberal allowance is made on this account there still remains a surplus very considerably in excess of that assumed by Mr. Lloyd-George. Some figures published a few days ago, in reply to a question by Mr. Pike Pease, show the actual amount of the April clearances. Of imported spirits there were cleared 847,000 gallons, equal to

about six weeks' supply, and of domestic spirits about 4,379,000 gallons, or seven weeks' supply. Assuming a seven weeks' supply of both imported and domestic spirits cleared in April, it may be shown that an increased revenue of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. means a diminished consumption during the present year of no less than 17 per cent. Seeing that the average diminution in consumption in the past five years has been about 1·8 per cent. only, this large reduction appears greatly exaggerated and obviously calls for some explanation. To a pressman Mr. Lloyd-George confided that he had allowed for an estimated reduction in consumption to the extent of 11 per cent. But a two months' supply of duty-paid spirits on Budget day, and an 11 per cent. decline in the year's consumption, should still show an increase of at least 2,600,000*l.*, or 1,000,000*l.* more than the estimate. But these figures are clearly ludicrously exaggerated, and it is more reasonable to assume that there will be a decline of not more than 5 per cent. in the year's consumption, and that only seven weeks' supply escaped under the old rates of duty. The effect of these assumptions is that the revenue of the increased spirit duty should have been put at 3,900,000*l.*, or 2,300,000*l.* more than the estimate.

This position having been reached regarding the various alleged under-estimates, there appear very solid reasons for the statement that, deliberately or accidentally, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is imposing in the present financial year taxation to the extent of at least 4,450,000*l.* in excess of the amount required for the year. The separate items are as follows :

OLD DUTIES:		£
Death Duties	. . . . .	800,000
Excise	. . . . .	1,000,000
NEW DUTIES:		
Estate Duties	. . . . .	350,000
Spirits	. . . . .	2,300,000
		<u>£4,450,000</u>

If the estimates of revenue appear, at any rate on the surface, fantastic and grotesque, the objections to the new duties are even greater when considered from the point of view of the magnitude of the changes which they impose on the back of the taxpayers who are selected for treatment by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. However proper the particular duties or particular rates might be in themselves, it cannot be right that such drastic changes should be brought about in a single Budget. Never in the financial history of this country has a Chancellor of the Exchequer come down to the House of Commons and imposed new duties or increased duties of this extraordinary character. They inevitably cause a maximum of disturbance to the various interests affected with a consequent maximum of irritation.

and opposition. When in addition it is discovered that the full extent of the changes are concealed by under-estimates the objections of reasonable men must be accentuated.

To illustrate the drastic character of the changes introduced attention may be first drawn to the death duties. For purposes of comparison four estates are taken whose net value for purposes of death duties are 6000*l.*, 60,000*l.*, 300,000*l.*, and 1,000,000*l.* respectively. The duties shown opposite these estates represent the minimum of legacy and estate duties to which they would be liable under the Harcourt, Asquith, and Lloyd-George Budgets. If the estates passed to other than lineals, the duties and the increases would be considerably larger than here shown. Taking this simplest case, however, the following results appear :

Net Value of Estate	Estate and Legacy Duties levied under Scale of			Increase under present Government
	Harcourt	Asquith	Lloyd-George	
£	£	£	£	per cent.
6,000	240	240	240	0
60,000	3,600	3,600	4,800	33½
300,000	24,000	27,000	36,000	50
1,000,000	90,000	110,000	160,000	78

Here we obtain some glimpse of the enormity of the Budget changes in one particular impost alone. Two years ago Mr. Asquith introduced changes in the Harcourt scale on all estates of which the net value exceeded 150,000*l.* Those changes were estimated to be worth an additional revenue of 1,200,000*l.* a year. The changes proposed by Mr. Lloyd-George are more thorough ; the estate duties are increased on all estates of more than 5000*l.*, and the legacy and succession duties are enormously and generally stiffened. Only the small estate, and that only in the case of a lineal succession, escapes the avenging hand. Upon an estate of 60,000*l.* the increase proposed by the present Budget amounts to 33½ per cent. In the case of an estate valued at 300,000*l.*, Mr. Asquith's scale represented an increase of 12½ per cent., and the new scale a further increase of 33½ per cent., making a total increase of 50 per cent. since the present Government was returned. Finally, in the case of the millionaire estate Mr. Asquith's whip was measured by a 22 per cent. scale, but Mr. Lloyd-George's scorpions a further 45 per cent. ; the whips and scorpions together amounting to a 78 per cent. scourge.

But it is said there can be no pity for the wealthy man. If he will be so foolish as to amass wealth, though it may be perfectly proper and in accordance not only with the law of the land, but according also to the principles of property which govern every civilised nation, and prefers rather to leave this wealth to his children than to spend it in his lifetime, there can be no pity for those who succeed to this

man's property. The desire to leave as much of their wealth as possible to their surviving dependents is, however, an unconquerable passion in the minds of the majority of wealthy men. They provide, therefore, for the call of the Treasury at their death by insuring the death duties in advance, as in fact they were advised to do by Sir William Harcourt. To this type of man, and there are many such, the frequent large changes in recent years are playing havoc with his property. By way of illustration take the case of the millionaire who wishes to leave his estate intact to his children. Following Sir William Harcourt's suggestion he insured the death duties to which he was liable under the Act of 1894. Assuming he was then aged fifty, he would probably find that the premiums on his 90,000*l.* policy would amount to 4090*l.* In 1907 Mr. Asquith increased the liability to death duties by 20,000*l.*, and being now sixty-three the further premium he has to pay for insurance will probably amount to 1635*l.* Now, when he is sixty-five, Mr. Lloyd-George proposes a further increase of 60,000*l.* in his death duties, and if he desires to insure this sum he finds himself charged with a further premium of 5450*l.* In this particular case, therefore, the man who would insure the whole of the death duties to which he is liable would find the cost of the premiums at the present time no less a sum than 11,175*l.* Suppose his estate is one yielding a 4 per cent. income; in that case the premiums will absorb 27·9 per cent., or 5*s.* 7*d.* in the pound, of his annual income. Take a more extreme case and suppose his estate yields him only 3 per cent.; in this case the premium charges amount to 37·7 per cent., or 7*s.* 5*d.* in the pound, on his annual income. If it be said he need not insure, he need not cut down his expenses, his labour bill, his charity subscriptions, and so on, it can only be replied that the Finance Bill should not be the means of forcing a fond parent to sink his natural desire to provide for his children, and provide instead for the stranger in the gate.

The man who wishes to leave his estates intact and pays his premiums is the man who is subject to a further annual charge in the shape of income tax, largely increased under the present Budget. The combined effect of the two imposts is shown in the following table which has been calculated on the following simple assumptions. The death duties being insured against the premiums paid are in effect equivalent to income tax; the death duties themselves are sometimes regarded as 'deferred' income tax. An alternative way of regarding the death duties is to discover the annuity which might have been bought with them had the State not stepped in; in this case the death duties might be regarded as 'anticipated' income tax. It is assumed finally that the estates yield 4 per cent., the owner is forty years of age at the time of insurance, and he claims the full legal abatement in respect of income tax on his premiums. The result is as follows in the cases of the four estates referred to above:

Net Value of Estate	Equivalent Income Tax of Death Duties and Income Tax combined	
	Deferred	Anticipated
£	d.	d.
6,000	10·09	17·47
60,000	26·84	87·92
800,000	86·96	58·61
1,000,000	44·85	66·25

After what has been said above it need scarcely be added that if the estates yield less than 4 per cent., if the owner's age exceeds forty, or if he is not accepted as a 'first-class life,' these burdens will be still further enhanced. The most ardent Socialist must in his heart be gratified at the length which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has this year gone in the direction of peacefully appropriating to the State the wealth of the wealthy.

Two principles are discernible in the scheme of taxation proposed by the Government. The first is the principle of graduation, or the adoption of rates of taxes increasing with the wealth of the individual ; and the second, that certain classes of property may be selected for special taxation. The principle of graduation has undergone many changes since it first appeared in the fiscal system of this country. The earliest conception was based on the desire to impose no burdens on persons whose earnings do not extend above the limit of subsistence. This was the basis of Pitt's income tax exemption limit. A later conception rested on the recognition of varying standards of comfort in different social classes in the community. This led to the system of abatements and deductions, which appears in the income tax system as we now have it. Both these views involve that graduation should stop at moderate income levels. Graduation carried to the uppermost limits of income is an entirely new conception, and has never been defended as yet against the reasonable contention that it carries with it the possibility of confiscation of very high incomes.

The other principle, that of 'selective' taxation, is objected to on the ground that it fails to recognise that it is persons and not things who pay taxes. So long as any particular description of property is not ill-gotten, it cannot be right that the person who owns it should be specially hunted down for exceptional taxation. Here again there is no limit, in applying this principle, to the ultimate confiscation of this class of property. The present Budget, so far as it lays down any principles at all, would justify confiscation of the wealth of the very wealthy, and also of certain kinds of property. In this the Government are interpreting the views of the rankest Socialists, and are striking down at the roots of civilised society all over the world. It is too hazardous and revolutionary a principle to be tamely submitted to by the nation.

S. ROSENBAUM.

IMPERIALIST AUSTRIA: AN IMPRESSION FROM VIENNA

THE renaissance of Imperialist Austria is the one unmistakable result which emerges from the smoke of the confused diplomatic conflict that has just brought Europe to the very verge of war. All the rest is still nebulous. Yet looming through the mist may be discerned certain indications of the new spirit now inspiring this formidable force, hitherto latent, but at present manifesting intense activity and daily increasing self-confidence, after a long period of systematic self-depreciation. At the present juncture there is no more important problem of European politics than a correct forecast of the course of the new policy adopted by Austria-Hungary, who has so long been regarded as a bulwark of peace and a brake upon the Pan-Germanic ambitions of the Hohenzollerns. Upon a just appreciation of the change that has occurred must depend all effective action in international affairs. For this reason everything calculated to throw light on its real significance cannot but be welcome. I trust that the information which I have just gathered in Berlin as well as here in Vienna will prove a useful contribution to the task of enlightening public opinion.

One result of my inquiries in both capitals has been to confirm the conviction of the extreme gravity and far-reaching implications of the recent crisis, which some of the best-informed observers are convinced has not been closed, but merely suspended. Indeed, one distinguished authority with whom I discussed the subject, and who enjoys a high reputation in diplomatic circles for the soundness of his judgment, went so far as to contend that some of the means employed to overcome the crisis have, on the contrary, so aggravated the original conflict that it will in all human probability present itself anew in an acuter form three to four years hence. However that may be—and this extreme pessimistic view is not shared in all quarters—those best entitled to form an opinion are agreed that Europe had been within a stone's throw of an armed conflict that would probably have led to a far more important revision of the map than was effected at the Berlin Congress.

Not only had Germany in the month of March mobilised part of her forces in Prussian Silesia as a means of enforcing her ultimatum to Russia, but during the latter part of the crisis she actually offered Austria-Hungary to move two Saxon divisions into Galicia in order to allow the Dual Monarchy to withdraw her Lemberg and Przemyśl garrisons for action against Servia. What the ulterior motives of the German Government were in making that proposal is a matter of much speculation in diplomatic circles. It was represented to Austria as an ingenious expedient whereby Germany could aid her ally without bringing France into the field through the creation of the *casus fœderis*, while at the same time the pressure exercised upon Russia by the joint demonstration would, it was argued, keep her quiet until the Dual Monarchy had settled accounts with her little Slav neighbour.* Whatever the motive of this ingenious scheme, it appealed more strongly to the ardour of the Heir-Apparent than to the ripe experience of his uncle, the Emperor-King, who at once pointed out that it is far easier to let foreign auxiliaries enter your territory than it is to get rid of them when their services are no longer needed. Fortunately then, as on other occasions before and since, the last word rested with the aged sovereign, and the risk of a dangerous experiment—and precedent—was averted.

Indeed, in endeavouring to form an accurate view of the probable future development of Austrian Imperialism, it is essential to bear in mind the constant exercise thus far of the moderating influence of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Although the Emperor-King has throughout the crisis given a fairly free rein to his Foreign Minister and listened to the views of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, he has in the last resort kept the decision of all important issues in his own hands. Europe and the friends of peace may rest assured that he will only surrender the helm with life itself. Indeed, there is reason to believe that, although some sections of the Austrian public are impatient to see the Archduke succeed, that impatience is not shared by himself, and still less by his consort. The course of Austrian Imperialism under the Emperor's successor may well take a direction more in harmony with the character of that comparatively young and strong-willed Prince, and, indeed, with the noticeable revival of bellicose tendencies among the peoples of the Monarchy. Of course, experience shows that direct responsibility has a sobering effect upon the most ardent inheritors of power. It would, however, be unwise to reckon upon the immediate adoption by the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of the spirit of compromise and moderation developed in his august uncle by long years of difficulty and numerous reverses.

It would be a complete misconception of the significance and importance of the awakening of the Monarchy to regard it purely as a result of the accession to office of Baron von Aehrenthal and the admission of the Heir-Apparent to a consulting voice in the conduct

of affairs. It is clear that these two men, of clear though not commanding intelligence, but of exceptionally strong will, have exercised a powerful influence upon the present policy of Austria-Hungary, and still more upon the new spirit of its peoples which renders that policy possible. Their unprecedented success is, however, mainly due to the fact that they appeared on the scene at the psychological moment when circumstances favoured a long-smouldering revolt of the popular imagination against the effaced rôle played by their great Empire, and the moderation and reserve of their aged sovereign, which was incomprehensible to the masses. I well remember, when making a tour through the provincial capitals of the Monarchy over ten years ago, how frequent were the unfavourable comparisons between that moderation, which was represented as hopelessly sterile and depressing, and the successful 'hustling' of the Emperor William, whom I once heard described by an eminent representative of the United States as 'the most capable commercial traveller on your side of the Atlantic.' Much of the momentary success gained at that time by the Pan-Germanic agitation throughout the Monarchy, with the theatrical disaffection of its now discredited apostles, was unquestionably due to this half-conscious feeling that a great Power like Austria-Hungary was not getting fair play in foreign affairs owing to a slackness in the head of the State, which formed such a striking contrast to the energy and boldness of the Imperial commercial traveller of the rival German dynasty. On that occasion a provincial German-Austrian professor put the whole theory before me in a nutshell by attributing all the evils from which the Monarchy was suffering to the fact that it was ruled by a decaying dynasty. Utterly unfounded as it was, that theory was typical of the time. The political and moral dyspepsia from which the Austro-Hungarian peoples, and more particularly the German and Magyar elements, were suffering at that moment gave the world a false impression of the real state of the Monarchy. The negotiations for renewal of the Ausgleich, or compromise between Austria and Hungary, hampered the conduct of international affairs, while the Reichsrath in Vienna had been converted into a bear-garden, to the mingled amusement and disgust of Europe, by the internecine strife of the nationalities and the almost hopeless struggle of the Government to carry on the affairs of State in the midst of the tumult—a temporary disturbance, that assumed exaggerated importance at the time, but which is now seen to have been little more than the growing-pains of a young constitutional system endeavouring to become a reality.

So serious did the situation appear, however, that such an acute observer as the late M. de Blowitz, the Paris correspondent of *The Times*, assured me in December 1901 that he still feared the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph would be the signal for the disruption of the Hapsburg Monarchy. Indeed, a little of this feeling still persists in France, where the apparently slow pulse of life even in the Imperial

capital, formerly so gay, has impressed imaginative French visitors as a symbol of the growing decrepitude of the Empire in sympathy with its aged sovereign. Of course there was never any real ground for those doleful forebodings, to which genuine politicians of all the Austro-Hungarian camps have given no credence. They nevertheless cast a cloud upon the prestige of the Monarchy which was felt to be oppressive and irritating by everything that was young and vigorous in the country.

All these dyspeptic broodings have now been swept away. There is still plenty of dissatisfaction, and the ancient quarrels show no signs of diminished vitality, but the spirit in which they are approached has undergone a complete change. That altered tone of the population is what has struck me most in Vienna, which is daily growing more beautiful—also a sign of vigorous health—on my return hither after an absence of over seven years. Hopefulness and a manly self-confidence are now the keynote of conversation on general subjects, which I was formerly accustomed to find pitched in a minor key to the monotonous tune of national self-depreciation.

The Austrians were always proud of the great traditions of their army, enjoyed military display, and heartily admired the smart regiments recruited from all quarters of their parti-coloured Fatherland. The experience of the past half-century had, however, weakened their confidence in the generalship of the military leaders. But the smoothness and rapidity of the recent mobilisation, together with the spirit manifested by the troops, has produced an immense impression upon the whole population. It confirms the verdict of technical experts, who speak highly of the thorough reorganisation to which the army has been subjected by the new Chief of the General Staff, supported by the personal interest of the Heir-Apparent. The peoples of the Monarchy are now convinced by the demonstration of their military readiness just given to the world that their army is in the front rank of European forces, and second only to that of Germany in the completeness of its organisation and equipment. This conviction counts for much in the new spirit that inspires them, a spirit manifested in the bold and confident bearing of the troops starting for the front, and of the crowds that had come to bid them good-bye. I am assured that it was also evident in the attitude of the relatives and friends of the departing conscripts, all being filled with the same enthusiasm for the common cause, and the same confidence that it would be well defended.

I may add that in naval circles the small Austrian fleet has long been regarded as one of the best drilled and appointed in Europe. I have heard its gunnery practice, for instance, described as ingenious and effective, and the seamanship of its officers and men highly praised. The fact that this small force, recruited from a seafaring population, has the prestige of victory in the last war in which it was engaged has considerable influence on the moral of its officers and crews. The

comparatively small grants made for its maintenance have forced its chiefs to direct their efforts mainly towards the better training of their men, a task in which they are reputed to have achieved marked success. I have not found among competent foreign observers here any disposition to regard the new naval programme as excessive, or as less justified than, say, the addition to the Russian Fleet of the four *Dreadnoughts* just laid down in the Baltic. That the Italians should take a different view is natural enough, but well-informed friends of England do not consider it either advisable or dignified for the British press to seize this particular opportunity of crying before it is hurt. It is estimated that it will take some four years in all before the Austro-Hungarian *Dreadnoughts* can be launched—the grants for them have not yet been voted—and that, owing to the high tariff which protects the Austrian iron trade, they will cost considerably more than similar vessels, not only in England, but in Germany.

SOME AUSTRIAN EXPLANATIONS

Before proceeding further with these side-lights on the Austrian situation—I refrain from all attempt at a full and connected narrative, for which the time has not yet come—it may be well to give some explanations of special points received from particularly well-informed, but not too communicative, Austrian friends in reply to my inquiries. Although they leave something to be desired in the matter of completeness, they are decidedly of interest so far as they go. I can vouch for the accuracy of my report of these statements, and for the authoritative character of the source whence I have obtained them.

One of the first questions which I addressed to these Austrian friends was concerning the projected railway through the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, the apparent abandonment of which, after a long diplomatic and press campaign, had occasioned almost as much surprise in Europe as had its original announcement. The explanation given to me, which I have every reason to regard as correct, is that the project has in reality not been abandoned, and that the conditions of its realisation will in all probability be discussed with the Turkish Government in the autumn. My informants declared that the moment chosen for demanding the concession for this line from the Porte was fixed by the completion of the new East Bosnian Railway to the Turkish and Servian frontiers. The next step to be taken was to effect its connexion with the Turkish line, without which connexion the Bosnian Railway would end in a blind alley. Consequently negotiations were first entered into with the Turkish Government to secure permission—which was eventually granted—for the preliminary technical studies for the construction of a line from the eastern frontier of Bosnia to Mitrovitza, the present terminus of the Turkish line to Salonica. The work of tracing the line is now finished, and according

to my informants the other questions that remain to be settled will in all probability be disposed of at Constantinople in the autumn. Thus the reports to the effect that the scheme had been abandoned are erroneous. They were possibly based upon the voluntary renunciation by Austria-Hungary of the right granted to her by the Treaty of Berlin to maintain garrisons in the Sanjak, and the subsequent withdrawal of her troops from that region. 'But,' added my informants, 'the only fair conclusion from that withdrawal is that it was a further proof of the pacific intentions of the Monarchy, and showed that from the very first its sole aim in promoting this project was the advancement of civilisation.'

In the same quarter the breakdown of the Austro-Russian understanding concerning the Balkans, which had existed since 1897 and had withstood the strain of repeated incidents and the temptation to separate action to which Austria-Hungary was subjected during the Russo-Japanese war, is attributed to

the attempt made by Russia and England to secure a more speedy realisation of the reform programme in Macedonia, and more particularly to the circumstance that the demands made in the matter of judicial reform were in the opinion of the Vienna Cabinet more far-reaching than Turkey could fairly be expected to accept.

As to the attempt made to conclude, independently of England, an understanding concerning Macedonia between Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, and France, it is denied that the Ballplatz had ever intended to bring about a split between the Powers. Its sole aim throughout the action for Macedonian reform was to keep it within certain limits, and to withhold its own co-operation from proposals which would have had the effect of raising the whole Turkish problem, or imperilling international peace.

There is nothing to be surprised at in the fact that the Vienna Cabinet should in the course of these negotiations have endeavoured to enter into relations with its own ally the German Empire and with France, the ally of Russia, in addition to Russia herself with whom it was acting in concert in the scheme of reform.

In answer to my questions as to the Austrian view of the local and international reasons for the annexation, my informants maintained that the idea of crowning the work of administrative reform in Bosnia and the Herzegovina by the grant of Parliamentary representation had always prevailed, as had also that of settling at a given moment the dubious constitutional relation between the two provinces and the Monarchy. While, however, those ends had previously been promoted in a very gradual way, the events which occurred last year in Turkey forced the Austro-Hungarian Government to proceed to realise them without further hesitation. The urgent necessity which arose for regulating the constitutional relation between those provinces and the Monarchy was partly due to the extension of the Pan-Servian agitation, which had succeeded in

winning over even a section of the Mohammedan population through the argument that Austria-Hungary had only undertaken the provisional administration of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. It had been agreed between Baron von Aehrenthal and M. Isvolsky, on the basis of former Austro-Russian arrangements dating back some three decades, that Russia would raise no objection to the annexation. There was no occasion to discuss the matter with Servia. M. Isvolsky was furthermore aware that Austria-Hungary was not in a position to offer Servia any compensation for the annexation of the occupied provinces.

Austria-Hungary was aware that neither Russia nor any other Power was disposed to incur the risk of a European war for the sake of Servia and her romantic policy, and that even in case the conflict were to become acute the further negotiations would continue to be conducted through diplomatic channels. Mere demonstrations of a military character by another Power, and particularly the mobilisation of large masses of Russian troops on our frontiers, would not have prevented us from settling our differences with Servia by force of arms. In accordance with the conditions of the existing alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany a Russian attack upon the Dual Monarchy would have constituted a *casus fœderis*.

In response to my inquiries concerning the international outlook as affected by the larger naval programme announced by Austria, the attitude of Italy towards that programme and generally towards the enhanced prestige of the Dual Monarchy in the Balkans, &c., I received the following suggestive and interesting but far from exhaustive statement :

The necessity of building larger ships experienced by Austria-Hungary arose from the same technical considerations which led other maritime Powers, and England first of all, to construct a larger type of vessel. At present our largest battleships have a tonnage of 14,500. We are now constructing some of 16,500 tons. Austria-Hungary will always remain one of the smaller maritime Powers ; but she would cease altogether to be reckoned among those Powers if she remained too far behind the others. It is admitted even by the English *Naval Annual* that our Fleet in its present condition is not quite equal to its task. Furthermore, naval experts declare, on the one hand, that ships of the *Dreadnought* type have an immense superiority over the class next to them in size, while, on the other hand, the cost of *Dreadnoughts* is not very much greater than that of the others. Consequently the *Dreadnought* type of vessel is preferable for a country like Austria-Hungary, which has only a modest naval budget at her disposal, as it enables her to attain the maritime strength needed for her limited object at a comparatively moderate figure. The enhanced prestige of Austria-Hungary is not calculated to arouse any anxiety whatever in Italy, as the Balkan policy of our ally can only gain thereby. This view is confirmed by an Italian pamphlet, 'Fra Mussulmani e Slavi,' recently published at Milan by the firm of Treves. The object of the intended further development of our Navy is purely defensive and not directed against any special enemy. England in particular, and her position in the Mediterranean, are not taken into account. Austria needed no instigation on the part of Germany to develop her fleet. In consequence of the perfect confidence which prevails between the two Powers in the adequacy of their respective armed forces, it is not customary for them to express any special desires concerning armaments.

I do not propose to indulge in much comment on the foregoing Austrian statement, but cannot refrain from emphasising the declaration that no mere demonstrations of a military character by Russia would have restrained the Dual Monarchy from settling her differences with Serbia by force of arms. In Slav—but not Servian or Serbophil—circles here, the conviction prevails that Baron von Aehrenthal is deeply mortified at having been frustrated in his desire to see the conflict with Serbia solved by force, through the unsought and unwelcome intervention of Germany—a view which I find is also held by some exceptionally competent foreign observers, who, however, attribute an important share in the maintenance of peace to Sir Edward Grey's successful efforts towards the close of the crisis to deprive the Monarchy of all excuse for hostilities. The following statement of this Austrian Slav view—which has reached me from a trustworthy source is unmistakable :

The whole European Press has formed a ridiculously false conception of the true meaning of Baron von Aehrenthal's policy. The fact is that he desired war and the occupation of Serbia, being well aware that Russia was not in a position to undertake hostilities. Even a temporary occupation of Serbia would have enormously enhanced the authority of Austria in the Balkans and completely restored her former influence there. But it was precisely that fact which made war unwelcome in Berlin. The Hohenzollerns did not want a strong and independent Hapsburg Monarchy for many reasons, and first of all because Austria-Hungary is nearer to the scene of action than Germany and might easily snatch from the latter her predominance in the Near East. Consequently the Germans strained every nerve to prevent war, not hesitating even to show their teeth to Russia in order to deprive Austria of the laurels hanging temptingly within her reach. They actually averted war, but as everything was done in Berlin under the cloak of the most intimate and devoted friendship the Court of Vienna had to make the best of a bad bargain, and, what is more, to thank the authors of their disappointment, although the expenditure on military preparations had amounted to little less than a short war with rich booty would have cost.

As to the Sanjak railway scheme I think it right to say that doubts are entertained by some of Baron von Aehrenthal's own countrymen as to whether he had quite calculated the cost when he proposed that scheme, or was fully informed as to the material conditions of it. Was he aware that the existing narrow-gauge line through Bosnia to the frontier could only be widened to the normal size at enormous if not, indeed, prohibitive cost, owing to the fact that the tunnels cut through solid rock, and expensive bridges are all constructed exclusively on the narrow-gauge, without any provision for their conversion to the normal breadth ? Does its one obvious attraction, its independence of Serbia, suffice to counterbalance this drawback and the permanently heavy working expenses of running a line through a waterless country ? In a lecture delivered in Vienna over a year ago Herr Richard Riedl, Secretary of the Lower Austrian Chamber of Commerce, reduced Baron von Aehrenthal's optimistic forecasts as to the future of the line to very modest proportions.

AN ITALIAN VIEW

I propose to leave to highly competent Italian informants, with whom I discussed the whole question of the new policy of the Dual Monarchy, the task of correcting from an Italian standpoint the statement of my Austrian interlocutors. According to the former, nowhere has the task of readjustment to that new policy been felt more burdensome than in Italy. Bound in a loveless union to that successful Balkan rival, Italy's position in the Triple Alliance would be rendered extremely embarrassing, if not untenable, if the new fleet which Imperialist Austria has decided to build were to be considered as a Mediterranean auxiliary of the German Navy. It must be remembered that Italy entered the Triple Alliance on the express understanding that her adhesion to it must not unfavourably affect her traditional friendship with England. For many years after its conclusion Anglo-German relations were of such a nature as to render that interpretation of the Alliance perfectly natural, all the more so as during the same period England was on anything but friendly terms with France.

At a later stage, however, that satisfactory condition of affairs underwent a marked change, owing in the first place to the growing tension between England and Germany, and secondly to the understanding between Italy and France which deprived the Triple Alliance of its sting against the Republic. The situation, which has been at times sufficiently embarrassing for Italy throughout the period of Anglo-German naval competition, would become well-nigh intolerable if that rivalry were to extend to the projected Austro-Hungarian fleet of *Dreadnoughts*.

That development would complicate and intensify existing misunderstandings between the two Adriatic Powers. As a matter of fact, the increase of Italy's naval armaments is nothing more than a precaution forced upon her by Austria, and the rapid growth of the two fleets in the Adriatic is a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Triple Alliance.

The folly of the persistent mistrust of Italy by Austria is, it is contended, only equalled by that of destroying the growing confidence of the younger generation in Italy in the pacific character of Austrian policy. While the older men who remember Austrian rule in Italy still detest the name of Austria and fear her designs, the younger men, whose personal acquaintance with public events falls within the past forty years, were practically convinced that the Hapsburg Empire had renounced its ancient dream of preponderance and its Metternich methods. Owing, however, to the recent development of affairs in the Dual Monarchy, that conviction is now being subjected to rapid revision in Italy.

Altogether Austria had made the position of Italy as an ally very

difficult. Not content with the fact that she holds all the mountain passes leading into Italy, she has latterly reinforced the garrisons of her forts overlooking the open frontier of her Italian neighbour, and now proposes to plunge into debt for the creation of a powerful navy, after throwing away millions in the Bosnian adventure for a result which might easily have been attained through a friendly and pacific understanding with the Young Turks. Austria, in the opinion of my Italian friends, needs her projected *Dreadnoughts* just as little as she does her reinforcements on the Italian frontier.

THE MORAL FOR ENGLAND

Seen in the light of the foregoing facts, do the events of the recent crisis signify the advent of a period of still closer union between Germany and the Dual Monarchy, as the Emperor William and the Press Bureau of the Wilhelmstrasse are trying to convince Europe, or is it to be regarded rather as a great effort at self-assertion and emancipation, not only in the sphere of international affairs generally, but within the Triple Alliance itself? A correct answer to this question is of special importance to Englishmen. It would be a regrettable error on their part to continue to treat the predominantly Slav Danubian Monarchy as a Satrapy of the German Empire, if, as a matter of fact, that State is systematically endeavouring to emancipate itself from German tutelage. Now, it is certain that while reasonably grateful for German support at a moment when she found herself isolated in presence of a hostile world, Austria-Hungary is fully conscious of the services which she herself rendered to her exacting ally at Algeciras, and considers that the Austro-German accounts are squared so far as those mutual services are concerned. The German element in Austria may be disposed to sentimentalise on the score of the comradeship in arms of the two Empires, but there is no reason to believe that either the Imperial and Royal Court or the Ballplatz are prepared to allow their calculations to be affected by considerations of that kind. Indeed, from the very beginning of the difficulties created by the forward policy of Austria in the occupied provinces, the attitude of the Wilhelmstrasse and of an influential section of the German Press was felt here to have at times left much to be desired in the matter of vigour and whole-heartedness. Austria was made to feel that she had created difficulties for Germany at Constantinople by the unwarranted liberty of an independent initiative which she had assumed—the reproachful official attitude of the Wilhelmstrasse, and the censures of leading newspapers, going so far as to excite the apprehensions of the Catholic Centre party that Germany was running the risk of permanently alienating her ‘only trustworthy ally.’

The subsequent support of Germany in the latter half of the crisis, when she unhesitatingly took the field against Austria’s oppo-

nents, is thought to have erred by excess of zeal and by reversing the natural positions of the co-operating Powers through the German assumption of an unwelcome leadership. It was suspected that the latent rivalry between Austria and Germany in the Balkans and at Constantinople had too large a share in the officious and masterful support which deprived the Dual Monarchy of much of the prestige that ought to have accrued to her from her diplomatic victory, if indeed the form of Germany's intervention had not robbed her of a still more valuable victory in the field for which all her preparations had been made.

All I have heard tends to show that it is a mistake to regard the Dual Monarchy as the prisoner of Germany. It is recognised, however, that the offensive assumption in other countries that she is condemned for ever to be nothing more than the *protégé* or 'brilliant second' of her powerful ally, and incapable of independent initiative, may again throw her back into the arms of Germany. It is well known that official Austria now manifests a strong disposition to approach Russia, as well as a somewhat less marked desire to restore her former cordial relations with England. The obstacles in the way of a renewed Austro-Russian *rapprochement* do not arise exclusively from the popular resentment felt in Russia at the humiliating diplomatic defeat inflicted upon that country. They are aggravated by an estrangement between the two sovereigns, the Tsar being profoundly disappointed by the consent of the Emperor-King to a policy so diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Austro-Russian understandings. Indeed, strange as it may appear, it is declared that Nicholas the Second now manifests greater sympathy for the Heir-Apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, than for the Emperor Francis Joseph, towards whom he formerly observed an attitude of almost filial deference. The reconciliation of the two countries is also, doubtless, retarded by the still open wounds inflicted upon each other by those doughty champions, M. Isvolsky and Baron von Aehrenthal. Not the least painful of these was the Austrian disclosure to the Powers of the *aide-mémoire* despatched to Vienna about a week after the meeting at Reval on the 10th of June, and a month before the outbreak of the Turkish revolution in July, in which M. Isvolsky agreed to the annexation of Bosnia in return for the good offices of the Dual Monarchy in opening the Dardanelles.

The re-establishment of the old cordial relations with England is opposed openly and in secret by that section of the German element in Austria which is directly and indirectly inspired from Berlin. There is, however, reason to believe that the unfriendly comment of a part of the German-Austrian Press upon the diplomatic activity of King Edward during his annual cures at Marienbad is greatly regretted in authoritative quarters, owing to the fear that it may possibly prevent his Majesty from coming this year. But in spite of all these obstacles

there is reason to anticipate that there will be a gradual approach to the friendly, and occasionally intimate, relations which formerly existed between Vienna, St. Petersburg and London.

There would appear, however, to be one sacrifice which Austria-Hungary is not prepared to make for the attainment of that desirable end. She will not renounce the hope of getting inside England in the good graces of Russia so far as Near Eastern affairs are concerned.

The Austrian theory is that the only fruitful understanding between England and Russia is one confined to their Asiatic possessions. But, notwithstanding his eventual success, Baron von Aehrenthal has learnt much in the school of adversity since his accession to office, when he cherished first the ambition to restore the *Dreikaiserbund*, and afterwards when he sought to solve the Macedonian problem by shelving Great Britain. Among other things, he is understood to have modified his estimate of England's importance as an international factor, even in the Balkans. He is sufficiently docile to the teachings of experience to justify the hope that he will make further progress in that direction.

But it will be necessary for England to promote his education and the maintenance of international peace by helping to bring the military strength of the Triple Entente up to the Austro-German level. Valuable international friendships like *Bundnisfähigkeit* can only be purchased at this price. The fear that the Powers of the Triple Entente may fail to pay it in good time oppresses those desirous of preserving peace, and avoiding a still more perilous repetition of the Near Eastern crisis.

Apart from this essential element, there can be no doubt that the basis exists for a good understanding between Vienna, St. Petersburg and London which, while leaving the Triple Alliance to play a beneficent part in maintaining the balance of power, would prevent its being made an instrument in the hands of 'Prussia-Germany.'

Austrian statesmen have long since realised that the only way effectively to repel the encroachments of their too exacting German ally is to maintain friendly relations with certain other Powers. Unfortunately, this important lesson has not been sufficiently taken to heart in their treatment of Italy. Tension between the two Adriatic allies gives Berlin constant opportunities for 'honest brokerage' between them, thus enabling it to keep both well in leash and to confirm its own preponderance in the *Triplex*. Were Austria and Italy to settle their differences once for all, Germany would lose her hold upon them, and with it her hegemony in the *Dreibund*. This hegemony is more irksome to Vienna than to Rome, for it must be remembered that, quite apart from the occasional tempestuous incursions into Austrian domestic affairs, there is far greater competition between Germany and Austria in the Balkans and at Constantinople, than between Germany and Italy. The Italians hold to the

alliance, in spite of its diminished value in consequence of their *rapprochement* with France, and its growing inconvenience due to Anglo-German naval rivalry, simply because they need Germany as a mediator. For them in existing circumstances there is no medium between their present *mariage de raison* with Austria and open enmity, and, owing to the inveterate mistrust cherished by the Austrians, the Italians feel they cannot keep house with them without the constant presence of a peacemaker.

As a mediator between England and Germany the Dual Monarchy may again render valuable service to the cause of international amity, as she has occasionally done in the past. Her independence in the Triple Alliance is an essential element in her power for good in this and other respects, and, fortunately, it is evident that she is now determined to maintain it. It is to be hoped that the Powers of the Triple Entente will not render that effort of emancipation too difficult by their attitude towards her.

ÆNEAS O'NEILL.

Vienna.

THE
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*SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE
UNREST IN INDIA*

THE reader whose eye catches the above title will probably think that, as so much has already been written on the unrest in India, and that, too, by so many different writers, little that is fresh has been left unsaid. The present writer does not wish so much to say anything that is fresh as to point out that the question has been considered too much from a partial and one-sided point of view. The majority of writers have treated it almost entirely as a political matter, whereas it would probably be more true to say that the political aspect is but one small incident—a troublesome and even dangerous one, too, as it must be admitted—but still only an incident almost unavoidable in a vast general awakening. Disloyal newspapers, Congress bickerings, platform vapourings, and seditious pamphlets, to say nothing of open anarchy, have loomed so large as to exaggerate out of all due proportions the political part of the general upheaval. Many writers, too, from not having sufficient personal knowledge of India to see the inwardness of the people, have taken the small noisy section of educated Hindus as representative of the feelings of the whole country, though a greater misconception could scarcely have been made. Then, again, another difficulty arises from the fact that a certain class

of politicians flatly refuse to look at India, or desire to administer it, from the Oriental point of view. Lord Morley, in his speech at Arbroath (21st of October, 1907), seems to have revelled in this idea. Speaking of the critics who condemn the Indian Government's refusal to suppress seditious newspapers, he remarked :

Oriental, they say, do not understand it [*i.e.* the licence we permit]. We are not Orientals ; that is the root of the matter. We—English, Scotch, and Irish are in India because we are not Orientals ; and if I am told that the Oriental view is that they cannot understand that the Press are allowed to write what they like—well, experiments may fail ; but, anyhow, that is a Western experiment we are going to try, not only through this Government, but through other Governments.

As a matter of common knowledge the reason why a handful of Englishmen have succeeded in such a marvellous way in building up the Indian Empire, while other countries have so signally failed as colonial administrators, is almost entirely due to the fact that these same English, Scotch, and Irishmen have tried hard to understand India and to adapt themselves as far as possible to Oriental methods. If ignorance is not only bliss, but also the highest form of wisdom, and if the methods that have found favour in London must necessarily be the best for Timbuctoo or Hyderabad, then, when the proverbial New Zealander is sketching the ruins of our modern Babylon, the mild Hindu may, by parity of reasoning, be forcing *sati* on our English widows and hook-swinging on the followers of 'General' Booth.

The present writer as the Principal of two colleges in South India for sixteen years, and so in touch with the Brahman and educated classes, and also as a missionary working among and discussing the wants of the Sudra and Pariah classes for nearly double that period, may perhaps be permitted to claim some little knowledge of the Indian trend of thought, as seen from within, and so may be able to remove some possible misconceptions about the unrest.

First, then, the reader need scarcely be reminded that the past history of India has simply consisted of the clash of dynasty against dynasty, the butchery of usurper by usurper, and the overthrow of kingdom by kingdom. *Væ victis* was the only cry known on the battlefield as the last invader or usurper marched to conquest ; the royal palace reeked with blood, and the cries of the murdered relatives of the last despot were drowned in the blare of the horn and the din of the tom-tom. This tragedy was generally followed by a deep sullen hush. Then when the new usurper had lapsed into a soft licentious luxury and the time was again ripe, another usurper, crouching like a tiger in the jungle-grass, sprang on the unwary potentate, seized his throne, and repeated the same tale of butchery and bloodshed with all its ghastly, gory details. Could anything be more natural or inevitable than the Mutiny of 1857 ? And could any surprise be greater than when the handful of English refused to be crushed out of existence and the apparently helpless lamb slew the

Bengal tiger? That was a sharp lesson that need not, and will not, be repeated. Now another method, learnt from Ireland and Russia, has been adopted. Anarchy and terrorism, the bomb and the revolver, are being resorted to, so as to make India too hot, in the widest sense of the word, for the Englishman to live in. Unfortunately certain English politicians have taught the Bengali that if he gives sufficient trouble he will get all that he cries for—that is, the termination of the British *raj*. He is quick enough to take the hint, and he knows quite well *fas est ab hoste doceri*, especially when by *hostis* he understands ‘enemy of England.’ Our slow and lax method of dealing with this state of affairs, till the recent Anarchy Bill was passed, was eminently Western; it was eminently adapted to the Eastern love of intrigue and plotting; it gave the maximum amount of trouble, the maximum scope for appeal, and the maximum opportunity of posing as a martyr, together with the minimum amount of deterring punishment. England has been shocked at the outburst of anarchy, but the student of Indian history need not be surprised.

Secondly, the contact of East and West has produced its inevitable result. Matthew Arnold’s hackneyed lines—

The East bowed down before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again—

are completely out of date. To plunge in thought is the last thing that the modern Hindu dreams of doing. He plunges into politics, social reform, education, and all the revolutionary items of the Congress programme; but as to stripping off his clothes and meditating in the jungle on the monistic or dualistic nature of God, the origin of the world, or any of those mystic philosophies which have alike paralysed the spiritual life of the ancient Hindu, and which delight the sceptical mind of the modern German, he no more dreams of it than the fashionable Englishman dreams of deserting his West End tailor to dye himself with woad.

Another modern poet who won his laurels in India sings,

For East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet;

but the whole of our trouble rises from the fact that the twain have met, almost with the violence of a railway collision, and our ears are deafened with the roar. In the sense that the East and the West too often think along diametrically opposing lines of thought, and refuse to dine together, Kipling is of course right. But has the world ever seen such an awakening as has been going on in India for the last three-quarters of a century? The West has so far affected the East that a bloodless revolution has already taken place, though the magnitude

of the upheaval is realised by but very few.¹ Look at what India has been for the past two thousand years, and contrast it with the trend of thought to-day. To sum up the attitude of the past in a sentence: what we call God is everything, and besides this impersonal, unconscious Essence there is absolutely nothing; we and the whole world are but 'illusion,' and not till we can divest ourselves of our 'ignorance' can we gain 'deliverance' from an almost endless succession of weary rebirths like a candle blown out, or enter by 'absorption' into Nirvana as a drop of rain is swallowed up by the boundless sea. What should one with aims such as these care about history and politics, government and social progress, education and reform? The homely Tamil proverb, 'What can a frog in a well know about politics?' sums up the situation. But what is the modern educated Indian striving for? Every newspaper fills its columns with passionate cries for a greater share in the government of the country; every platform orator declares in thunder tones that India must rival Japan in self-government and emancipated development; every pamphleteer pleads for reform and the education of the masses; every Congress demands *swarāj* and *swadēśa* or some form of colonial government; nay, every schoolboy appeals to the history of the past and imagines that his own vocation in life is to be a Sivāji and a Hampden rolled into one. Could the two states, ancient and modern, be more violently contrasted? Has the force of this marvellous change been realised even now, much less was it ever anticipated in the past?

Then, again, 'Caste is Hinduism, and Hinduism is caste.' Everybody talks glibly of caste, and imagines that he knows all about it; but a lifetime spent in close contact with the people is only too short a period to grasp the enormity of the force and the subtlety of the sway that this word connotes. The Brahman has seized and reigned over the whole country from Himālaya to Kumari (Comorin); he has converted the million masses of Dravidians to accept, at least in name, Hinduism as their religion; he has utterly routed and driven out the Buddhist and all other reformers; he has held by the mere claim of a divine supremacy the followers of Islam, sword in hand, at arm's length; he has carried the principle of *divide et impera* to a pitch that no Roman Emperor ever dreamed of—all this and more he has done by the power of caste and the consequent priestcraft. Yet what do we now see? Liberty, equality, and fraternity are the watchwords of the modern Hindu. Is it possible that the twice-born Brahman can ever associate on terms of equality with the Pariah whose very shadow is a defilement? Is it possible that one who is lower than a dog, and infinitely lower than a cow, can by any conceivable process

¹ The situation has been grasped by Mr. Farquhar, whose paper on 'Christianity in India' in the May number (1908) of the *Contemporary Review* shows a truer insight into the real state of India than is revealed by any other of our leaders, either civil or ecclesiastical.

be put on the same level as one who can control even the gods by the power of his penances and *mantras* (mystical verses)? Yet this miracle, like the previous one, must be, and is being, wrought. For a greater share in the government, and ultimately the franchise, can rest, as the leaders plainly admit, on no narrower basis than on that of the equality of man with man.

Yet who are these that are forcing on such wondrous transformations? Who are these that are straining like dogs on the leash to revolutionise the whole country? The Government? The British officials? The English Press? The missionaries? Not one of them! It is the Hindus themselves. Government is alarmed, because its eyes are filled with the incidental political agitation that is taking place. The officials would breathe more freely if they were not so often trying cases of sedition, or risking their lives by their judicial verdicts. The English Press has thrown its influence almost entirely on the side of quiet and peaceable progress. The missionaries? Well, there are people who will throw the blame on them because they have undermined the religious philosophies of the Brahmins, and denounced the idolatry of the Sudras and the gross superstitions of the Panchamas (the fifth or out-castes); but the Hindu agitators would be the last to claim them as leaders of their movement. Nay, rather they hate them most of all as foreigners and enemies of their ancestral faiths. When new wine is poured into old wine-skins there can be but one result, still the missionaries are only in part responsible for pouring in this wine. No, it is the Hindus themselves who are dealing—if the metaphor may be changed—such desperate blows at their own deep-rooted systems. The missionaries see that the shaft of the axe which is felling the Hindu tree is a branch torn from that same tree; and though it is true that it is they who have laid the axe-head at the root, they know their own weakness and exclaim, 'This is the Lord's doing [not ours]; it is marvellous in our eyes.'

Let us in the next place look at the educational side of the difficulty. Our colleges—Government, Christian, and Hindu alike—are all blamed as nurseries of unrest, and we are told that our education is too literary in its kind, and that our Universities turn out more graduates than Government can employ. All these charges may be admitted to a greater or less extent as true. But when we have said this we are still a long way from the root of the evil. The mischief is that we are educating for the most part one numerically small community and neglecting the rest. Five-sixths of the graduates turned out by the Madras University are Brahmins, while all the rest of the Presidency—including Sudras, Muslims, and Christians together—produces only the remaining one-sixth. The last missionary college over which I had the honour to preside, and which is avowedly a proselytising institution and a nursery for Christian graduates, receives an annual pittance from Government of only 380*l.*; whereas the Presidency College, maintained

almost entirely for Brahmans, and of course giving no religious instruction of any kind whatever—Christian, Hindu, or Muhammadan—costs the Government about two lakhs of rupees a year, *i.e.* 13,133*l.* Now it is a well-known fact that we have far more graduates than the country requires, while the bulk of the people are immersed in Cimmerian darkness. According to the last census, only ninety-eight out of every 1,000 males and seven out of every 1,000 females know how to read and write. Why, then, spend so much time, energy, and money on a select caste—who give us no thanks for doing so—and ignore the masses of the population? These masses are loyal and will remain loyal, but they count for almost nothing because they are speechless, while the few on whom we shower our favours are too often both noisy and discontented, if not openly seditious and anarchical.

Let us pass on to another point. Dr. Duff, the great educationist of the North, predicted three-quarters of a century ago that if the Government ignored all religious instruction in its colleges and schools, disloyalty and unrest among the students must be the inevitable result. Can anyone be surprised that, if God is ignored in the most 'religious' country in the world, the end must be lawlessness? And it must never be forgotten that every college, Government as well as missionary, every English text-book, almost every English newspaper, is consciously or unconsciously pervaded with a Christian tone that is diametrically opposed to the whole spirit of Hinduism. It is folly to blame the missionary. Critics who argue that the religion of each country is the best religion for that country can only argue so because of a complete ignorance of all non-Christian religions. 'Why cannot you leave them alone?' they cry with impatience. But, supposing every missionary left the country to-morrow, the conflict between East and West would go on just as before. The professor in a Government college, lecturing on astronomy, cannot help dealing left-hand blows at the absurdity of astrology. The doctor, the most innocent of men, when treating his patients by European methods of science, is tacitly rebuking the folly of those who pretend to cure by muttering *mantras*. The magistrate, though probably a Hindu, is basing his judgment on the Penal Code, which is only the Ten Commandments writ large. Nay, even the stationmaster who is banging the door of a third-class carriage against a heterogeneous crowd of all castes is demonstrating the utter absurdity of ceremonial pollution by contact. Any religion with a belief in God is better than none; and we have given them none, while boasting of our liberality. In the educational system of ancient India the *śishya*, or disciple, looked up to his *guru* not only as his teacher but as his spiritual guide. We have destroyed all that, and with it all respect for God or man, all reverence for pastor or parent, and all sense of order and self-restraint. Can we wonder at the crop of tares that we are now reaping? No country can possibly stand that does not believe in God in some form

or other, some Supreme Spirit who sees what we do. To talk of morality, too, without God in the background is merely beating the air, or fashioning an engine but providing no motive power.

But, it will be urged, how is it possible for the Government to teach religion, much less Christianity, in India? We admit that man is made up of body, mind, and soul, and most people will admit that the soul, even when looked at only from the political and ethical point of view, is of infinitely higher importance than the mind, as the mind is higher than the body; but what can we do to train the soul? Let us see, then, how we treat the body. We have covered the land with our hospitals; we have set aside all faith in charms and *mantras*; we have rigidly excluded all unscientific quackery, and insisted on the patients being treated according to the latest scientific methods as followed in every well-managed hospital in Europe and America. The sick man is not obliged to attend these hospitals or accept this treatment; he may call for the village quack to rub the wound inflicted by a cobra with a snake-stone, or he may swallow a paper pill on which a spell has been written; but if he attends the Englishman's hospital he must also accept the Englishman's treatment. The same attitude might have been adopted from the outset in our Government colleges. No student is obliged to enter their portals, but if he does he should be trained in soul as well as in mind and body.

Sir Alfred Lyall—and if any Englishman ever understood India it is he²—exclaims, 'Then arose the knotty question which in different shapes and degrees has vexed all Christianity since we abandoned the good old rule and simple plan of pure intolerance . . . namely, How far are we bound to tolerate that which we firmly believe to be wrong?' There is much food for thought in that 'good old rule and simple plan of pure intolerance.' It is a principle that an Oriental can appreciate. When Aurangzib conquered the sacred city of Benares, razed to the ground fifteen hundred Hindu temples, and placed his own Muslim mosque on the highest mound to dominate the whole city, he was playing the game according to the accepted rules. If we, after the battle of Plassey, had destroyed every Hindu temple and Muhammadan mosque, and built and endowed Christian cathedrals and churches throughout the length and breadth of the land, everybody would at least have respected us for the right religious fervour that we had displayed. Instead of that the merchants who founded our early factories were much too anxious to propitiate their Hindu traders ever to hint at religious scruples.* When the Company grew up, it was most careful to guard and endow all the religions of India except Christianity, whose adherents were placed under special disabilities, such as being debarred from the law courts, &c. Then came the Queen's proclamation of religious neutrality in 1858, which we English have almost elevated into a fetish. Surely we may boast of our

² *Asiatic Studies*, vol. i. chap. viii.

liberality in proclaiming perfect neutrality, and demand the love and gratitude of all India as our reward. Hindus and Mussalmans do indeed desire that their own privileges should be maintained, but there is one thing they cannot understand, and that is that we English people should treat our own religion with contempt. To quote Sir A. Lyall again :

That the Sovereign should provide decently for his own persuasion is regarded as natural and decorous ; that he should distribute revenue allotments (or continue them) to every well-defined religious community is thought liberal ; that he should administer to all religious properties and interests is right and proper ; that he should ignore them all and provide not even for his own faith would be a policy comprehensible only by those who had studied English polemics, and one without precedent in Asia. (P. 295.)

No Englishman would wish to interfere with another man's religious scruples or trample on his conscience ; but we have gone far beyond that stage. Neutrality is the only God we worship. Christianity is pushed aside into private life ; it must be hidden behind the domestic *purdah* ; if it thrusts itself forward, like an unwilling guest, we must declare that religion is nothing to us. Our whole attitude is one of apology. It is much easier, for instance, for a missionary to deal with an agnostic English official than with one who sends him privately a cheque every month for his mission, because the latter is always on tenter-hooks lest he should be misinterpreted by the Hindus and Mussalmans, and blamed for departing by one hair's breadth from neutrality. To the ordinary Hindu we appear to do our best to foster Hinduism at the expense of our own faith. The single district of Trichinopoly, in which the writer was engaged, contains no fewer than 2,000 temples holding *miniam* lands, i.e. lands that pay no rents to Government because they are attached to Hindu temples ; and the famous temple of Srirangam receives a subsidy from the Indian Government of 35,000 rupees per annum to compensate for the loss of its *miniam* lands. It was estimated some few years ago that, apart from these innumerable temples with tax-free lands, ' seven lakhs (70,000*l.*) are annually expended from the Government treasuries in the Bombay Presidency, and a still larger sum (87,000*l.*) in the Madras Presidency,' as compensation for such lands as had been taken over.³ The present system of compensation in accordance with the law of justice, as we Christians look at it, is utterly unintelligible to the Hindus. ' You see,' exclaims the Brahman temple official, ' these English people believe in no religion of their own, but support ours with these handsome subsidies.' To the average uneducated Sudra the argument is unanswerable. And so our very desire to be honest brings us into contempt with those on whom we confer our benefits.

Loyalty to God and King may be looked upon as ingrained in every

³ To compare the grant made to the Ecclesiastical Department with what is thus given to Hinduism is like straining out gnats from our drinking water while we do not hesitate to swallow camels.

fibre of the Hindu's system. He cannot conceive of anyone having to apologise for his religion. But, it may be argued, if he is disloyal to the Government he cannot be loyal to the King. To this it may be sufficient to answer that, first, the great mass of the people are perfectly loyal both to King and Government; and, secondly, even among the small body of extremists there is no opposition to the King as such. When the Prince of Wales recently visited the country he was heartily welcomed on all sides. The message that he had to deliver was that there should be greater sympathy between the two races. This of course is true, but has probably been insisted on too much, as if it were the key of the situation. It is undeniable that there are occasional acts of ill-treatment and rudeness on the part of the English towards the natives that are much to be regretted, but to suggest that the English in India—almost all of whom, saving the British troops, are gentlemen bred and born—are less courteous than English gentlemen anywhere else in the world is a libel. The Prince of Wales admitted in his Guildhall speech the difficulty of the English in India—'Though sympathy is the supreme duty, nobody can deny that in India sympathy has also to meet with supreme difficulties.' It is hard for the Englishman to bridge the gulf between himself and his Hindu neighbour, and treat him whole-heartedly as his friend, when the latter declines to dine with him because in his heart of hearts he looks upon him as a Pariah whose very touch defiles every particle of food and every drop of water. 'Sympathy is the supreme duty.' True enough, but not the whole truth. Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is as fine a specimen of a courteous gentleman as one would wish to know. As an official he erred only on the side of leniency, patience, and kindness. Here was a man whom the mild Hindu ought to have loved and respected above all others, and yet what do we find? His life was attempted no fewer than four times. No, the plea of sympathy will not solve the problem. If every Englishman were an angel in disguise, the feeling of hostility on the part of the anarchists and extremists would not be one jot abated. It is still possible to throw pearls to swine, and suffer for doing so. Love and sympathy are the watchwords of Christianity; but the anarchist wants none of them. His country has been taken from him by a 'foreigner,' and his duty as a patriot is to get it back again by fair means or foul. Yet who is this that thus poses as a patriot against the foreign invader? A Brahman—an Aryan—a fellow-countryman of the great European race—an invader of India—a missionary of an alien religion—a conqueror of the great mass of the Dravidians, or Sudras, and Panohamas, to whom the land originally and rightfully belonged.⁴ What claim has he got, except that of previous occupation, that we

⁴ Let anyone compare the three names S. 'Dyaus Pitri,' G. *Zeus pater*, and L. 'Jupiter' (Sky-Father), and he will see that the ancestors of the Brahmans and the English originally spoke the same language and worshipped the same God.

do not possess ? From this, and practically this class alone, are the sedition-mongers and sedition-leaders taken. It is this class that always pulls the wires. It is this class that Government has educated, and from which it has selected its fellow-workers in all the positions of importance. But the real people of India, the original owners of the land, are far better pleased to be under the British Government than that of either the Muhammadans or the Brahmans. The *pax Britannica* implies peace, liberty, justice, education, and progress. This they know full well, though the awakening of the Sudras as a body has scarcely commenced. When the Aryans first began, many centuries ago, to proselytise the Dravidians, they were content if only the latter would accept caste and rename their gods after those in the so-called Hindu pantheon. By adopting caste, the latter accepted the Brahmans as their divine masters, and also blended—some more, some less—their own sacrificial and demonolatrous rites with the religious system of the Brahmans. It is convenient for us to speak of the ‘Hindus’ and ‘Hinduism,’ but no such thing as Hinduism exists, nothing but a conglomeration of cults, many of which are not only flatly contradictory to one another, but even inconsistent with themselves, owing to an imperfect ‘conversion’ to Aryanism. The Brahman ‘missionary’ was satisfied with the two items quoted above, and was willing to swallow up or concede to the primitive Dravidian systems just so far as their adherents would permit. But it is a serious misconception to imagine that India has ever been wholly, or even largely, converted to Hinduism ; it never has been, and, we may now safely prophesy, it never will be. Even our cold-weather visitors may see—though they may not always comprehend what they see—blood-stained altars (so utterly repulsive to the modern Brahman), rough pieces of stone standing for Dravidian goddesses (not Brahman gods) and idolatrous rites which date back for untold centuries beyond the Aryan conquest. The Brahmans have the advantage of us English as naturalised Indians by many a century, but both they and their religion are just as ‘foreign’ as the English with their Christianity. By priestcraft and sheer weight of intellect they are the hereditary lords and rulers of India ; as undisputed sovereigns they sank into a deadly lethargy, and now, after the lapse of ages, they have been aroused out of their sleep, and they naturally resent our presence. The Sudras, however, have not yet as a class been touched, either, like the Brahmans, by the electric shock of contact with the West, or, like the Panchamas, by the startling revelation of equality in the Christian brotherhood. Their day has not yet dawned, but dawn it soon must. Though the doors and windows both of their minds and souls are still closed and barred, the light is streaming in by a thousand little chinks and crannies. They will soon see things as they are ; and when the sun has fully risen, the real awakening of India will begin—an awakening such as the world has never seen before and

probably never will see again, except in the neighbouring continent of China. The Panchamas have been touched by Christianity, though practically not at all by education ; but the day is not far off when they and the millions of Dravidians will refuse to follow the Aryan lead either in the matter of religion or politics. English writers on the unrest in India ignore these people who form the bulk of the nation, and argue as if a numerically small body who now wish to supplant the English and get the country again under their clutches are the only men who deserve notice. As regards the Panchamas, who number many millions, they are at present only too glad to be left alone to earn their living in peace and not be oppressed too much by the Brahman village officials. It is just dawning upon them that they are men like others of God's creation, that they have the right of entrance into the law courts, that they ought not to be driven out of the *agrahâram* (Brahman street) when dogs and cows are freely allowed to pass, and that their shadow does not pollute others more than that of any other men. Are they ever likely to wish for the old state of things, to be ground down as the refuse of the earth, to be sold as slaves, to be debarred from schools and law courts, and to be driven off the public roads like vermin ? I trow not. ' When we legislate for India these poor voiceless out-castes are not to be forgotten as if they were a negligible quantity.

Above all things the Indian admires patience, and above all things he hates to be hurried and pushed out of the ordinary routine of daily life. *Festina lente* is a golden rule for India. An illustration will make this plainer than anything else. Driving one day several years ago with a friend to a small station to catch the only train in the twenty-four hours, we overtook a bullock-cart crawling at a snail's pace. ' Hurry up, or you will miss the train,' cried my friend. ' Oh, it does not matter ; we can go to-morrow,' was the reply. It was no hardship to them to sit and sleep on the stone platform for twenty-three hours and forty-five minutes, but hurried they would not be. Lord Curzon was the ablest and finest Viceroy that this generation of Indians has ever seen, but he was the best-abused man in the country. And why ? Because he would ' hustle the East.' He was in too great a hurry ; he seemed eager to force the East into a Western mould in a decade, to bring our Universities into line with Oxford and Cambridge in a lustrum, and, in a word, to introduce reforms on every conceivable subject reaching into every conceivable corner of the land. The ' changeless East ' has been changed at such a rate that its breath is taken away.

'Tis bad for the Christian's peace of mind
To hustle the Aryan brown

is a sound principle enunciated by one who can see India from the inside ; but it is still worse, both for the Aryan brown and Dravidian

black, to be hustled at this breakneck pace. Such haste only leads to reaction and much unnecessary irritation—the culture in which the bacillus of sedition multiplies with amazing rapidity. Here again our very efforts to benefit the country are too apt to throw it back and make progress in the future more difficult.

The horrible murders of Sir William Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca have brought the sedition of India to the very doorstep of the British public. Men's minds are perplexed and distressed : what is the underlying cause, and what remedy for such a state of affairs can be found ? It is too often assumed that the people of India as a whole are disaffected, but that the few violent Anarchists who will stop at no deeds, however outrageous, to carry out their vile purposes have no important backing. It would be a truer presentment of the case to divide India into two classes, a small educated minority who are, speaking broadly, disloyal, and a large uneducated majority who are, as a whole, loyal. A certain number of English politicians will at once join issue here, and declare that the majority are as much moved by the mistakes and injustice of the rulers of India as the minority. The question then becomes one of experience and of evidence. If a lifetime spent in India by one who has worked and conversed in their own tongue with the uneducated masses, and an experience as the principal of a college dealing with the educated, high-caste minority, carries any weight, then the present writer can bear emphatic testimony to the fact that the masses are perfectly loyal to the British *rāj*. The ultimate aim of the minority, avowedly or secretly at heart, is to gain full and absolute control of the administration of the country, though they would describe this as patriotism not disloyalty ; while the undoubted preference of the majority is for the maintenance of the British supremacy. To confuse the two, and to speak of the disaffection of 'the people of India' as if they were one homogeneous whole, and as if the uneducated majority must necessarily follow the lead of the educated minority, is a fundamental mistake from which we must at once clear our minds. India is not the same as Ireland. The most powerful force in India is caste, and between the Brahmans, who constitute almost the whole of the educated class, and the uneducated Sudras and outcastes there is a great gulf fixed which nothing at present can bridge. Homogeneity is the last thing to look for in caste-ridden India.

The next subject that we have to consider centres round the word 'reform.' No one claims infallibility for the rulers of India, and most people regret the handle given by the troubles in South Africa. But the question remains, Will reform stop disaffection ? Those who have lived longest in, and worked hardest for, India, those who have in a real sense made India their home, those who have the deepest sympathy with her legitimate aspirations and long to

help her to take her place among the great nations of the world, those in a word who know her most and love her best, have regretfully to acknowledge that no amount of political reform will serve to allay the present discontent. The aim of the educated minority is to make India as independent as Japan, or at least as one of our British Colonies. Let every concession that is now asked for be granted, and let the partition of Bengal be revoked to-morrow, and the disaffection will thereby only be increased. In no case is the common proverb that the appetite grows with that on which it feeds more true than in the present situation. The attainment of *swarāj*, absolute self-government, is the object that lies at the bottom of the educated minority's heart. By this word 'minority' we must not think only of the Anarchists who are ready to shoot every foreigner who pollutes the sacred soil of India by his presence, or of the still baser class who, while anxious to save their own skins, are always inflaming by their writings and speeches the hot blood of those who resort to the bomb and the revolver; but we must also include those law-abiding people who denounce violence and assassination as loudly as we do, but who yet desire by every peaceable method to get into their own hands the complete control of the country. Again, when we use the term 'educated' we must remember that while the Brahmans constitute less than 5 per cent. of the total population they form about 85 per cent. of the graduates of the universities.

Let us try to look at the situation through their eyes. We English have helped the country for the brief moment of a century or two, but still we are foreign conquerors, while they are the rightful rulers of the land by a title that dates back for thousands of years. *Dulce et decorum pro patria mori*, so it is an equally sweet and decorous thing to live with the single aim to get back the administration of the country so as to rule it in accordance with Oriental and Brahmanic conceptions. The Brahman believes himself to be the embodiment of God on earth, he therefore sees no unfairness in gaining power purely to serve his own interests; he sees no harm in treating as vassals nearly two hundred millions of non-Brahman Hindus, or scorning as enemies the sixty-two millions of Muhammadans; and he sees no injustice in grinding down the fifty millions of outcasts who are lower than the cows and dogs, and whose very shadow pollutes him. He is nowadays a patriot above all things, and this in his inmost heart is his patriotism. Then, too, let us see how his campaign has succeeded so far. He has procured the dismissal of a Lieutenant-Governor, though the Viceroy approved of his rule, in obedience to the clamour of some schoolboys; he has got rid of the ablest Viceroy of this generation, who favoured the partition of Bengal; he has compelled the Indian Secretary to enlarge the Councils owing to the violence of his agitation; and he has seen that Secretary's *aide-de-camp* shot because he refused to revoke that partition. This

is *his* way of reviewing the situation, and no explanations from the House at Westminster or the Viceregal Lodge at Simla can even touch one of these impressions. Has he not reason to be satisfied with the success of his campaign? We Englishmen have to decide whether we intend to maintain India or not. If we maintain it only in our own interests or for the glory of our empire, would it not be more dignified to retire at once instead of having these so-called reforms forced from us? America loses nothing by being independent of our control. But if we are persuaded that India cannot stand alone, naked and unprotected, that the mass of the people are wholly unfit for self-government, and that we have a sacred duty to these voiceless millions who prefer our juster rule, then we must put our foot down and face the consequences.

Where then shall we look for the solution of our problem? If the statements given above are based on facts, then they seem inevitably to point to certain logical conclusions. We must educate the great Sudra castes, and not only the Brahmans; we must cease to make a fetish out of a legitimate religious neutrality; we must do all that we can to abolish caste, in so far as it means magnifying a certain disloyal class into demi-gods; and we must encourage those that are loyal—Muslims, Sudras, and Christians alike; and, above all, we must not be forced into weak concessions to those who only look upon each of these concessions as a stepping-stone to the ultimate expulsion of the English from the land. Each of these points may be briefly touched on:—

(1) Education has so far been too literary and too much confined to those who are clever by heredity, to the exclusion of those classes who are engaged in agriculture, commerce, and industries. The country can never develop its vast resources till we turn our energies in this latter direction. Let all Government aid be withdrawn from all colleges, and let all Government colleges be closed. We shall still have more than enough graduates; higher education will be self-supporting, and there will then be money left to elevate the Sudras and Panchamas especially in the above pursuits, which are considered *infra dig.* by the higher castes.

(2) We must cease to glory so much in our vaunted neutrality, so far as it means bringing our religion, and hence ourselves, into contempt. We have no right and no wish to trample upon any man's conscience or his religion, but that is a very different thing from banishing religion from our schools, always apologising for it, and acting as if we had none. Are we English all Pariahs, from the Viceroy downwards? Does our touch defile those over whom we rule? Are we for ever to sit down quietly while the 'twice-born' human representatives of God despise us in their secret hearts as out-castes? The Hindus would respect us infinitely more if we openly honoured our God as they do theirs. It is pleasing to note that His Excellency Sir

Arthur Lawley, the Governor of Madras, has been making of late some excellent speeches in Tinnevely, eulogising the value of missions and missionaries to the country. We need much more of this advocacy—not only in Christian centres, but also in Hindu strongholds.

(3) The curse of India is caste. The roots dive down to the depths of the country. We cannot adopt any manner of compulsion, but we can show to India that it is simply impossible to grant anything like self-government and the franchise except on the basis of an absolute civic equality of man with man.

(4) We must encourage those who are loyal to us, lest they should be disgusted at our partiality and also turn against us. In the new Legislative Councils Christians must have seats as well as Muslims and Hindus. Minorities deserve honour, and loyal minorities deserve double honour. What is all this clamour about the partition of Bengal but a cry of horror and surprise that the Muslim should be considered worthy of as much attention as the Hindu? He, like the Christian, has had too much of the cold shoulder in the past. The masses are at present loyal, but they are easily led astray by the Brahmans who pull the wires.

(5) We must make clear that there is a limit to our concessions. We must draw the line and proclaim to all India that by no arguments or threats, by no persuasions or bombs, shall we budge one inch beyond. We shall thus destroy the *raison d'être* of sedition. It will no longer pay. Secondly, we must announce that no advance of any kind will be made so long as the country is in a state of agitation. Schoolmasters do not give half-holidays while the boys are in rebellion. We shall thus provide not only a negative but a positive reason for quietude. Further, we must suppress with the sternest hand all seditious writers and speakers. We cannot afford to let men with firebrands run about our powder-magazine—for such it is—and we have a perfect right both to make and carry out the strictest rules. Finally, we must urge our own English sympathisers with India, whether visitors to that country or Members of Parliament, to help and not to hinder us. They mean well, but they raise the general temperature and so increase the risk from the flashing point. Explosions must cost us lives.

If it were not for the good of India that the English should remain in the land, and were it not that the great scheme for the regeneration of this vast continent is being worked out by the union of the two races, and would be ruined by the divorce of the same, not a line of this paper would ever have been written. Those who know India best, and therefore those who love her best, desire nothing but what can advance and help her. They are willing to join in the cry of *Bandē, Mātaram* ('Hail, Motherland!'), just as they are to bare their heads at the strains of the National Anthem. But the policy must be based on

the broad sound principles of eternal truth and justice, for without these we can find no scope for the noble and gentle qualities of peace, love, and sympathy. What India wants is a combination of Indian gentleness with English strength, justice, and straightforwardness. We must be strong and quit us like men, as well as be sympathetic and loving. The Indian Mutiny would never have come to a head if it had not been for the weakness of the officers, and our present anarchy is largely due to the weakness displayed as regards Sir Bampfylde Fuller. The attitude of the Government must be one which, without either shame or partiality, rests on the broad principle of 'Fear God and honour the King'—a principle which finds an echo in every true Indian's heart, and which will elevate the English in his love and esteem. No one longs more fervently than the true Englishman for the gulf between the two races to be spanned by the golden bridge of friendship and brotherhood; but what can he do? He occupies a most anomalous position. He is the ruler, and yet both he and his religion are contemned by those over whom he rules.

'To have won such a dominion is a great achievement,' said Lord Curzon at the Delhi Durbar. 'To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater; to weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single compact whole will be, and is, the greatest of all.' These are true and noble words, but they do not contain the whole truth; for it is religion, and religion alone, that can unite India into one homogeneous, harmonious whole. It is religion, and religion alone, that can knit man to man as brothers, and heart to heart with the bonds of love. It is religion alone, and not prudent statesmanship, that can bind men by golden chains about the feet of God. That India will ultimately become a Christian country will not be denied by those who compare its present state with that of the Roman Empire during the second century. Whether we look at the Greek philosophy and pride of citizenship, coupled with a contempt for the popular idolatry; the profession of regard for Christ, with the martyrdom of Christians and the sneers of Lucius, Celsus, and Porphyry at Christianity; the conversion of masses of slaves, the diffusion of Christian ideals, and the revival of the old faith in the dress of Neo-Platonism, we find the exact counterpart under each of these heads in modern India. The day is not yet in sight, but it cannot long be delayed, when the great scheme of India's redemption shall have been worked out, when India shall take her own place as a mighty nation,—free, enlightened, self-contained, and united; and all our policy should be so shaped as ever to keep that end in view, and also fashioned on such progressive lines as to be daily advancing towards its perfect attainment.

J. A. SHARROCK.

THE INCREMENT TAX

THE LAND CLAUSES NEITHER UNPRECEDENTED NOR SOCIALISTIC.

THE inveterate Rip-van-Winkleism of the Tory-Unionist Opposition has never been better illustrated than in their attitude towards the land clauses of the present Budget. After the long series of Irish Land Acts they suddenly wake up to discover that the present moderate instalment of Land Reform, the benefits of which are not confined to Ireland, is as novel as it is 'unjust' and 'revolutionary.' The astonishing fashion in which their leaders, who might fairly be expected to be better informed, speak of the Budget proposals as revolutionary innovations, makes it the duty of those with better memories to recall the obvious fact that they are nothing of the kind. Both the increment tax and the taxation of undeveloped land on the basis of its capital value, instead of being Socialistic novelties, are simply an attempt to carry into effect principles underlying British constitutional usage which, though allowed to lapse in practice, are still inherent in our system. A little inquiry into the matter shows that England, although lagging behind her own Colonies and some of her neighbours in the application of those principles, had actually developed them—some theoretically and others in practice—long before they were taken up and carried into effect by her modern rivals in Land Reform.

One way of clearing the ground for a fair discussion on the merits of the Government proposals is to dispel the illusion that they are a mere adaptation of Continental and Colonial novelties. It is to be hoped that in this way it will be possible to remove some of the prejudice against them entertained by that large and respectable section of the community which—with no interest in the maintenance of land monopoly and the law-made misery to which it gives rise—yet defend it by their votes in the honest conviction that it is part and parcel of the British Constitution. The manner in which farmers, for instance, have for generations been induced to pool their interests with the diametrically opposed interests of the landlords is certainly an extraordinary aberration. It is, however, less astounding than the blindness which permits merchants and professional men in great

cities to be recruited in thousands as unpaid auxiliaries for the defence of the ground landlords, who tax them far more heavily than the State and the municipality on the improvements and progress due to their own energy and to the general development of the country. Working men and the lower middle classes have begun to see where the shoe pinches, being painfully conscious of the high percentage of their earnings which go in rent. To judge, however, by the spirit prevailing at meetings in the City of London, the business men assembled there would seem to be quite incapable of appreciating the lesson displayed daily before their eyes in the unearned wealth of the monopolists who hold the land (which is as necessary for the merchant prince and the leading professional man as it is for the poorest of their employees) and levy pitiless toll indifferently upon the labour of both categories and of the whole community. Surely the desire of successful men of business to win a place by purchase among the owners of the soil, possession of which still confers high social position in England, must be an absorbing passion to blind them to such an extent to their own interests. But how is it that the average professional man and trader who cherishes no such ambition fails to get a glimpse of the fact that he pays away to the landowner, directly and indirectly, without any equivalent service, a far larger proportion of his gains than he does to the State and the municipality? To this class may be commended the following significant remarks of Professor Cairnes, an economist of a former generation who was neither foreign, Colonial, nor Socialistic :

A given exertion of labour and capital will now produce in a great many directions five, ten or twenty times—in some instances perhaps a hundred times—the result which an equal exertion would have produced 100 years ago; yet the rate of wages . . . has certainly not advanced in anything like a corresponding degree, whilst it may be doubted if the rate of profit has advanced at all . . . we should be inclined to say it had even positively fallen. . . . Someone, no doubt, has benefited by the enlarged power of man over material nature; the world is, without question, the richer for it. . . . The large addition to the wealth of the country has gone neither to profits nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep—the rent-roll of the owners of the soil.

Some of the principles to which the present Government are endeavouring to give effect in a moderate and tentative way were laid down as long ago as 1782 by another English writer, William Ogilvie, who will at least not be accused of drawing his inspiration from Kiaochau or New Zealand. "In his essay on the right of property in land, Ogilvie draws a distinction between (1) the original value of the soil, (2) the increased value given to it by human labour, and (3) the value which it acquires in the present from its possibility of increased value in the future. He maintains that only the second value belongs to the landowner, all the rest being in reality the property of the community. Recognising, however, the difficulty of

distinguishing between the three elements in the value of land, Ogilvie suggests that the landowner should be allowed to retain the value arising from elements in which he has no part, but should be obliged to contribute to the requirements of the State. (He thus, consciously or unconsciously, reverts to the principle of the first land tax under William the Conqueror.) Ogilvie adds: 'No scheme of taxation can be so equitable as a land tax by which alone the expenses of the State ought to be supported until the whole amount of that original value be exhausted.' The trusteeship of the proprietor is further emphasised by him in his reminder to landowners that they must regard themselves merely as administrators of the property on behalf of the community, and consequently ought to cultivate it to the highest degree possible.

It may also be well to point out to business and professional men that the theoretically orthodox British Socialists—such, for instance, as Mr. Hyndmann—contemptuously reject the idea that Mr. Lloyd George's proposals are in any sense Socialistic, or constitute any advance towards the nationalisation of the land. Indeed, they oppose them on the ground that they are simple middle-class palliatives of an old-fashioned Whiggish character. As a matter of fact, these Socialist stalwarts, in their opposition to the Budget, show a sound instinct, as the reforms which it promotes are exactly of the kind which will strengthen rather than weaken the basis of social order, and are part of the armoury of the most effective opponents of Socialism—viz., those who take the wind out of the sails of the Socialist agitator by promoting necessary reforms at an opportune moment.

On the other hand, the German Government, at present the most effectively Conservative in Europe, has just adopted the principle of the unearned increment tax as a source of Imperial revenue, and promised to embody it in the laws of the land in 1912; while in the meantime the principle is being enforced in the form of a surtax. In the memorial which it submitted to the Reichstag during the discussion of the increment tax, that Government declared that the taxation of the unearned increment was in itself justifiable, and a very suitable source of revenue for the municipalities and local authorities. Indeed, the gist of the whole statement was that the municipalities had a greater claim to it than the central Government, and that its conversion into an Imperial tax might upset the financial arrangements of the municipalities. But there is not in this official pronouncement a single word attributing to the increment tax either a Socialistic or a revolutionary character, the objections being solely to the participation of the Empire and to the unsuitableness of the tax for inclusion in the finance reform then under consideration.

The eminent German economist, Professor Wagner, maintains that the imposition of the increment tax does not encounter greater

difficulties than that of the land tax which existed before it, nor of the income tax itself. It is objected that no one can distinguish between really earned and unearned increment, and in certain individual cases many difficulties might arise. But in general the problem is far simpler, being merely to judge whether the increase of value is due to the work or activity of the present proprietor, and that can be established with comparative ease. He takes the case of Berlin, and supposes that a man owned land there previous to the years 1866 and 1870. After the two victorious wars, Berlin became the centre of the new German Empire and more or less one of the great capitals of the world. Had the proprietor of that land done anything personally to increase its value? That value was, on the contrary, to be attributed to the development of the whole country and the work of the whole people, and consequently at least a portion of the increased value should go to the public. What that proportion should be was matter for discussion, but with a determination to solve the problem, impartial experts would not find it difficult of solution.

He went on to say, speaking in April 1908, that in Prussia the movement in favour of this tax had gone so far that it already had been adopted in about one hundred municipalities, and that the Government had even recommended the municipalities to adopt it.

For unprejudiced observers there could hardly be any stronger proof of the non-Socialistic character of the taxation of the capital value of land than the fact that it was adopted sixteen years ago by the German Government, one of whose greatest tasks is to oppose the advance of Socialism. In the Municipal Rates' Law (*Communal-abgabengesetz*) of 1893, the municipalities of Prussia, that most reactionary of the German States, were authorised to levy rates on the common or capital value of land instead of upon its actual annual income. In order to avert all prejudice in the minds of conservative Englishmen against this German example, it may be well to point out that the taxation of land as such is perhaps the oldest traditional British tax. It was indeed for centuries the ordinary method of raising revenue for the defence of the country. It was even at its inception a capital tax, varying, under William the Conqueror, by whom it was first imposed, from one shilling to six shillings on every hyde of land. Indeed, so little is the action of the present Government unprecedented in this matter of the taxation of land, that in the eighth year of the reign of Edward the Third a complete valuation was made throughout England of the fifteenth part of every township—a valuation upon which subsequent assessments were based. The existing land tax, created in the reign of William and Mary, imposed four shillings in the pound on all real property on the *bona fide* rack rent. The assessment on the *bona fide* rack rent shows that already in those days the income from land was not considered as being necessarily its true value for the purpose of taxation.

In December 1845 Richard Cobden, with his usual pithy lucidity, thus summed up the story of the English land tax :

For a period of 150 years after the Conquest, the whole of the revenue of the country was derived from the land. During the next 150 years it yielded nineteen-twentieths of the revenue—for the next century down to the reign of Richard the Third it was nine-tenths. During the next seventy years to the time of Mary it fell to about three-fourths. From this time to the end of the Commonwealth, land appeared to have yielded one-half the revenue. Down to the reign of Anne it was one-fourth. In the reign of George the Third it was one-sixth. For the first thirty years of his reign the land yielded one-seventh of the revenue. From 1793 to 1816 (during the period of the Land Tax), land contributed one-ninth. From which time to the present (1845) one twenty-fifth only of the revenue had been derived directly from land. Thus the land, which anciently paid the whole of taxation, paid now only a fraction or one twenty-fifth, notwithstanding the immense increase that has taken place in the value of the rentals. The people had fared better under the despotic monarchs than when the powers of the State had fallen into the hands of a landed oligarchy, who had first exempted themselves from taxation, and next claimed compensation for themselves by a Corn Law for their heavy and peculiar burdens.

At the present day land taxes are imposed not only in Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland, but in the United States of America, and even in Japan. Although the Tory-Unionist Opposition, encouraged by Lord Rosebery's forgetfulness of his own attitude towards Land Reform at a previous stage of his career, accuse them of being 'revolutionary,' nobody in any of the widely different countries in which they are imposed dreams of regarding them either as Level or Socialistic.

GENESIS OF 'INCREMENT' AND 'BETTERMENT.'

Tempting, however, as is the theme of the British land tax, and easy as it is to prove how unfounded is the accusation of originality brought against the Government's land clauses, it is proposed to confine the remainder of this article to the question of the taxation of unearned increment.

France, the birthplace of so many pregnant social ideas, actually preceded James Mill (generally regarded as the founder of the theory of unearned increment), if not in formulating, at least in applying the principle of the right of the community to receive part of the increased value of land due to its own exertions. It may be contended that the French example is rather one of the taxation of 'betterment' than of unearned increment; but from the standpoint of principle, the distinction which it is sought in some quarters to establish between the two is a false one. The difference between the increased value given to a piece of land by public works carried out in its vicinity and the increase in value arising from the general progress of the community and the growth of population is only one of degree and not of

kind. The former is more directly visible and tangible than the latter, but both are essentially of the same nature.

Article 54 of a law passed in 1807, under the direct inspiration of Napoleon the First, stipulates that while a proprietor is to be compensated for the expropriation of his land, he has, on the other hand, to pay for the increased value given by the improvements, made at the public cost, of the part remaining in his possession. The accounts between the public authorities and the proprietor are to be regulated on the basis of an estimate, the result of which might show that the owner has to pay a certain balance for the increased value of that remainder, after taking into account the price of the expropriated portion. In other words, a proprietor might find himself obliged to cede a portion of his land gratis in consideration of the increased value given to what remained in his possession, and might even have to add a payment in cash to the cession of his property. It will be observed that in the law in question, which in this particular respect remained unaffected by a subsequent amending law of 1810, the claim of the State was not to levy in the form of a tax a percentage upon the increased value given to the land remaining in private hands, but to appropriate it in its entirety as belonging to the public, by whose improvements it had been created. Article 30 of the same French law provides that when private property has considerably increased in value in consequence of public works, the proprietor can be taxed up to one-half of that increase in value, the amount of the increase being ascertained by legal valuation.

While the landed interest in France has succeeded in greatly restricting the application of this principle, it has nevertheless been maintained up to the present day in that country, where the taxation of 'betterment' (which is but a more obvious form of unearned increment), as laid down in the Napoleonic statute, has been extensively enforced, and has done much to promote the æsthetic and hygienic development not only of Paris, but of Lyons, Toulouse, Grenoble, &c., and in the general improvement of the ways of communication.

This taxation by Napoleon of unearned increment was but a development of the principles implicitly involved, if not expressly stated, in a series of royal decrees and ordinances under Louis the Fourteenth and his successors. In those documents it was provided that, in calculating the compensation to be paid for land expropriated for public purposes, the increased value given to the portion remaining in the hands of private proprietors was to be taken into account. In certain circumstances, indeed, a tax was actually imposed upon the increase of value due to public improvements. In some cases the increased value of the part remaining in the possession of a proprietor was considered to be in itself adequate compensation for the part which was expropriated, so that no monetary compensation was paid. The imposition of a tax upon land increased in value by public improve-

ments is provided for in an ordinance issued by Colbert as long ago as 1679 to the Touraine authorities in connexion with the opening of a new street in Tours.

Thus quite apart from the discussion of the whole subject in the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century by the predecessors of James Mill, including Thomas Paine, it is evident that a broad basis was laid in the history of land legislation in France for the ideas systematised in James Mill's theory of the unearned increment (*Elements of Political Economy*), which received its name from his son, John Stuart Mill.

THE INCREMENT TAX / IN GERMANY.

The particulars of the increment tax levied by local authorities in Germany, and first authorised in Prussia by the Municipal Rating Act of 1893, contained in the recently-issued Blue Book, render it unnecessary to deal at length with the details of the various schemes adopted. That important collection of material can, however, be supplemented in certain directions by facts which all tend to confirm the wisdom of the initiative and to prove its necessity. Perhaps the most striking of these facts is the comparatively rapid progress it has made in Prussia since Frankfort-on-Maine took advantage in 1904 of the power given to the municipalities in 1893. There, as in Cologne, which followed the example a year later, and in other large centres, the impelling force was not any doctrinaire devotion to abstract justice, but the urgent need of increased resources. Its relatively rapid acceptance—it is now enforced by some 200 municipal bodies, the number of which is increasing month by month—is the more significant for having been secured against the opposition of the land and house owners, who are greatly over-represented on the Prussian municipal councils. The example given by Prussia is now being followed by other States of the Empire, so that, with the increased number of municipalities, including Berlin and the suburban communes adjoining it, who are hastening to take advantage of the opportunity of securing this source of revenue for local purposes, there has, since the discussion in the Reichstag this summer, been a regular race throughout Germany in the introduction of the new system. This circumstance, and the fact that nowhere has the system been abandoned either by large or small municipal bodies, tends to show that the gloomy forecasts of its results in England will in all human probability be speedily falsified. Naturally neither landlords nor the gamblers in building plots are pleased with the change, but the evidence of independent observers shows that it has thus far constantly surpassed the expectations of its supporters as a revenue producer, while steadying rather than hampering the legitimate and honest building trade. Indeed, the common verdict of experience among our neighbours is that business has not been hampered by the

increment tax, but that on the other hand it has helped everywhere, in a greater or less degree, to bring more building land into the market and to promote the great and urgent reform of the better housing of the workers and the lower middle classes. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and that has been so favourable in Germany that everyone is now ordering the new dish. The reply made to me by a prominent banker in one of the largest German cities in which the system had been introduced, was that he regretted it had not been applied sooner, to the great advantage of the municipal treasury. In short, the experience of the tax in Germany, where, unlike the British measure, it applies to agricultural as well as urban land, shows that, as so frequently happens with new forms of taxation of this description, the predictions of opponents as to impossibility of execution and insufficient yield of revenue are not borne out in practice. As bearing on this point, and more particularly on the difficulties in the way of making an accurate valuation of the site value apart from buildings, foreshadowed in this country, it is desirable to point out that Continental American and Colonial experience demonstrates that the problem is by no means so formidable as those anxious to prevent the adoption of the scheme endeavour to make out. Very striking is the report of Mr. Lawson Purdy, President of the Department of Taxes in the City of New York, in a letter reproduced in the Blue Book. After stating his conviction that it was possible to secure an assessment of the value of land which would be so accurate as to preclude all reasonable complaint and would certainly be far more accurate than the assessment of any other form of property, Mr. Purdy says :

The effect of the taxation of real estate in the city of New York, in so far as the tax falls upon land, is undoubtedly the same as is described by John Stuart Mill, Edwin R. A. Seligman and other writers on Political Economy. That is to say that a tax on land being paid wholly by the owner does not increase rentals but decreases selling value. When land is sold the tax is capitalised, the price is reduced, and the subsequent owner does not bear the burden of the tax so long as the rate does not increase. Anyone familiar with New York conditions would say that the tax tends to induce better improvement of valuable sites than would be the case if there were no such tax.

Similar evidence is given throughout the Blue Book by others responsible for the practical working of valuation.

It may be well here to mark the point which the movement in favour of the unearned increment tax has reached in the German Imperial Parliament. In that chamber there is no longer any question as to the justice of the tax, all parties—Conservative, Liberal and Socialist—having accepted it in principle.

On the 10th of July 1909 the Reichstag, with the approval of the Federal Governments, agreed to the insertion of provisions into the Transfer Stamp Act which forms part of the new financial reform, stipulating that on or before the 1st of April 1912 an Imperial tax upon the unearned increment in land will be introduced, and will be estab-

lished upon such a basis as is calculated to yield an annual revenue of at least 20,000,000 marks (1,000,000%).

Provision is to be made by a special law that the Communes and Associations of Communes in which the unearned increment tax had been enforced on the 1st of April, 1909, shall be allowed for at least five years after the Imperial tax comes into force, to retain the average annual revenue which they had previously derived from that tax. Until the application of this law a surtax of 100 per cent. will be levied upon the land transfer tax of one-third per cent. imposed by the new Stamp Act.

GROWTH OF SITE VALUE.

The phenomenon of the extraordinary growth of site value in great cities throughout the civilised world is one of the most remarkable of the last fifty years. This increase is almost invariably due to similar causes, such as the geographical situation of the city in relation to the commerce of the country, its establishment as a seat of government, or of the Court, the development of industries specially adapted to the locality, and the continuous growth of population. All these and other causes have tended to increase beyond the most extravagant expectations the wealth of those who, by accident or foresight, acquired land in those localities. A few illustrative examples of this from different countries will not be without interest.

Berlin, the European capital that has developed most rapidly within the last century, is a particularly striking example of the extraordinary growth of site values, in that way rivalling Chicago itself. The latter, as was to be expected, appears to hold the record, to judge by particulars given by the State of Illinois Bureau of Labour, in its Eighth Annual Report issued for 1895. This report contains a detailed account of the history of a quarter of an acre of land in the heart of Chicago from 1830 to 1894, showing the increase in its value from 20 dollars in 1830 to 17,500 dollars in 1850, 28,000 dollars in 1860, 120,000 dollars in 1870, 130,000 dollars in 1880, 900,000 dollars in 1890, and 1,250,000 dollars in 1894.

Berlin does not reach this record, yet the following cases are sufficiently striking:—In the Berlin suburban Commune of Schöneberg a peasant bought a piece of land for 7100 marks as a potato field. Fifty years later it was sold for 600,000 marks. A peasant living at Britz, another suburb of Berlin, could not find a buyer at 50,000 marks for eight morgen of land which he possessed. Shortly afterwards a railway station was established in the vicinity, and a Building Land Investment Company purchased the same piece of land for 300,000 marks.

Dr. Adolf Weber, of Bonn, gives particulars of a similar increase of value in Boston, U.S.A., where a special valuation of land and buildings for taxation purposes was ordered in the seventies, a fair and honest effort being made to ascertain their actual selling value. In

1876, the date of the valuation, the land in Boston was estimated at 320,133,375 dollars. In 1901 this value had increased to 547,246,000, or a difference of 227,112,625 dollars. Within the same period the buildings had increased in value from 260,024,525 to 377,790,000 dollars, or an addition of 117,765,475 dollars. Within the same period there was an increase of about 11,000 in the population, so that according to this author, each new inhabitant increased the unearned increment by 3270 marks, or 163*l*. It will be observed that this calculation is based exclusively upon the increase in the value of the land.

In Stockholm the value of land subject to taxation increased from 177,000,000 crowns in 1875 to 469,000,000 crowns in 1890; that increase of 292,000,000 corresponded to an increase in the population of about 100,000, so that the increased value per head of the increase of the population amounted to over 150*l*.

According to one local authority, the unearned increment in the value of even agricultural land in the suburbs and surrounding districts of Vienna has in some cases reached 1000 per cent. A statistical inquiry by Dr. Schwartz shows that the increase in the value of land in the city itself from 1866 to 1899 varied from 100 per cent. to several thousands per cent. That increase was greater in recent years, so that in his opinion it may be fairly estimated that the average increase during the past thirty years has been over 100 per cent.

SOME BRITISH EXAMPLES OF INCREMENT.

It is not necessary to leave England for examples of the manner in which unrestricted land monopoly burdens all classes and hampers progress. South Wales, a district with which I am acquainted, strikingly illustrates what is occurring in a greater or lesser degree throughout the whole of England. Owing to the construction of the great dock at Barry the rateable value of the Barry urban area ran up from 20,533*l*. in 1889 to 263,000*l*. in the present year, an increase of 1200 per cent. in twenty years. That is admittedly an exceptional case, but it is strictly in accordance with the rule that this enormous increase of land values created by industry has escaped its due share of taxation.

Newport, where there has also been a considerable increase of the rateable value during the last generation, complains (according to the great provincial organ, the *South Wales Daily News*, of February last, from which I take these figures) of the manner in which its progress has been hampered by the high rents demanded, which drove away manufacturers desirous of settling in the district. The Newport Corporation spent 30,500*l*. in laying out roads, with the result of increasing the value of the land immediately adjoining by 200 per cent. An instance is given of the increased ground rent charged in this district on the falling in of leases going up to as much as 400 per cent.

The industrial district of St. Thomas, Swansea, less than thirty years ago a hamlet, is now a vast area of populous streets yielding a big income to the landlord. In the thirty-six years ending in 1908 the rateable value of Swansea had increased by 246 per cent. Nearly 4,000,000*l.* have been spent on the docks and as much on works. The owners of the valueless foreshore had to be bought out by the docks, tens of thousands being thus paid for intrinsically worthless land which only acquired value through the enterprise of others than those who owned it.

In Swansea, as elsewhere, building land has been held up, generation after generation, by landlords. There is a field now grazed by sheep, and yielding about 5*l.* an acre, which it was publicly stated in February is being put on the building market at 1000*l.* an acre.

The Corporation was asked 1000*l.* an acre for land necessary for tramway extension. On arbitration this was reduced to less than 400*l.* For a field purchased thirty years ago for 5000*l.* an offer of 25,000*l.* was refused soon afterwards. It remained unbuilt on for ten years, during that period only paying rates on its agricultural value. It is now covered with streets and worth 50,000*l.* on the most moderate calculation.

SUPERIORITY OF THE BRITISH SCHEME.

It is impossible in the space of one article to compare the details of the English and German legislation. Generally the Finance Bill endeavours to arrive with more care at what is really unearned increment, that is to say, increased value not due to any effort or capital outlay of the owner, and it is confined to the increase in the site value of the land; whereas in Germany a much more rough-and-ready method has been adopted. There, taxation is on the increased value of land and buildings at the time of sale, the whole tax being treated more in the nature of an additional transfer duty. On the other hand, the British tax is levied on more occasions; not merely on the sale of real property, but on death, and also—in the case of limited liability companies—on periodical valuations at fixed intervals. It is thus more scientific in its imposition. On the other hand the Germans have exercised their well-known love of graduation to a much larger extent than the English. In both schemes, however, the first 10 per cent. increment is exempt.

The most important distinction in principle is that, whereas the English tax will be levied on future increase of value, the datum line being the valuation now made, the German tax is retrospective. Thus, in the one case the owner is allowed to keep all the increment of the past, and has only to pay on the increment of the future, whereas in the other he is taxed on the increment which has accumulated during the ownership of the present proprietor. In both schemes, however,

the great principle of obtaining for the community, by means either of local or national taxes, a reasonable share of the increased value of land which is generally recognised to be mainly due, not to the efforts of an individual, or even a group of individuals, but to the growth of the population and the consequent necessity for land to live on, is in Germany accepted by all parties in the State, in England by the party in power; and it will, I have no doubt, shortly be recognised as wise and just even by those who are now opposing it in this country.

ALFRED MOND.

THE LAND, THE PEOPLE AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

FROM both the national and the imperial point of view the British land problem is of the very greatest importance. It is undoubtedly as important as is the problem of safeguarding our manufacturing industries and of binding together the Motherland and the Colonies in an indissoluble and indestructible union for mutual defence.

As a matter of fact, the settlement of the British land problem is a necessary part of that great constructive national and imperial policy which Mr. Chamberlain has initiated, and with which Mr. Chamberlain's name will be connected for all time. Mr. Chamberlain's policy was enthusiastically taken up by the Unionist party. Every Unionist became a missionary of empire. Unfortunately, but inevitably, Unionists were so absorbed by their mission, they were so absorbed in explaining their great policy of national and imperial organisation and reform, and especially the Tariff Reform part of that policy, to the people, and they were so absorbed in defending their policy against the attacks of their opponents, that the consideration of the great land problem had necessarily to be relegated to the background, and was in danger of being overlooked. Happily that danger is passed, and Unionists are under a twofold obligation to Mr. Lloyd George: Firstly, for having raised the land problem, and for thus having given Unionists an opportunity of showing that Tariff Reform and land reform are parts of the same policy and must go hand in hand; secondly, for having treated our great land problem in such a manner that the Unionist solution of that problem will certainly be far more acceptable to the nation than the fantastic and mischievous proposals of Mr. Lloyd George and his friends.

Mr. Lloyd George said in his Budget speech:

Any man who has crossed and recrossed this country from North to South and East to West must have been perplexed at finding that there was so much waste and wilderness possible in such a crowded little island. There are millions of acres in this country which are more stripped and sterile than they were, and providing a living for fewer people than they did, even a thousand years ago. We are not getting out of the land anything like what it is capable

of endowing us with. Of the enormous quantity of agricultural, dairy produce and fruit, and of the timber which is imported into this country, a considerable portion could be raised on our own land. We have drawn upon the robust vitality of the rural areas of Great Britain, and especially of Ireland, and spent its energies recklessly in the devitalising atmosphere of urban factories and workshops as if the supply were inexhaustible. We are now beginning to realise that we have been spending our capital, and at a disastrous rate, and it is time we should make a real concerted national effort to replenish it.

Every acre of land brought into cultivation, every acre of cultivated land brought into a higher state of cultivation, means more labour of a healthy and productive character; it means more abundant food—cheaper and better food—for the people.

In the foregoing words Mr. Lloyd George has well summed up our agricultural problem; but how does he propose to solve it?

Mr. Lloyd George proposes to put heavy additional taxes on the land owners, and especially upon the large land owners, by means of heavy additions to the death duties, heavy additions to the income tax, and various heavy taxes on land. Most of our land owners work with a very small profit, some make no profit, some make a loss. Land owners have no unlimited liquid funds at their disposal where-with they can pay heavy additional taxes. Therefore they can find the money for paying the heavy new imposts only by raising the rent of the farmers and by reducing their expenditure. The function of our land owners is not only to collect the rent and spend it on their own amusements, as Radical and Socialist agitators seem to imagine. It is their function to finance agriculture by draining the land, erecting farmhouses and buildings, and keeping them in repair, providing seed and manure, and improving the land in every way, and many millions of pounds are spent by them in this manner in every year, to the great benefit of agriculture. The majority of our land owners live thriftily, and they cannot greatly reduce their personal expenditure. Therefore they will be able to pay the new taxes only by reducing their expenditure on the land. Hence Mr. Lloyd George's new taxes will inevitably lead to the raising of agricultural rents on the one hand, and to the starvation and exhaustion of the soil on the other.

The profits of our farmers are very small. The prices for their agricultural produce are limited by the free competition of foreign agricultural produce. Hence they can pay increased rents only by making economies, by dismissing part of their labourers, by converting corn lands and vegetable fields, which require much labour, into grazing fields, which require very little labour. Mr. Lloyd George's new taxes will not recreate our rural industries, but they will accelerate the decline of our agriculture and the exodus of our rural population from the land.

We have become to such an extent a nation of town dwellers, and we have become to such a degree estranged from the land, that very

few of us are aware how great and how unnecessary has been the decline and decay of our agriculture. Many people argue complacently : Great Britain is a small and densely populated industrial country ; the great development of our manufacturing industries made the decline of our agriculture inevitable ; the decline of our agriculture, and the exodus of the rural population, is a natural phenomenon in a country such as ours.

These often heard arguments are fallacious. Like causes have like effects. Great Britain is not the only industrial country in Europe. If the development of the manufacturing industries was bound to lead to the decline of British agriculture, it should have led to a far greater decline of German agriculture, because Germany is agriculturally in a much less favourable position than is Great Britain. Germany's soil is much poorer than ours. Her territory east of the Elbe is a huge sandy plain. Great ranges of lofty and sterile mountains occur in the south and west. Her climate has extremes of cold and heat unknown to Great Britain. The air is dry. Owing to these unfavourable conditions Germany can grow wheat only in a few favoured spots, and she has to rely for bread principally on rye. Besides, Germany is an inland country. Hence the transport of agricultural produce from the purely agricultural east to the densely populated industrial west is exceedingly costly. Great Britain, on the other hand, has a naturally rich soil, few mountains except in the north, a mild and equable climate, thanks to the Gulf Stream, and a very humid air helpful to vegetation. Our great centres of population, the natural markets of our agriculturists, are to be found in every part of the country in easy reach of our fields. Besides, our agricultural interior is everywhere in easy reach of the sea and of cheap coastwise transport to our great towns which lie on or near the sea border. Nature has given to German agriculture great disadvantages which are unknown to our farmers.

During the last thirty years the progress of the German manufacturing industries has been probably far more rapid than the progress of our manufacturing industries has been at any time in our history. Nevertheless her so unfavourably situated agriculture has not decayed through the rise of her manufacturing industries, but has mightily grown.

If we wish to treat a disease successfully, we must first of all ascertain its nature and extent and then diagnose its causes. A comparison of our agriculture with that of Germany will show how great and terrible has been the decline of our agriculture, and how inadequate is the way in which our great agricultural resources are utilised. Such a comparison will clearly prove that the vigorous development of the manufacturing industries need not by any means lead to the neglect and the decay of a nation's agriculture ; that the manufacturing industries and the rural industries may flourish side

by side. It will besides help us to ascertain the causes which have led to the decay of our agriculture and indicate to us the remedies.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture estimated in 1894 that the loss of agricultural capital, which we have suffered owing to the decay of our agriculture since 1874, amounted to 1,000,000,000*l.* That loss has constantly grown since then. In 1905 Sir Robert Palgrave, the well-known statistician, estimated that loss at 1,700,000,000*l.*, and it may amount now to 2,000,000,000*l.*, a sum three times as large as our huge National Debt.

How has that enormous loss arisen ?

It is generally known that wheat has gone out of cultivation in this country, but it is not generally known that our dependence on foreign wheat has increased as follows :

Average number of British People fed on British Wheat :

In 1841-45 .	24,000,000	people out of a population of 26,800,000
In 1901-5 .	4,500,000	" " " 42,000,000

Sixty years ago British people lived practically entirely on British wheat. Now we grow scarcely enough wheat to keep us during five weeks in every year. However, not only has wheat gone out of cultivation, but the acreage of all our principal crops has shrunk during the last thirty-five years as follows :

Acres under								
	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas	Potatoes	Turnips and Swedes	Permanent Pasture
1873	3,670,259	2,574,529	4,198,495	698,121	321,007	1,426,720	2,479,847	23,363,990
1908	1,664,860	1,824,410	4,189,378	296,918	164,183	1,161,122	1,837,997	27,522,862
Increase or decrease	-2,005,399	-750,119	-9,117	-401,203	-156,824	-264,598	-641,850	+4,163,872
Decrease in acreage of principal corn and vegetable crops								-4,229,110 acres
Increase in acreage of permanent pasture								+4,159,572 "

It will be noticed that the decay of our agriculture is not restricted to wheat, which, it is true, suffers from the competition of the boundless plains of America, but that our agricultural decay is universal, that practically all our food crops have shrunk in the most serious manner. Between 1873 and 1908 more than 4,000,000 acres of food-producing land have gone out of cultivation and have been abandoned by the ploughman. Stubbly uncultivated grass and weeds, officially called 'permanent pasture,' grow wildly on the fields on which hundreds of thousands of British husbandmen grew corn and vegetables for the people, and the busy villages where they lived have decayed.

The effect of the decline and decay of our agriculture upon our rural population is well illustrated by the following figures :

Persons occupied in Agriculture in England and Wales	Agricultural Labourers in Ireland	Population of Ireland	
1841 (McCulloch's estimate)	2,800,000	?	8,175,124
1851 (Census figures)	1,904,687	850,100	6,515,794
1861	1,808,049	602,200	5,764,548
1871	1,428,854	509,700	5,402,759
1881	1,199,827	298,800	5,159,889
1891	1,099,572	251,700	4,706,162
1901	988,840	212,200	4,458,775

The foregoing figures show a terrible decline. The number of persons occupied in agriculture in England and Wales has shrunk to less than one-half the former number. The number of agricultural labourers in Ireland has shrunk to one-fourth. Since 1846, when Ireland had 9,000,000 inhabitants, she has lost more than one-half of her population. During the last sixty years the United Kingdom has lost by emigration more than 10,000,000 people, a number considerably greater than the present population of Scotland and Ireland combined. By far the larger part of our emigrants came from the country. They were the best and strongest of the race. Their loss has undoubtedly led to a great deterioration of the national physique, as I have shown in a lecture delivered before the British Medical Association. Compared with the enormous national loss in population and in man-power, the financial loss of 2,000,000,000*l.*, alluded to above, huge as it is, seems but a trifle.

Why has our agriculture decayed in this terrible manner ?

The first half of the nineteenth century was filled with an incessant struggle between the Conservative and Liberal Parties, which was fought out in Parliament by Conservative landowners on the one side and by Radical manufacturers, traders and politicians on the other. The Radical politicians were victorious. The Liberal Party became supreme in Parliament, and it used its supremacy for making war upon the landowners. The definite triumph of the Liberal Party was marked by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, and ever since 1846 war upon the landowners has been a standing item in the Liberal programme. Hatred of the landowners has inspired and directed Liberal policy during more than half a century. The desire to cripple and to ruin the landowners has been one of the principal aims of Liberal policy from the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 to Mr. Lloyd George's Budget in 1909. The study of the literature of the Anti-Corn Law League, issued in and before 1846, and of the speeches of Cobden and of his supporters, proves that the Free Trade agitation was animated quite as much by the desire of Radical politicians to ruin the landowners as by their desire to benefit the manufacturers and

traders. The desire to ruin the landowners has been equally apparent in some of the recent speeches of leading Liberal politicians.

Liberal politicians not only deliberately exposed our agriculture to ruinous foreign competition, but they equally deliberately overburdened that stricken industry with taxes, believing, or pretending to believe, that the special burdens which they put on the land would fall on the wealthy landowners. Every attempt of the Conservative Party to assist agriculture was denounced by Radical orators as doles to the wealthy landowners wrung from the bread of the poorest. Whilst other European nations, anxious to preserve their rural industries, have taxed agriculture more lightly than their manufacturing industries, Great Britain has, through the action of the Liberal Party, overtaxed her agriculture to such an extent that British agriculture is the most highly taxed industry in the world. In Great Britain land is the most heavily taxed form of capital.

Ever since their triumph of 1846, the Liberals have pursued agriculture with hostile legislation. They have tried to ruin the landowners from political malice, and they have succeeded in a number of cases, but incidentally they have ruined our agriculture as well. Since 1846 the agricultural population of the United Kingdom has shrunk by more than one-half. The victory of the Liberal over the Conservative Party was bought at the price of 2,000,000,000*l.* and of 10,000,000 of the best British citizens.

Between 1846 and 1909, whilst the British country population has shrunk to less than half its former number, the country population of Germany has greatly increased, and it has not appreciably decreased even during the last two or three decades, when the marvellous expansion of her manufacturing industries drew millions of peasant lads to the factories of the towns, and when at the same time labour-saving machinery was generally introduced into German agriculture. The labour-displacing effect of agricultural machinery was fully counteracted by a great expansion in Germany's agricultural production. The expansion of Germany's agriculture since 1879, the year when she introduced Protection, has been very great. According to her somewhat unsatisfactory harvest statistics, Germany's production of corn and potatoes has increased since 1879 by 50 per cent. Germany's agriculture has vigorously grown during the very time when our agricultural production has shrunk to insignificance, and her live stock has, since the live-stock census of 1883, increased as follows :

Live Stock of Germany

	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1883	3,522,525	15,786,764	19,189,715	9,206,195
1907	4,837,268	20,589,856	7,681,072	22,080,008
Increase or decrease	+ 814,738	+ 4,803,092	- 11,508,643	+ 12,873,813

Germany's sheep have decreased considerably because she has converted her grazing lands into cornfields. Her sheep and their grasslands had to give way to intensive cultivation. The decrease in her sheep is a sign of the increase in the prosperity of her agriculture. In Germany a pig is three times as valuable as a sheep. Hence the loss of 11,500,000 sheep is trifling as compared with the gain of 800,000 horses, 5,000,000 cattle, and almost 13,000,000 pigs.

Let us compare the increase of Germany's live stock between 1883 and 1907 with the increase of our own live stock during the same years :

Live Stock of Great Britain

	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
1883	1,898,745	10,097,943	28,347,560	3,986,427
1907	2,089,027	11,630,142	30,011,833	3,967,163
Increase or decrease	+ 100,282	+ 1,532,199	+ 1,664,273	- 19,264

During the period under consideration Germany has added four horses for every single one added by Great Britain ; Germany has added three head of cattle for every single one added by Great Britain ; Germany has added almost 13,000,000 pigs, whilst Great Britain has lost 20,000. During the last twenty-four years, when our live stock has remained practically stationary, that of Germany has increased enormously, and the result is that Germany has now about twice as many head of cattle and five times as many pigs as has Great Britain. Hence the Germans live practically exclusively on home-grown meat, which in Great Britain is only within the means of the well-to-do. Foreign frozen and chilled meat, and Chicago delicacies imported in tins, are unknown in Germany. Great Britain and Germany compare as follows as regards the importation of dead meat :

	£
Dead meat imported into Great Britain in 1907	43,614,573
" " " Germany in 1907	1,230,000

For every pound's worth of dead meat imported into Germany we import nearly 40*l.* worth every year. We are in danger of becoming as dependent on foreign meat as we are already on foreign wheat, and the danger is all the greater as it is very difficult to discover disease in frozen carcasses. Whilst our population has greatly increased, our cattle has remained practically stationary. Hence milk has become scarce and dear. It is dearer in Great Britain than in any other country in Europe, and poor people are beginning to bring up their babies on preserved milk, of which more than 1,500,000*l.* worth is imported every year. Can we hope to grow a strong race on artificial food ?

The following tables give a bird's-eye view of German and British agriculture, and they will enable us to compare at a glance the different ways in which the soil of the two countries was utilised in 1903, the last year for which comparable figures are available :

Utilisation of the Agricultural Soil in 1903

	In Germany	In Great Britain
	acres	acres
Under all corn crops	88,050,196	8,898,000
(Under wheat and rye)	20,056,711	1,690,216
Under potatoes	7,996,768	1,195,877
Under clover and grass for hay	14,681,924	3,053,688
Under permanent pasture not for hay	6,685,574	22,187,124
Total cultivated area	65,189,582	47,708,088

It will be noticed that for every acre under bread-corn in Great Britain there are no less than twelve in Germany.

Expressed in percentages the utilisation of the agricultural soil of the two countries compares as follows :

Percentages of Agricultural Soil

	In Germany	In Great Britain
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Under corn crops	61.1	18.2
Under vegetables	18.2	9.4
Under fodder	10.1	5.9
Under grass and fallow	8.7	66.5
Orchards and gardens	1.9	—
	100.0	100.0

When one travels by railway through Great Britain the eye meets chiefly grassfields. It will be seen from the foregoing table that the proportion of land under grass in Great Britain is practically identical with the proportion of land under corn crops in Germany. Three-fifths of Great Britain is under grass, while three-fifths of Germany is under corn. Therefore one can easily realise the agricultural aspect of Germany by imagining all British grass land converted into corn-fields. The foregoing tables show at a glance how greatly our agricultural resources are at present being wasted and abused. With our superior soil and climate, and with the greater accessibility of our interior, we can grow not only as much, but proportionately to the size of our country far more, corn and vegetables than can Germany, and we can, besides, put our agricultural produce far more easily on the market.

The cry 'Back to the land' is heard on all sides, and it has been taken up by the nation. Let us therefore enquire whether a more

intensive form of agriculture, such as that prevailing in Germany, may be expected to cause the people to settle on the land in increasing numbers. The following table answers this question.

Persons occupied in Agriculture and Fishing

In Germany in 1895 (52 million inhabitants)	8,292,692
In the United Kingdom in 1901 (39 million inhabitants)	2,265,868
In Great Britain in 1901 (30,500,000 inhabitants)	1,889,806

The foregoing figures show that in Germany one-sixth of the entire population are actively occupied in agriculture, whilst in the United Kingdom only one-seventeenth, and in Great Britain alone one-twenty-second of the entire population are so occupied. It follows that, if we should succeed in introducing an intensive form of agriculture, such as that prevailing in Germany, the number of agriculturists might be trebled in the whole of the United Kingdom and be quadrupled in Great Britain alone. Besides, an increase in the number of our agriculturists would necessarily lead to a corresponding increase in the number of village artisans and numerous other people who, by administering to agriculturists, live indirectly by agriculture.

Let us now see how large a part of the German population lives in the country, in order to enable us to form an estimate how many people might live in the country in Great Britain if our agriculture be re-created.

Country population of Germany in 1905 (60,300,000 inhabitants)

In villages up to 100 inhabitants	850,231
" " from 100 to 500 inhabitants	10,307,747
" " " 500 to 1000 "	8,078,843
" " " 1000 to 2000 "	6,590,660
In country towns from 2000 to 5000 inhabitants	7,158,885
Total country population	32,981,166

In 1905 Germany had 60,300,000 inhabitants. Of these, 33,000,000, or exactly 55 per cent., lived in the country. Owing to the defectiveness of our statistics, similar figures can, unfortunately, not be given for Great Britain. Hence an exact comparison between the country populations of the two countries is not possible. The country population of the United Kingdom, living in villages and in small towns up to 5000 inhabitants, comes at most to 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 inhabitants, whilst our total population is about 45,000,000. Fifty-five per cent. of 45,000,000 is 25,000,000. Assuming that German agricultural conditions prevailed in this country, we should have 25,000,000 people living on the land and by the land. There would be room for about 13,500,000 additional people on the land. The problem of town congestion would be solved.

It may be objected that we cannot place so large a number of the people on the land because Great Britain is much smaller in

extent than Germany. Germany has 208,740 square miles; the United Kingdom has 121,371 square miles. By extent of territory the two countries stand almost exactly in the proportion of 5 to 3. Measured by the size of our little country we should therefore be able to place three-fifths of the Germany country population, or 20,000,000, on the land. There would be room for about 8,500,000 additional people on the land. It seems clear that the re-creation of our agriculture should enable us to maintain at least 20,000,000 people on the land and to plant about 10,000,000 people, or 2,000,000 families, in the country. Owing to the greater fruitfulness of our soil and the greater accessibility of our countryside, the British country should be able to nourish a denser population than the German country. At the same time it must be remembered that it is not easy to place our restless town population on the land. Therefore we must make not an extreme, but a moderate, estimate.

It is surely a moderate estimate to assume that only one-half of the people who might make a living on the land can be induced to settle on the land. In that case our countryside has room for approximately a million families, or 5,000,000 people. That is an estimate which, I think, it will be difficult to challenge. The colonisation of rural Great Britain would make the nation healthier, wealthier, and happier, and it seems a policy worthy of a great statesman. This is surely a greater aim than to tax the landowners out of their land and to ruin incidentally our agriculture entirely.

Before investigating the way by which our agriculture may be made at least as productive and as prosperous as that of Germany, we must carefully take note of a most important and significant factor, the different way in which land is held and worked in the two countries. Whilst British farmers mostly rent the land, which they work but do not own, the vast majority of the German agriculturists own absolutely the land which they till. The great difference between the land systems of the two countries may be summed up in two lines :

Acreage of Agricultural Land

	Occupied by owners	Occupied by tenants
In Germany in 1896 (last year available)	37,270,380 hec. = 87·4%	5,860,041 hec. = 12·6%
In Great Britain in 1907	3,927,803 acres = 12·2%	28,284,088 acres = 87·6%

In Germany seven-eighths of the agricultural land is freehold land and is worked by its owners. In Great Britain only one-eighth of land is freehold land and is worked by its owners. The remaining seven-eighths of our land is rented by agriculturists who work other people's land. British agriculturists till land which they do not possess—German agriculturists till their own land.

The different way in which land is held and worked in the two countries is still further illustrated in the following table, which shows how the ownership of land is distributed in them.

Owners of Land and their Holdings

In Germany in 1895 (last year available)			In England and Wales in 1873 (last year available)		
Size of Holdings Acres	No. of Owners.	Acreage. Hectares.	Size of Holdings Acres	No. of Owners.	Acreage. Acres.
Less than 5	3,236,367	2,415,914	Less than 1	825,272	629,852
5 to 12½	1,016,818	4,142,071	1 to 10	121,988	478,680
12½ „ 50	998,804	12,537,660	10 „ 50	72,640	1,750,080
50 „ 125	239,643	9,459,240	50 „ 100	25,839	1,791,606
125 „ 250	42,124	3,697,961	100 „ 500	32,817	6,827,347
250 „ 1250	20,881	6,571,104	500 „ 1000	4,799	8,817,878
1250 and more	4,180	4,460,792	1000 and more	5,408	18,695,528
Total ...	...	43,284,742	Total ...	...	33,490,771

The difference in the way in which land is held in Great Britain and in Germany is very great indeed. In Germany practically one-half of the land is owned by several millions of small proprietors who possess fifty acres and less. In England considerably more than one-half of the land is owned by but 5408 large proprietors who possess 1000 acres and more. The corresponding class of large proprietors in Germany own only one-tenth of the soil. It will be noticed that in Germany the larger half of the land is held by 1,200,000 substantial peasant farmers who own from 12½ to 125 acres. The very large number of Germans who own less than five acres are not pauper peasants, but are mostly agricultural labourers whose savings have been invested in freehold land and who as a rule possess cottages of their own. Not only practically all the farmers are freeholders in Germany, but nine-tenths of the agricultural labourers as well have a larger or smaller quantity of freehold land, and they possess as a rule besides a cow or a pig or both.

Thus the entire agricultural population of Germany, farmers, peasants and agricultural labourers, are tied to the country by bonds of interest and of affection. They try to improve their property from generation to generation for the sake of their children. Every penny they dig into the ground will be theirs for ever. They are sure of earning sufficient to maintain themselves and their families in comfort, and they may rise to affluence. Hence their number does not shrink like ours, notwithstanding the great attractions and opportunities of the towns and the great rise in German town wages. A rural exodus similar to our own is not known, and need not be feared, in Germany. This is evident from the following figures :

Population of Prussia principally employed in Agriculture

	In 1895	In 1907
Independent agriculturists . . .	1,392,006	1,857,590
Employees and labourers . . .	3,390,249	4,519,251
Children	6,382,714	4,862,648
Servants	260,127	128,710
Total	11,375,096	10,868,194

The decline in the purely agricultural population of Prussia has been infinitesimal. It is significant that the number of farmers and their labourers, of the cultivators themselves, has greatly increased, whilst only that of the children has decreased. This decrease in children is caused by the fact that the peasant children who formerly used to idle about the farms are now sent to the factories by their parents.

To the agriculturist it makes a world of difference whether he tills his own soil, as do the German farmer-peasants and labourer-peasants, or whether he tills somebody else's soil, as do the British farmers and the British agricultural labourers. Arthur Young, our greatest writer on agriculture, wrote a century ago: 'The magic of property turns sand into gold. Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a garden.' Adam Smith wrote in his *Wealth of Nations* nearly a century and a half ago: 'A small proprietor, who knows every part of his little territory, who views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who, upon that account, takes pleasure not only in cultivating but in adorning it, is generally of all improves the most industrious, the most intelligent and the most successful.' These words are now even more true than they were at the time when they were written. In former times, when our agriculturists were many, when the openings for countrymen in our towns were few, when scarcely any agricultural labourer read the newspapers, and when travelling was slow and very expensive, agricultural labourers were isolated from the outer world, and they were quite satisfied with their hand-to-mouth existence. Times have changed. Agricultural labourers who have no stake in the country are not attached to the country either by interest or affection, and they cheerfully try their luck in town or over-seas.

German agriculture is based on individual property, not on contract, and its success is very largely due to the fact that every man tills his own soil. The small peasant grows per acre far more corn, vegetables, fruit and eggs, and he raises far more cattle and pigs than does the large landowner. Theoretically the large landowner working in partnership with a large farmer has this advantage over the small peasant farmer, that he can employ costly labour-saving machinery which the small peasant farmer cannot afford to buy. That difficulty has been overcome in Germany and elsewhere by co-operation. German, French, Danish and other small farmers frequently possess collectively machinery which English landowners find too costly.

There is another very grave disadvantage inherent in the British land system which is based, as far as the actual cultivator is concerned, not upon possession, but upon a short and easily terminable contract. The owners of land are financially most directly interested in the welfare of the land. If agriculture flourishes rents go up. If

agriculture decays rents go down. The British tenant farmer has only a secondary interest in the prosperity of agriculture. Consequently the defence of the interests of agriculture falls not so much to the farmer and the agricultural labourers, who number 2,000,000, but to a mere handful of landowners. The landowners, being but a few thousand, cannot resist unaided legislation which is ostensibly directed only against the landowners, but which in reality is harmful to agriculture as a whole, especially as they find little support among their tenant farmers and their agricultural labourers.

The farmers are indifferent because they know that, if the worst comes to the worst, they will demand and obtain from the landowners a reduction in their rent, and the bulk of the agricultural labourers, being landless, take only the most casual interest in legislation which is hostile and harmful to agriculture. Being landless, they are interested chiefly in their wages, and they are apt to become an easy prey to plausible agitators. At the bidding of Radical agitators, who have set them on against the landowners and the farmers, and promised them better wages, our agricultural labourers have gaily assisted the Radical politicians in crippling our agriculture to their own harm. They have voted for the abolition of the corn laws in the past, and they may be made to vote against every measure beneficial to agriculture in the future, until, as owners of land, they are personally interested in the welfare of the land. British agriculture could never have been immolated and destroyed by the Liberal party if we had had 2,000,000 freeholders in Great Britain. They would have defended agriculture like one man. The fight which the few landowners have made for agriculture was magnificent, but it was bound to be useless.

The foregoing should make it clear, that the first step to re-create our agriculture must be to create as many freeholders among our farmers and agricultural labourers as we possibly can.

Agriculture, being represented in Parliament not by the nominees of 2,000,000 landowning agriculturists but by the representatives of a few thousand large landowners, has become a helpless prey to the Radical agitator and to his partner, the political quack. These two have now agreed to subject our agriculture to Socialistic experiments. At the bidding of our Socialists the present Government has already begun to try the Socialistic doctrines on the land.

Everywhere the peasant farmer has proved the strongest bulwark against Socialism. In no country in the world is the Socialist party stronger than in Germany—at the last General Election it received 3,250,000 votes; but when a Socialist orator tries to convert a village to the Socialisation of the land, he is received with pitchforks and other agricultural implements.

Having discovered that the level-headed landowning peasants cannot by any means be persuaded to embrace the crazy doctrines of Socialism, the Socialists have become the bitterest enemies of the

peasantry. Our Socialists oppose the creation of the freehold peasantry with all their might, advocating instead the nationalisation of the land. The transfer of all land from private hands to the County Councils is to be the first step in that direction. They have preached that the landowners must be taxed out of existence by an Unearned Increment Tax, an Undeveloped Land Tax, and especially by a tax upon Land Values to be rapidly increased to 20s. in the £, which of course would mean confiscation. By these means the 'community' is to acquire cheaply all the land and to hire it out to the supporters of Socialism. Bowing to the Socialist doctrines, Mr. Lloyd George has introduced simultaneously in his Budget all the three land taxes recommended by the Socialists.

The transfer of private land to the County Councils, the first practical step towards the Socialisation of the land, has already commenced. When the Government introduced its Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1907 it might have provided facilities for small farmers and agricultural labourers to acquire their holdings and to make themselves independent. This was the policy which at the time was strongly urged by the Unionists, and especially by Mr. Jesse Collings. Instead of creating such facilities, the Act authorises the County Councils to take land compulsorily from the present owners and to let it out to small holders. The Act merely effects a change of landlords. It tries to substitute the 'community' for the private landlord and to destroy in the small holder that sense of property and of security which makes man a defender of property, and which has proved the greatest bar to Socialistic and other revolutionary schemers in all countries. That it is indeed the deliberate policy of the Government to prevent the people from tilling their own soil has been confirmed by the Budget. By doubling the stamp duty on the purchase of land, the Government has greatly increased the small man's difficulty in acquiring land, and as this new stamp duty will yield only a most insignificant amount, it cannot be doubted that the duty has been doubled merely in order to prevent the people from acquiring land.

It is often stated that we are threatened with Socialism. That statement is scarcely correct. Socialism threatens us no longer. It has arrived. It is at the present moment being foisted upon us by our own Government, through both its Budget and its general legislation. Socialism is at the present moment attacking our land and agriculture under the auspices of the Cabinet. In a short time the country may have to choose whether it prefers the unnational Socialist policy of destruction, or that great national policy of construction which is very inadequately termed Tariff Reform.

Tariff Reform means British work for British workers, the British Empire for the British people. It is a great constructive national and imperial policy. The opponents of Tariff Reform sneeringly say that Tariff Reform is the same thing as Protection. They are right.

Tariff Reform is Protection. It is the protection of British industry and of British labour in town and country. It is the protection of our natural resources, and the protection of the health and strength of the people. All earnest Tariff Reformers deplore the decline of our agriculture and the rural exodus. They are anxious to preserve and to strengthen our agriculture, to strengthen the physique of the race and to resettle the countryside. They are aware that our system of land holding is a serious obstacle to the re-creation of our rural industries. Therefore they wish to reform it, and they see in Tariff Reform and Land Reform parts of an identical policy, and they think that Tariff Reform and Land Reform should go hand in hand.

The Unionist Party have for a long time advocated the creation of numerous freeholders throughout the country. I would mention two very recent statements of prominent Unionists in support of this policy. Mr. Austen Chamberlain said, in February, at Shrewsbury :

The small holder's life is an arduous one. He must be secure of all the benefits which his labour has created if you want to get the best out of the man. If you want to get the best out of a man, give him security that the fruits of his toil shall be his ; that what he has worked for by the sweat of his brow, he and his children after him shall succeed to and inherit.

Lord Lansdowne said, on the 7th of August, at Bowood :

The doctrine of making the land of the country national property is not one which the working classes of the country will in any sense or degree approve. What I believe the people desire is that the transfer of land should be cheap and easy, that it should be as widely distributed as possible, and that those who get possession of a bit of land should hold it, not as tenants from the nation, but as their own property, belonging absolutely to them. That is the ideal of the Party to which I have the honour to belong.

The problem of land reform, the problem of settling the people on the land, of converting tenants into freeholders throughout the country, is no doubt a difficult one, but difficulties exist to be overcome. The problem of creating a nation of freeholders is not a new one. It has been solved successfully elsewhere. The freehold farmers and peasants of France, Germany and all other European countries were created but recently. They are an artificial creation. Their ancestors were serfs and demi-serfs. Serfdom was extinguished in Germany only a very few decades ago. While France has shown us that landless serfs can be turned into prosperous peasants by a revolution which has caused fearful sufferings to all, Germany and various other European States have shown us that serfs and landless agricultural labourers can be transformed into prosperous farmers without bloodshed, without disorder, without injustice, and without hardship to anyone. However, we need not seek for precedents in foreign lands. Our own Irish Land Act of 1903 has in five years enabled 228,938 occupying tenants to buy their holdings. Landed property worth 77,000,000*l.* has changed hands in Ireland on terms

considered fair by the representatives of landowners and tenants at the Land Conference. What was possible in Ireland is surely not impossible in England and Scotland. Besides, the Irish procedure might be, and should be, very greatly improved upon. Space lacks to describe in detail in the present article the way in which our system of land holding might be reformed without injustice and to the great benefit of all parties concerned and to consider the Urban Land Problem. Possibly I may be able to deal with this in another issue of this Review.

It may be asked 'Is it worth our while to re-create our agriculture? Will it pay us?' People may argue: 'Even if we create numerous freehold farmers and agricultural labourers, we cannot raise our agriculture to the level of that of Germany without putting a heavy duty on corn and meat similar to that existing in Germany. Germany's agricultural prosperity was bought at the price of great sufferings and privations of the poor, who paid with a shortage of their food for the enhanced prosperity of the farmers.' These objections seem plausible, but I think they are fallacious. In the first place, the natural advantages of our agriculture over that of Germany in soil, climate and accessibility are so great that, I think, we shall not require a heavy tariff on agricultural produce—which, by the by, no Tariff Reformer is seriously contemplating. In the second place, it appears that Germany's heavy duties on corn and meat have not by any means caused those sufferings and privations among the German people which appear to exist chiefly in the imagination of British Free Trade writers. If the German tariff on corn and meat had caused great sufferings to the German workers, it could only have done so by restricting their consumption of corn and meat. According to the statistics published in the autumn, 1908, by the German Ministry of Finance, the consumption of bread-corn has increased as follows in Great Britain and in Germany since 1879, the year when Germany introduced Protection:

Consumption of Wheat and Rye per head of Population per year.

Average.		In Germany.		In Great Britain.
1878-82	. .	189.4 kilos	. .	167.7 kilos
1890-94	. .	208.6 „	. .	181.9 „
1902-04	. .	247.6 „	. .	166.2 „

It will be noticed that the consumption of bread-corn has rapidly and steadily increased in Germany since the very time when Protection was introduced, and that Germany consumes now a considerably larger quantity of bread-corn per head of population than does this country. As there are no similar statistics in existence relating to the consumption of meat in Germany, I give some figures regarding the consumption of meat in Saxony, the most industrial and most

densely populated part of Germany, which may be called the German Lancashire.

Consumption of Meat per head in Saxony

	Beef.	Pork.
1860 . .	9.0 kilos . .	18.2 kilos
1870 . .	9.0 „ . .	18.6 „
1880 . .	11.1 „ . .	18.1 „
1890 . .	14.0 „ . .	20.6 „
1900 . .	15.2 „ . .	27.9 „

It will be noticed that the consumption of both bread-corn and meat has enormously increased in Germany since 1879, the very year when industrial and agricultural Protection was introduced, and it can easily be shown that it has increased, not in spite of Protection, but because of Protection, by contemplating the effect which the re-creation of our agriculture ought to have upon our own people.

If we should succeed in settling gradually 1,000,000 families, or 5,000,000 people, on the land, it would mean that we should enormously increase—that we should almost double—our entire agricultural production. That is perfectly feasible. Then British meat, vegetables, fruit, butter, eggs, cheese, &c., would become more plentiful and cheaper. Our working men in the towns would get more and much better home-grown food for their money than they do at present. The settling of 5,000,000 people in the country would relieve our congested towns, it would relieve the labour market and improve employment in every trade. People who now have to emigrate to other countries to find work might migrate to the country. Lastly, the 5,000,000 additional country people would require in every year about 50,000,000*l.* worth of British manufactures for which they would exchange their agricultural produce. Thus we should simultaneously extend our home market for the sale of manufactures and increase and improve our food supply. Our manufacturers and their workers would then be less dependent on foreign trade and would be less obstructed by hostile foreign tariffs. Town and country maintain one another. The country provides the town with food and is supplied in return with clothes and manufactures. Every countryman can feed and keep occupied a townsman. Every man who settles on the land enables another man to find work in town. Thus the re-creation of our agriculture would cause our workers to be better employed, better paid and better fed. The re-creation of our agriculture would be beneficial to all. *

Countless millions lie buried in our soil. The greatest hidden treasure of Great Britain consists, not in our ungotten coal deep down in the bowels of the earth, but it lies on its surface in our uncultivated and in our under-cultivated land. Land Reform, on the broadest national basis, should be the greatest and the most fruitful of all social reforms. It should prove far more beneficial to the people than Old

Age Pensions, Poor-Law Reform, Invalidity Insurance and Sickness Insurance combined. These benefit only the old, the maimed and the stricken. Land Reform would benefit all.

The people may soon have an opportunity of declaring whether they prefer the Liberal-Socialist solution of the land problem or the Unionist one. The people, not the House of Lords, are the highest Court of Appeal in matters of political controversy. The Budget is unconstitutional. Hence the Lords will be justified if they refuse to pass it and request the Government to leave to the people the decision whether it is to be passed or not to be passed. They will be justified if they request the Government to allow the people to say whether they approve or do not approve of the fundamental alteration of the Constitution—the abolition of the Two-Chamber system, and the virtual extinction of the House of Lords as a legislative factor—which the Budget is meant to effect. It is clearly not for the Lords, but for the people, to decide by a direct vote whether they desire or do not desire to see accomplished that fundamental alteration of the Constitution which the Government seeks to bring about by stealth, and which will bind the nation for all time. Great Britain is not a nation of minors. At the last General Election the Liberal party were not given a mandate to destroy our Constitution and to hand over the country to the Socialists. The Lords have neither a legal nor a moral right to decide on behalf of the people, and without consulting the people, whether a change in the Constitution which will make a temporary majority in the House of Commons all-powerful, nay absolute, is to take place. Democratic Government means government by the people, not government by wirepullers. A few crafty wirepulling demagogues are trying to bring about a hole-and-corner revolution. If we are to have a change in the Constitution, let it be made by the people, not by Messrs. Lloyd George and Churchill, behind the backs of the people.

Apparently our Liberal-Socialists will try to evade the constitutional issue. Apparently they intend to appeal to the people on the Land Question if the Lords refuse to pass the Budget. If they do so, and if, at the psychological moment, the people in town and country are asked whether they wish for a crazy settlement of the Land Problem, such as our Liberal-Socialists try to effect, or whether they prefer the common-sense settlement which the Unionists favour; if they are asked whether they wish to see the decline of our agriculture and the rural exodus accelerated or whether they prefer to see agriculture re-created and 5,000,000 people enabled to settle in the country; if they are asked whether they would like to have 'the community' for landlord or whether they would rather be their own landlords, I have little doubt as to their decision.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

HIS PAROCHIAL MAJESTY

IN the course of an economic inquiry a few years ago into the causes of Irish decay, I found one cause fundamental to most others, and called it clericalism ; not religion, and certainly not Christianity, but rather a sacerdotal elaboration of organised materialism that stood between life and the means to live, on a pretence of guarding the correct route from this world to the next. There was not then need for more than to place that cause with the others in the order of its economic significance, but the fact of daring to touch it at all has been met by a howl of rage which requires me now to go a step further. Since these professional manufacturers of 'Irish public opinion' will not admit that their influence is a primary hindrance to progress, they create for me the need to analyse the process, to exhibit the nexus between cause and effect, that there may be no need of controversy, at least for those willing to know and free to understand the facts. Besides, this organised dominion of alleged divinity over disabled humanity affects other interests of society as well as the economic, and other countries as well as Ireland, though not many others in such a deadly way. Catholic peoples with their civil destiny in their own hands work out their human redemption, and it is their own fault if they fail ; but the deadliness to the Irish is at least doubled by the British practice of employing and subsidising the central evil in the name of 'Government,' which, making anarchy so profitable, helps to make Government impossible. These, however, are but outward aspects of the inner forces which I propose to examine.

Let us begin with the children—where the priest begins. The product of strong health, of high natural intelligence, and of regional privileges that impart an enduring constitution to indigenous life, the Irish child, in the cottage or the mansion, is a model among children, the making of a great race if its normal character could but survive childhood, a happiness which I have seldom seen. Even the dirt in which the children often dwell cannot impair in childhood a vitality of mind and body which matures to be distorted by the deliberate provisions of the mental and moral environment.

I have watched these children, lived with them, played with them among the wild flowers, wondered at their fine humanity ; and then

I have studied them through the first touch of school influence, followed them under it, and seen them 'finished,' morally stunted and mentally twisted to make even their physical energies useless to them until such time as they could escape from Ireland to breathe the foreign freedom that permits faculty to direct energy, and so makes energy of use to life. The Irish child is not a year at school before its moral and mental destruction has noticeably begun. At the end of three years, the victim looks as if it had come to belong to a different order of the human race. The priest presides over all this, and we shall see presently how he does it.

The real ruin is not confirmed until the child's 'first Confession,' a great event in the young life, either constructing or corrupting it according to the kind of priest. I do not think there is one other thing in Ireland so sad and so painful as the effect of that 'first Confession'; the spectacle of the happy, innocent child of yesterday coming home to-day transformed for life into a moral and mental invalid. Within these twenty-four hours, in the shock of the transition, Ireland has for ever lost a normal citizen, and 'the Church' has added one to the millions of her human machines.

Take the illustration of one who escaped, a bright little girl of about eight. She must go to 'her first Confession,' for it was 'the right thing,' the order of 'the Church,' and the will of his Parochial Majesty; but she got there to find that she had no sins to confess, and she told him so. 'What, no sins?' demanded the moralist, trying to drag the pure soul into a consciousness of guilt that had no existence. 'No, indeed, I have done no sins,' replied the little one proudly, and she came to confide the outrage to her mother, who supported her with equal pride in her behaviour. That was the only escape I ever knew. The others are defiled in their innocence, not to produce prodigals, but rather to kill the will that could produce either a prodigal or a saint. In the tender and defenceless plasticity of early youth the whole being is taken out of its normal relations to life, set at a false attitude to society, subjugated to artificial standards and unintelligible subtleties alike irrelevant to its own moral sense, so that conscience becomes necessarily vicarious, making morality an incessant menace, with each individual's conduct always dependent on some other's volition. In this elaborate tangle the moral ego is submerged, and a sacerdotal instrument is substituted, in opposition to Catholic principles and in violation of national necessities. What but decay can come to a nation of such units? I do not know elsewhere in the world such fatal flatness of human mediocrity derived from such high natural qualities in a people; and the higher the faculties the lower the destiny, with the social energy necessarily expended on purposes either irrelevant to life or opposed to it. Since this world does not really matter, why worry about the efficiencies of work?

This sacerdotal artillery of the priest, having turned the adolescent

consciousness into a moral atrophy of uniform submission, necessarily turning life into a waste of human power, is reinforced by 'literature,' distributed through the schools. A favourite specimen is *A Glimpse into Hell*, with pictures of men and women roasting alive in eternal fire; the men and women who were not sufficiently afraid of the priest 'while there was yet time.' With the sense of physical pain intensified to the sensitiveness of childhood, as yet too young to be rescued by reason, the moral destiny of the child is fixed for ever, and the last touch of terror is applied to perfect Ireland's reputation for 'virtue.' Hence the sudden antitheses of standard and conduct among a people whose only working conscience is an external tribunal. Only six months ago the 'national conscience' approved of cow-hunting, but, after years of this, the bishops suddenly discovered that it was 'immoral,' and in three months it was dropped. The bishops did not announce their 'immoral' discovery and 'give Birrell a chance' until they had committed him to endow an unnecessary 'University' under their dominion at the expense of the taxpayer. The 'University' affair had long been 'a burning question' of national significance; now the Archbishop of Tuam says truly, 'The people of Ireland, what do they know about it?' 'Immoral' meant the eternal fire for the cow-hunters, in Parliament or 'on the hill side,' and, recollecting their school copy of *A Glimpse into Hell*, they stopped cow-hunting at once, so that Mr. Birrell's ministerial reputation comes to be saved for a time by the assistance of the nether world, leaving a more than usually explicit lesson for the tactical guidance of future Chief Secretaries. There is no use blaming Mr. Birrell personally. For my part I am rather grateful to him for having so obviously exposed and betrayed the vicious traditions of the office which he holds, especially its methods in conciliating sacerdotalism and corrupting religion at the expense of life and liberty in Ireland. I question whether in the final results he may not turn out to be the most dangerous enemy whom the priests have had to deal with for a long time, because he forces into public record for the judgment of posterity the motives and methods which his predecessors pursued under the secrecy of sacerdotal sanction. For instance, he calls Irish education 'repulsive,' leaving the patriots to see that he can do nothing in the matter while they insist on having the schools and the teachers under ecclesiastical control—though at the expense of the Treasury.

• Now, think again of the effect on a tender child of being suddenly introduced to *A Glimpse into Hell* and its 'eternal torments.' As the intelligence matures, the prospect naturally becomes more appalling; and then comes the priest as the only agency in existence that can defeat the awful destiny. This is the point at which his power over life and character is completed. God has permitted hell fire; but the priest, and he alone, can quench it. He alone can adjust for purposes of human life the right relationships between hell and heaven. He is

the great one to whom alone there is any appeal from the judgments of God ; therefore, he is necessarily greater than God, at least to those that must either bow to his bidding or be roasted eternally. Here, then, are the sole alternatives to the young mind : (1) Eternal roasting ; (2) the inferiority of God to man ; (3) infidelity. What a choice in which to mature the mental and moral faculties of a nation ! I remember how little room there was for God in the parish when I was a lad, the greatness of the priest precluding even heaven itself, and it is worse now. Yet the employment and the subsidising of this system are the deliberate and settled policy of British statesmanship in Ireland, carried by the present administration to further lengths than at any time within a century. Then, why blame the Irish for their own ' national policy ' of ' making government impossible ' ?

Contrast the lot of the British child. It is taught that ' God loves little children,' one of the most beautiful things in all religion, inculcated when the sensitive generousities of childhood make the mind so responsive to affection. It is the contrast of love and terror as the inspiration to thought and the motives to conduct ; the difference between an outlook on human interests which encourages the freedom of faculty in support of life, and one which systematically fetters the faculties for the convenience of a dominion that has little more to do with life than to fatten on its degradation. Those who have never looked below the surface of Irish life at the causes of its decay may have difficulty in believing me ; but I have been through it all personally from beginning to end. I could not forget it if I tried ; and I at least have a right to remember how much of my own life has been lost in the bitter struggle to survive the effects on myself of what I describe here. I present the Irish priest as he appears to the Irish child, and I have been an Irish child, morally and mentally limited to the measure of his will and influence. My earliest impressions concerning God were of an eternal stoker in a mighty rage ready to roast me ; and of the priest as God's only master, with his eternal hose pipe to keep down the flames, all for a trifle in silver at Christmas and Easter, which, in the circumstances, seemed to me the one sane field for investment. I cannot think that the priest would act as he does if he knew how he appears to the really Catholic judgment, a tyrannical embodiment of systematic and cruel blasphemy in the name of Christian religion ; and I submit myself to so much howling simply that the priest and the Government may some day come to see themselves as they are seen, and permit Ireland to grow in her faith instead of dying in her terror. Seeing the primary forces at work as I do, my choice is between the silence of the coward and the articulation of the outcast ; not an easy choice, but since I must choose, I find ostracism easier than indifference to cruelty. Besides, the man is useless to Ireland who recognises any standards for his conduct before those of his own conscience. I must be free to act first ; let theology deal with me

afterwards. That is Catholicism, not this moral terrorism which we have in Ireland. Our lives anywhere are like passing moments, small concerns compared with the precious privilege of leaving life a little better for others when we have passed. The British people are not cruel ; why do they maintain and subsidise this cruelty to the children of Ireland, their fellow-citizens of to-morrow ?

Having caught the national mind so young, and having crushed it so completely, the priests find little difficulty in imposing the beliefs that suit them, even when these are opposed to the Catholic religion. For instance, when I was a child, there was no more fixed belief among the young people than that all Protestants must go to hell. It was constructively taught and consciously enforced by my own Archbishop, the famous McHale of Tuam, in a catechism of his own authorship, which we were all expected to know. Yet this doctrine is in the spirit opposed, and in the letter unauthorised, by the Catholic religion, facts which I had to find out for myself, and in spite of my teachers. We were not even taught to feel sorry for the unfortunate Protestants ; I remember the pleasure that was derived from their eternal roasting, and how it afflicted my early life, seeing I was not aware of any injury done me by the victims, that I should take pleasure in seeing them roasted. I remember, too, my joy and relief on finding that my Archbishop had systematically lied to my confiding childhood ; but I cannot well forget my later resentment at the unconscionable cruelty of his Grace's fraud on my confidence. Though deliberately corrupting the youth of Ireland by systematic falsehood in the profoundest interests of human existence, McHale was ' a pillar of the Church,' and specially complimented by the Pope as ' the Lion of the Fold of Judah.' I am writing about the facts in my own life and the evils inflicted on me in the name of ' morality,' not about mediæval aberrations or any other hypotheses in speculative history.

The savage doctrine of eternal fire for the Protestants is as triumphant now as ever, unless among a minority of the better Catholics who get at the teachings of their religion over the heads of their priests and bishops. It has even been proposed that these laymen should go to their Archbishop in a body and point out the essential doctrines of their religion which are systematically falsified by his priests, with the very altar of God as an instrument of sacerdotal slander Sunday after Sunday. To secure their own power, his priests preside over the United Irish League, and theft is one of the League's chief weapons to perpetuate the terrors of its triumph. His priests denounce those that insist on the teachings and liberties of the religion ; and the denunciation is immediately followed by plunder, the thieves taking the pulpit for their justification. The victim once convicted of truth, ' the priest is agin' him,' and that alone is enough to let loose the thieves on him. Even truth, opposed to the priest, is necessarily wrong, and must be punished,

even by organised theft. I have seen strong men turn old and grey in a year under these terrors ; and so the assumption arises that no man's life can survive the opposition of the priest, even when it has been excited merely by a difference of opinion in local politics. In short, the man who dares to differ from the priest comes to be regarded as a suicide. All these things, and worse, are now common in my diocese, not merely occurring, but regularly organised, with the clergy at the head of the organisation, and the canonists making no effort that I am aware of to bring the savage chaos within the restraints of Catholic Christianity. In the doctrines of Catholicism, if the Archbishop shows no disposition to save the souls of the people, it becomes the duty of the people to save the soul of the Archbishop, necessarily lost from want of his disposition to save theirs ; but brought up, like myself, on a mental and moral nutrition of episcopal fraud and falsehood, the people have not yet grasped the vital truths and liberties of Catholicism with enough courage and conviction to undertake anything so laudably Catholic as a soul-saving mission among the hierarchy. We must wait until the minorities become the majorities, doing our best towards that day. Then shall the light of liberty dawn over Ireland. For the present, owing to the past and to the influence of the un-Christian methods here described, the Irish people's notion of liberty is little better than the licence to torture each other ; an outlook probably more dominant in the special ' Fold of Judah ' than elsewhere in the whole island of tyranny and tears. The ignorance of it that prevails outside Ireland may well be prolonged while its cruelty keeps the people inarticulate. I have known a man killed in open daylight by his parish priest, the Coroner and his jury intimidated against an honest verdict, the medical evidence falsified on the admission of the doctor, and the victim's family afraid to open their mouths, all in ' Holy Ireland,' where they ' demand ' from the British the liberty which they make impossible to one another. I have the facts from the doctor who made the post-mortem, and the homicide is still a parish priest. Can there be much room for God in that parish ?

Let us look next at the ' education of the people,' under the control of the priest. The State undertakes to provide a fixed proportion of the money for building the schools, and provides the whole cost of administration. The parish is supposed to find the remainder of the building money, and the priest undertakes the building. Having got the State proportion from the Government, he commands his neighbours to do much of the work, without wages. The parish does not pay a penny, as a rule. The school is produced by the Government proportion alone, often leaving a balance—but there is never a balance-sheet. The people, having contributed no money to the building, and putting no value on their labour, are the more completely removed from any notion of controlling it ; and they are encouraged to infer, which they commonly do, that the school has been built by the priest

himself. There is always great care to keep the people ignorant as to any effort or expenditure by the State in their interests; and though these schools are built really out of the people's own taxes, with a building profit to the priest, they would as soon think of questioning his exclusive possession as of going into the neighbour's house and ordering him out of it. In this way, wholly at the expense of the State, the priest stands effectually as the private owner of these public institutions, and those who really provide the money for the education of their children dare not even offer an opinion. How can they help being slaves, and, as such, how can they help decaying, in a world that wants efficiency more than ever before and the freedom essential to efficiency? All this is part of the standing arrangement in Ireland between the British Government and the Roman priest, who has never yet been an Irishman in any better sense than to enslave Ireland. Nothing in the history of Ireland is plainer than this; hence the priest's need to control the teaching of history with the rest.

The teachers are recruited as monitors from the pupils in the school, by the selection of the priest, who is supposed to choose on the recommendation of the inspector; but the choice is much more dependent on considerations outside efficiency. At any given time there is in the school a number of pupils competing for the next appointment; but the competition takes rather the form of bribing the favour of the priest, who, year after year, keeps the rival families carrying their tit-bits to his kitchen, increasing their contributions to his collections, doing his service without pay, and generally enslaving themselves to his material advantage. Should the young candidate have a near relative out of favour with his reverence, that alone is regarded as a final disqualification. When the appointment is at length made, a fresh number of families are put under tribute for the next vacancy, and so on, always with a substantial income for the priest, in money and in kind, as the reward for violating his official rules, which assume that there shall be no basis of selection but that of efficiency. This ugly struggle goes on incessantly in all the schools of the parish, for appointments at 7*l.* to 10*l.* a year! ¹ Here I am writing of the rural schools, in the regions where there are few but Catholics, and where the sense of justice departed long ago with the freedom of judgment and criticism in civil affairs. It is less so in the towns, where there is greater difficulty in killing public opinion, though a reverend manager of schools has recently been dismissed in Dublin by the Government for bad treatment of the teachers. Everywhere these practices are full of method, and even in this country a stranger might live for years without getting any conclusive evidence of what goes on. As a matter of fact, it is practically impossible to know the working of the system without having been through it.

After the apprenticeship, there is a competitive examination to select for the training schools, but even here the parish priest has a

¹ The monitors' terms have been slightly improved this year.

veto on the findings of the examiners, and the brightest candidate may be left at home unless he and his unfortunate family have done the required thing in gifts and self-repression during the years of apprenticeship. When the victim comes out of training, he is again subject to the veto of the parish priest, and may be left to the emigrant ship should his trainers have sent home any strong evidence of his independent intelligence. A large and increasing number are trained at the expense of the State and sent adrift for the convenience of the priest; yet not even the Government dares to complain of keeping, training and educating the surplus victims for export. Last year nearly half those trained had to emigrate, and yet about a third of the schools in the whole country are held by the untrained.

These training 'colleges' are usually under the control of the monks for the boys and of the nuns for the girls; teachers who have no better qualification to fit people for this world than that they have 'given up' this world themselves. The food is usually bad; the 'training' is always worse. Insanitation and disease are common, yet less deadly than the mental virus which inoculates the character to produce the kind of creatures who will be convenient to the priests in their parishes. Let a student develop better qualities, and his chances of ever getting a school are to that extent diminished; above all, should he acquire the dangerous habit of forming opinions as to his rights and duties as a citizen, 'public opinion' being an ecclesiastical monopoly, with the profits derived as I have already illustrated.

Take an example of the curriculum in these 'colleges.' I know one set lecture on 'The Rusting of Iron,' without a word from beginning to end on the law of chemical affinity which accounts for oxidisation. The student is put through the mechanical process, and taught to manipulate the apparatus; but he is left in complete ignorance of the fundamental fact, the operation of cause and effect, which alone could give significance to the phenomena, enlarging the play and vision of the faculties instead of merely loading the confused intelligence with deliberately unintelligible data. I have never met a 'trained' man who had passed through this 'science teaching' and showed the smallest consciousness of its scientific purpose; and I am told on good authority that any attempt at reasoning on the material plane, as in chemistry, is deliberately discouraged as 'dangerous.' In like manner Euclid has been almost wholly banished lately. So is Ireland mentally and morally fettered under the control of the priest, at the expense of the taxpayer, and with the conscious co-operation of the British Government.

The Government itself maintains a training college in Dublin, said to be among the best in the world, an estimate which I can support from personal knowledge; but, of course, it is open to all the creeds, and for this justice it is persistently boycotted by the bishops and priests, so that a Catholic coming out of it may find no employment in Ireland. Coming out every year, they have either to emigrate

or find some other way to live ; and accordingly the Irish are taxed to provide trained teachers for richer and more educated peoples, merely to accommodate the secular dominion of the priest in every department of life over this most unfortunate and unhappy country. The boycott is continued on the pretext that it is a ' Protestant training college,' another ecclesiastical falsehood ; for I can state from my own knowledge that there can hardly be a place in Ireland where the religion of a Catholic is more free from insult and danger. This, however, is but a detail in the great scheme of Irish ecclesiasticism, which always aims to destroy what it may not control, with the Government, like a knave, paying the money, and the taxpayer, like a fool, providing it. What, then, must be thought of the British politician who sneers at the slavishness of the Irish while influencing the State to subsidise it ? This type of person is common in public life, and hardly less mischievous than the trader in patriotism who lives by sham rebellion on the other side.

When we have manufactured our Irish schoolmaster out of insani-tary piety and ' The Rusting of Iron,' he commonly resumes his career in the country by paying the priest for the school, sometimes in hard cash, but more often in forms less open to criticism ; and in addition, he must pay at least 10 per cent. of his wretched salary to the priests every year, not to mention special assessments, sometimes amounting to 30 per cent. of his salary, for building seminaries, repairing churches, and anything else that his parish priest may choose to specify. He arrives from the training college with ' a character,' but the character of an Irish schoolmaster is supposed to last not more than three months ; and, in charge of his school, he must get a new character four times a year. Having destroyed his real individual character in the course of his ' education,' they provide him with this quarterly and official character instead, in the same way as they deprive him of the Catholic religion to fill his spiritual vacuum with episcopal east wind. The victim's salary is sent by the Government to the priest every quarter, with a form to be filled up providing him with the new character for the next three months. It is the priest who fills up the form ; and should he refuse, the salary may be withheld. I have known a typical victim left without a penny for nine months, the priest refusing his character, and the Government refusing his money unless he got the character ; all this for no other reason than that there was a personal difference between himself and the priest, in no way connected with the school. The inspector, a direct servant of the State, might be expected to right a wrong like this, but instead he had reported against the school in support of the priest's allegations. After nine months, the schoolmaster went to Dublin and persuaded the Education Board to send a special inspector, who reported ' One of the best schools in Ireland,' after which the man got his money—and his character. I could fill this Review for a year with facts of this kind which I have personally investigated.

Even when the man's character is 'satisfactory,' and he comes for his money, he may not enter the presence of the great one, but stands like a beggar at the door, with the domestic servant as the medium of communication. The teachers throughout the parish, paid on the same day, surround the door together, and when they leave the door, they must be careful as to what other doors they enter. The priest has his friends and relatives selling drink in the little town, and if the teachers go to these for their drink all is well; but should they go elsewhere, his reverence gets to know of their disobedience, and then their 'character' is in danger for intemperance, at least so much that they do not go elsewhere. In my long investigation of the matter, I have never known one of these 'educators' who had in his mind any notion of the word 'character' but what somebody else might choose to say of him; and this is the moral basis on which the school is worked, the money wasted and the young generation crippled.

Seeing that the priest and the schoolmaster belong socially to the same class, I could not well believe in these elaborate distinctions until I saw them for myself; but now I am forced to believe that they arise rather from the social identity, which requires an increased amount of disguise to maintain the preposterous presumptions of the man at the top. A peasant goes to Dublin, and another to Maynooth; but when they return it is as if one were the son of a baron and the other the son of a beggar. If the priest himself belonged to the educated classes, or were even an educated man, he could afford to be civil to a schoolmaster without losing caste; but in Ireland we no longer meet the cultured cleric of fifty years ago, when the priesthood was still a profession for a gentleman. It is impossible to study the attitude of the peasant priest to the peasant schoolmaster without feeling something unnatural and painful in the relations of life, with the human basis abandoned for artificial subtleties and absurd snobberies that have no decent derivation either divine or human.

That is how Ireland treats the 'man' to whom she entrusts the intellect and character of her youth, the faculties on which depend the direction of the energy essential to her progress. He begins his career in uncertainty, goes through it in terror, and ends it in despair, relieved by nothing better than the consciousness of his slavery, which, in the absence of hope, can only increase his bitterness by the measure of his distorted manhood. After his apprenticeship and his 'college' training at the expense of the State, he does not even know the function of oxygen in the blood to suggest the ventilation of his school and its relation to health, as if the conscious purpose were to prevent the mental analogy of oxidisation for the completer dominion of mind by incomprehensible authority. He is not permitted to understand the principles that are supposed to govern his conduct,

and his mental outlook is limited by rules which he cannot discuss without impertinence ; yet his profession in life is to develop the mind and to direct the conduct of others. His lot in the training college is that of rebel or spy, either snubbed by the ' professor ' or favoured as an informer against his fellows ; yet he is paid by the State to teach honour and loyalty. An exponent of faith, he is the incessant victim of suspicion. Always distrusted himself, he is expected to make others trustworthy ; and he is charged to inculcate charity from the psychology of his unending bitterness. It is his paid duty to teach citizenship, but he is not permitted to take part in public life, that being the special domain of his reverend master. Should he dare to think aloud on the civil affairs of life, particularly his own profession, he is sneered at by the priests, and a priest's sneer may be enough to ruin his career.

For all this, the Irish teacher, fully qualified, begins on 63*l.* to 70*l.* a year, and does not hope to exceed 100*l.* before he dies. With the surplus ' colleges ' always pouring out their surplus teachers, the salary can be kept down. In our own time, the number of schools has been enormously increased, nearly doubled, while the population has been halved. It is commonly done by a cross wall inside the existing school, so that the total accommodation may be diminished rather than increased ; but every additional ' school ' means an additional principal teacher, with the 10 per cent. for the priest out of his salary. In so far as I have examined the schools, the standard of education has fallen remarkably in the past twenty-five years, and everybody I consult tells me it is so in his own part of the country. Yet for the pupils in attendance the annual cost per head is as high as in Scotland, if not higher. Who can believe that the priest has any real desire to see the people educated ? In the circumstances, how can Ireland help decaying ? The President of the Mayo Teachers' Association tells us of men forced to resign and offered pensions of 4*l.* 4*s.* a year after the service of their lives.

In the intermediate or higher schools the State grants 110,000*l.* a year on competitive examinations ; and Bishop O'Dwyer, of Limerick, says the education is ' not worth a button to them.' The nuns and monks pocket almost the whole of the money, often employing a lay teacher to start them, then to be dismissed ; so that a career in higher teaching is practically closed to the laity in the sacerdotal interest. The State pays for examination prizes to encourage the pupils ; but as a rule the pupils are cheated out of these prizes, which become an asset of the nunnery or the monastery, and the parents dare not complain. Far more ruinous is the fact that the brighter boys and girls year after year, at the unfortunate parents' expense, and on promises never redeemed, are kept passing examinations, earning State grants for the ecclesiastics, winning plundered prizes, and then sent away ' not worth a button.'

The industrial schools and reformatories are similarly 'farmed' to the ecclesiastics ; and here we reach a mystery that even I cannot explain after my years of steady investigation. We know, however, that it pays the nuns and monks to employ agents who procure the young 'criminals' for them ; and with 10s. per head for the agent, he can easily provide the crime required to earn it, getting the young victim 'committed' by the 'Catholic magistrates,' who have been increasing on the bench since the Government began the game of bribing 'religion' for an appearance of peace. Religion may well be the agency of lawlessness. It would be hard to say which has done the more, the priest or the Government, to degrade the Catholic religion in Ireland ; and the more it is degraded the more easy becomes the 'national policy of making government impossible.' Last year more than forty of these young victims in charge of the nuns at Limerick were poisoned, nine of them fatally, by 'beef' from a mysterious cow bought for the nuns at '3d. per lb.' retail from a local butcher. No one has dared to complain, and the nuns are free to go on buying the 'beef' of mysterious cows. About the same time the nuns' boarding school at Kiltimagh, co. Mayo, was scattered by typhoid fever, similarly caused. Not one nun suffered, either in Limerick or Kiltimagh.² Did the nuns feed the victims on stuff they would not touch themselves, or was it another miracle ? The people of Ireland may consider the question in silence, but they dare not answer it, and they dare not act on the answer. Yet they keep asking the British to give them 'liberty' ! Not long ago a number of women in Dublin were found to be earning an average of 1l. a week each, providing for the industrial schools and reformatories such victims as were poisoned at Limerick, and the capital of Ireland looks on in dumb terror, the Protestants afraid to be called 'bigots,' and the Catholics afraid to be called 'traitors.' Could that happen had the moral sense of the community not been suspended or corrupted by sacerdotalism ? The deadly nature of the power that reduces a whole nation to such a state of mental and moral helplessness is more perfectly realised when we reflect that the Irish are naturally among the bravest races of the world ; but the priest is hardly more guilty than the succeeding Governments, so that the final responsibility is with the British elector, who, no matter what party in power, is always in a majority in so far as Ireland is concerned. Must the British conscience rest always content paying taxes to make conscience in Ireland impossible, subsidising the agencies of lawlessness from the Treasury, and blaming the Irish character for the result ? There is no real 'Irish Problem' but clericalism, because it is the one power that keeps the Irish people ungovernable, preventing the free exercise of the faculties which would enable them to see the value of good government and the ruin of

² It has been said lately that a nun was ill at Kiltimagh, but it was not mentioned at the time, and there is not even a suggestion that any nun was ill at Limerick.

disorder ; and while the presence of that problem remains so profitable to the cleric, with successive Governments accommodating his aims at the expense of the taxpayer, the solution is likely to be delayed. The Irish are in the essentials the same as other peoples, and when I examine the Anglo-Roman *régime* at work in their destruction, the wonder to me is that their character is not even worse and their ruin more rapid. A people who can survive so much are worth saving, and the way to begin is by making them the free owners of their own energies—Peasant Proprietorship in Mental and Moral Faculty, a ' Bill ' that would be worth a thousand times more than all the Land Acts ever inflicted on them.

Thirty years ago the Government provided ' school requisites,' but since then the supply has been ' thrown open,' so that it has in the main become a clerical monopoly, with the priests in a position to say who shall get the orders, their friend Father T. A. Finlay as a kind of general ' editor ' of school books, and the profits, presumably, going into the coffers of his Jesuit Order in Dublin, since Father Finlay, as a Jesuit, may not hold personal property. The alternative explanation sometimes offered is that the reverend anthologist and the printers connected with him carry on their great labour and enterprise for nothing ; but since the product is marketed at the usual profit, and since there is no evidence of having given anything away, one is reduced to the more reasonable and less pleasant theory. On an expert calculation, I am informed that the Jesuit Order pockets 700*l.* a year in royalties alone from one little school reader, and at that rate the total addition to the ecclesiastical income from this ' requisite ' branch of the traffic in Irish education must be a very, very great one. Father Finlay keeps a careful watch on the monopoly. For instance, some criticism on the school literature was offered in the *Irish Times* recently by one of Ireland's few literary laymen, and Father Finlay replied, saying that the critic belonged to ' London pothouses.' This was the first and last attempt in our time of an Irish layman to interfere with the sacerdotal monopoly. It is not pleasant to be abused with the authority of ' the Church ' as a ' pothouse man,' and criticism inquires no more either as to the fitness of the literary flower-gathering or the disposal of the profits.

Having examined the effect on youth and growth, we could well infer the effect on adult life and character ; but even inference is made unnecessary by the facts. For a people so ' brought up,' how can there be any hope of progress until they emigrate for leave to live ? The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, originated chiefly by Sir Horace Plunkett, offers facilities for agricultural and domestic education as complete and generous as can be found among any peasantry in the world ; but, ' educated ' under the priests, the peasantry leave the elementary schools generally incapable to learn what is taught by the Department, and still more incapable

to apply it even when they can learn it. After ten years' inquiring I do not know one Irishman yet who went through the Department's course to farm on his own account; and the instructors and lecturers scattered through the country declare that their work is almost wholly thrown away. In support of this, we have emigration unchecked, and the transition from tillage to grass proceeding as fast as ever. The work of technical instruction passes more and more into the control of the nuns and monks, with 'the County Committee of Agriculture, &c.,' usually including a majority of ecclesiastics. 'The member in respect of Agriculture' on the Congested Districts Board is a priest, and one who, to my knowledge, is as ignorant of agriculture as the theological politician usually is. Competent laymen could be found in every county, but the competent layman is precisely the sort of man whom the priest does not want to see about him; and the Government does what the priest wants, apparently to prevent 'an increase in crime.' That 'increase in crime' is gold to the Ecclesiocracy. Without it, how could the ecclesiastics get property reduced to a twentieth of its value by intimidation and then passed into their own possession through the sympathetic assistance of the Government?

The priest comes in the evening with a stick to frighten and scatter the young men and women from dancing in their cottages, the only source of entertainment during winter. Priests refuse the rites of religion for daring to oppose 'their candidates' in the local elections. Priests come in and frighten men out of their own houses as a disgrace before the public for having voted according to their conscience. Priests threaten wives with 'eternal fire' if they do not make their husbands vote under clerical direction. Last year Reverend D. P. Kinghan, of the Irish Church, died at Swinford, co. Mayo. The Catholics thought so much of him that they went to the funeral, and the rites of their own Church have been refused in consequence—always with that 'glimpse into Hell' as the final security. Priests threaten the people from the altar to force more money from them. All that I say I have seen, and I select but a few representative examples. I could select worse, if they could be published.

More than three months ago the doings of the League, especially cattle-driving, were denounced by bishops as 'immoral'; but since then I have counted fifty-six priests taking the chair at League meetings, not to mention those co-operating in other ways and those I have not counted. So it continues. Yet I know that if the priests believed the bishops were in earnest, they would not dare to attend these meetings. When the priest wants to crush a victim, the League is his most convenient instrument, worked by theft, encouraged by slander and intimidation from the altar. I have seen and heard all this more often than I can remember. With crime so profitable to the priest, is it not odd to select and subsidise him in the interests of peace?

I see the peasant turning pale as he meets the priest on the road ; the same peasant who could face the deadliest fortress without flinching. At the fortress he has but to die, and that is so much easier than to live in torture. Let him displease the priest, even by doing his honest duty, and he is made ' an example,' his home like a death-chamber, his wife an object of public scorn, his children like hunted animals, pelted by the other children to please the priest, the professional representative of ' the Holy Catholic religion.' Where these things do not occur, life and character are little or nothing better, because of the knowledge that these things may occur. The ' examples ' are memorable, and I know no parish without its own.

I need hardly say that all these cruelties organised and practised in the name of ' the Church ' are opposed to the doctrines of the religion. I question no doctrine of the religion, but I know not one that is not made a curse to Ireland by the administrators, who keep up the heretical fiction that they themselves are ' the Church,' whereas the laity are as much the Church as they, and, in the circumstances of Ireland, much more, since no Church could persist by virtue of the clerical conduct and character. So ignorant are the laity kept of their rights in the Church that even Mr. John Dillon attributes the same fiction to the Pope ! The priest who uses the confessional to turn an innocent child into a moral outcast in its own mind may well have been in view with Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick when he declared that the education of the priests themselves was ' totally deficient.'

Instead of the usual way with writers about Ireland, trying to explain the phenomena of life on merely *prima facie* hypotheses, usually in support of one ' policy ' or another, I have tried to analyse the unseen agencies fundamentally at work, with a view to a policy never yet tried. Ireland is a country in which the *prima facie* hypothesis explains little or nothing, and that is what makes it so hard to ' understand ' her. In the British sense of the term, there really exists no Ireland to be ' understood ' ; but there is one to be discovered, and the discovery is worth a great, wise, and courageous effort, preferably an effort in which all British parties are first agreed, at least in regard to essentials, that they may not reverse and stultify each other in succession, further destroying Ireland. Since there is no Ireland that the British can ' understand,' why not create one ? It could be done in ten years, by setting the Irishman in Ireland free to be the owner of his own faculties. Statesmen ought to be able to infer the rest, and I believe it would be as great benefit to the Catholic religion as to Ireland. In the long run, a Church cannot gain by destroying her children ; and this is what our ecclesiastics are doing now, with the assistance of British statesmanship and the apparent consent of the British public, which is by far the greatest existing scandal to the British name.

If the influences dominating the youth and distorting the growth of the Irish people be as I have tried to present them, then the current confusion of the country becomes intelligible at once, and that without necessitating insult to the national character. Ireland is to be pitied, surely carrying more sins of others' making than any other people in civilisation, and always taking her worst enemies for her only friends. Even her virtues are turned into the agents of her destruction, and her vices are held forth by authority as her salvation. Landlord and tenant are kept destroying each other while 'the Church' annexes the spoil. See how 'the Church' goes up while Ireland goes down, with priests multiplying on destitution and monasteries fattening on the track of the deluded emigrant. 'The Church' evidently means to get back 'her lands,' and it matters not to her whether the occupant to be removed is landlord or tenant. Both go together, and she gets 100,000*l.* worth of property for 3,000*l.*, the League clearing the way for her by crime, and the 'Government' arranging the rest for her at the expense of the British taxpayer. There is now a community of foreign nuns in Lord Dillon's famous mansion, acquired on such terms as I describe; and in the neighbourhood at the time, I can remember how the agitation was worked up by the priests to get possession of Lough Glynn, in the name of Irish patriotism, but for the benefit of Belgian nuns.

Lest any man in Ireland should call on the Government to prevent the priests from ruining the people, the priests keep the Irish Parliamentary party always in training to hunt down such a man. I have reason to know how this hunting is done, having been hunted myself for nearly ten years. If a critic cannot be answered, he may be starved or killed, with the blessing of 'the Church' on what the bishops call 'immoral,' while their priests preside over it. Against degradations not more deadly in Russia, we can hold a public 'demonstration.' Can we do nothing for Ireland?

The main hope is in the self-discovery of the Irish, which proceeds in spite of all. Even inside the Irish party, there is a new body of anti-clericals, with the priests' papers already denouncing Mr. Dillon as a disciple of Cromwell, and Cardinal Logue trying to ostracise Mr. Devlin's 'Molly Maguires.' The other groups, growing weaker, outwit each other for the ecclesiastical approval, every man with his conscience pledged for life in the episcopal pawnshop. If that be the case with members of Parliament, what of the poor peasant, whose means of self-defence are limited to the parish? I think I have submitted evidence in fact for my original assertion of clericalism as a primary cause of Irish decay, and if my rather unpleasant narrative does not charm his Parochial Majesty, he must remember how he attacked myself instead of criticising my work when I confined it, in the first instance, to its purely economic significance.

P. D. KENNY ('Pat').

MATRIMONY AND THE MAN OF LETTERS

STRANGE is the fate of some books and of some bookmen and book-women. Slowly, through long laborious hours of daylight, when the bees are humming, or in the silent spaces of the night, Genius translates its hidden energy into form and matter. The fires burn in the furnace of the soul, and with painful hand the master craftsman smites and shapes the glowing bar upon the anvil. In the fulness of time the work is done and given to the world, that the world may store it in its treasure-houses, to be drawn forth continually after the years—perhaps after the centuries—fresh, shining, incorruptible: a delight to the eye, a refreshment to the spirit. So happily it is with the greatest things of all. The cycles drift by, the peoples come and go, but still Achilles girds on his armour, aflame for the death of Patroclus, and Penelope spins sadly amid the clamorous suitors, while an old man, with cheeks furrowed by the sea-wind, waits hungry for revenge at the outer porch. And happily too in these supreme cases the workman has been forgotten in the work. Of Homer no one knows anything at all, no more than we know of the author of the Book of Job: of Virgil, Shakespeare, Dante, the most of us are scarcely less ignorant. We do not complicate our delight in these mightier manifestations of the Power we call Art by dwelling on that mere instrument the Artist, a man with like passions unto ourselves, save that through his brain and hand the mystery of creation has found such expression as can reach our consciousness.

But those are the few, the chosen, the demigods. How many there are whose fate has been quite otherwise! The Book is forgotten; but over the Man we babble volubly, prying with unceasing inquisitiveness into those weaknesses and personal adventures which make him one with us, instead of concerning ourselves with that which sets him like a star apart. And in this our hurrying age, impatient of abstraction and generalisation, fastening feverishly on the concrete, the 'actual,' which means the transient, it seems as if all history is interesting only so far as it can be turned into gossip. We are vague about some of Napoleon's battles, but we know all about his dealings with the Fair Sex; why exactly the victory of the Nile was won, or what it effected, the intelligent student cannot say; but he has the

details of Nelson's relationship with Lady Hamilton at his fingers' ends. Publishers say that 'serious' history is a drug in the market, though there is always a demand for piquant accounts of Royal Mistresses and Splendid Sinners and suitably written *chroniques d'amour*. Can one be surprised or even censorious? The gossip touches a permanent element of human nature, while the Great Event may be local and transitory. What is it to Jones in Brixton—to Mrs. Jones more particularly—if some thousands of human beings did hack and hew one another to pieces somewhere amid the swamps and mountains some hundreds of years ago because a forgotten king had quarrelled with another over a vanished city? Don John of Austria, on his high-prowed argosy, thundering among the Turkish galleys at Lepanto, is a sufficiently heroical figure; but all this business of Cross and Crescent, of the most Christian King and the Commander of the Faithful, is very dead and shadowy in Brixton, where yet men and women live and love and suffer, and husbands are not always kind, and wives are sometimes unhappy, sighing for the unattainable—even in Brixton. You cannot wonder if the story of Swift and Stella does take our Mrs. Jones more than *A Tale of a Tub* or *The Conduct of the Allies*; or that for her the white plume of Navarre waves against a background of romantic love-affairs rather than one of wars and treaties.

So it comes about that we ignore the writings and read of the writers. How grimly ironic is the fate of some of them! Carlyle, for instance, he who toiled remorselessly for the better part of half a century to deliver his message to the world, has fallen upon a generation which cares nothing for his message and is interested only in himself. You hardly ever meet any person who seems to have a working knowledge of the writings of Thomas of Chelsea. The *Frederick*, the *Cromwell*, the *French Revolution*—I think even *Past and Present* and *Sartor Resartus*, lie unopened upon the topmost shelves; the gorgeous rhetoric, the grand and solemn cadences, the satire, the wit, the prose-poetry, have never touched the thousands who know and care for Carlyle only as the husband of Jane Welsh. There is no commentary, scarcely an intelligent criticism, on his works; but a library of essays, monographs, stout volumes, has piled itself round his private affairs. Not a detail, not a triviality in the commonplace domesticity of this childless couple has escaped publication. The petty quarrels of husband and wife, their tiffs, and squabbles, and reconciliations, Mr. Carlyle's struggles with dyspepsia, and Mrs. Carlyle's wrestlings with the housemaids, all these and many other minute events in two singularly eventless lives, are pursued with avidity by those who would yawn over the throbbing periods of the great prophetic books. It is, I suspect, even so with Browning; you might find many who 'cannot read' the poems, but can and do enjoy the effusive frankness of Mrs. Browning's love-letters.

. It is all very undignified; yet in a sense inevitable. And this at

least must be said, that in the case of the man of letters a curiosity about merely personal matters is more justifiable than it is with other artists. One cannot separate the literary creator from his work as one can separate the painter, the sculptor, the architect, the engineer, even the musician. For all these deal with a material that is outside themselves; the man's personality need not greatly affect our appreciation of the results of his labour. There the miracle is achieved in colour or sound, in stone or marble; and as the eye travels up those climbing spires or rests on faultless line and curve, or drinks in the ecstasy of light and shade and motion, it matters little what hand it was that held the brush and chisel. But with the writer, the poet, the artist-philosopher, it is otherwise. His material is largely himself, his own soul, his own nature, his individuality; with all at least but the very greatest who rise to the large impersonality of creative nature herself. For some of the others the biographical factor is a necessary element of understanding. This is especially the case with the prophets, the evangelists, the missionaries, the preachers of new gospels. If a man comes to my house to paint a picture or mend a bell-wire he may be an atheist or a bigamist for all I care; but if I employ him to teach my boys, or to prepare my daughters for confirmation, I really do want to know something about his character and conduct. It is even so with the great teachers of men. When I am invited to read Nietzsche it is not mere impertinence to remind me that this fierce apologist for Force, Egoism, ruthless Adventure, was himself a fidgety invalid struggling with landladies and patent medicines. Shall I study him with due insight if I do not know that he died insane at fifty-six? That is surely no irrelevant detail which I should thrust from my thoughts when I ponder the obscure texts of Zarathustra. Or when I listen to Nietzsche and to Schopenhauer on women, am I to forget that both were hypochondriac celibates, both, perhaps, sexually abnormal? Can I read Rousseau aright if I put out of my mind those passages of unspeakable illumination in the *Confessions*?

So perhaps, instead of treating the gossip of literature as mere triviality, and leaving it to be dealt with by trivial persons, anxious only to hatch out a piquant story, we ought to have it handled seriously as a branch of psychological inquiry. The personal history of men of genius might be investigated in a scientific fashion, and the results tabulated with as much precision as the available knowledge admits. Then we should know more than we do of the conditions under which Genius develops, and of its physical and psychical environment. At present we are content to treat it as something abnormal, or something accidental. We say the poet took too much wine or too many mistresses because he was a genius; or we say he would have been a greater genius if he had been more moderate. Either proposition may be true, or both may be false. But it is desirable that we should know

what element of truth and falsity there is, and deduce that knowledge from a tabulation and analysis of the facts. One would like to see the gossip of literature withdrawn from the hands of the sedulous book-maker and the lively feminine compiler, and dealt with by those who would make it more scientific if less entertaining.

Take that subject of genius in its connubial aspect. It is a commonplace that the marriages and love affairs of the great literary artists are often unfortunate. The proposition is accepted without much consideration of its significance; for significant it surely must be in some way that the writer of genius is most often an individual who has missed happiness and success in the most vital relation of all. Perhaps the statement will be traversed; you generalise, it will be said, from a few conspicuous examples. But that does not appear to be the case. Cast an eye down the literary record of almost any nation, and you will find the same tale of futility, suffering, failure in this particular. It would seem that the famous author who attains marital and parental content is the exception; the majority were celibate and childless, if they were not unsatisfied or unsatisfying husbands. We find examples enough in our own literature, the literature of a nation which puts a high estimate on its morals and its domesticity. Here is a list which I suppose can be regarded as fairly representative of the British literary genius during nearly three centuries, excluding living writers and those recently deceased. I append to each famous name a brief note as to its owner's 'condition in regard to marriage':—

SHAKESPEARE	Married at eighteen, with hasty irregularity, a woman of humble origin, eight years older than himself. The union seems to have been unsympathetic, and the terms of the poet's will point to an estrangement between husband and wife.
MILTON	Married three times. The poet's first wife left him after a few weeks. He wrote tracts on divorce, and paid his addresses 'to a very handsome and witty gentlewoman' until the wife returned.
DRYDEN	Married—unhappily.
BUNYAN	Married twice—satisfactorily.
HOBBS	Unmarried.
PEPYS	Married. Unfaithful to his wife, and frequently quarrelled with her.
SAMUEL BUTLER	Married late in life.
NEWTON	Unmarried.
LOCKE	Unmarried.

SWIFT	Secretly married to a woman with whom he never lived, and whom he hardly ever saw except in presence of a third person.
DEFOE	Married; had several children. Little known of the circumstances of his domestic life.
ADDISON	Married three years before his death. The marriage 'is generally said to have been uncomfortable.' (<i>Dict. of Nat. Biog.</i>)
STEELE	Twice married: happily, in spite of irregularities of conduct.
CONGREVE	A bachelor and professional 'man of pleasure.'
OTWAY	Unmarried. Life wrecked by an unhappy passion.
POPE	Unmarried.
PRIOR	Unmarried.
FIELDING	Married twice. Devotedly attached to his first wife; after her death married her maid.
RICHARDSON	Unmarried.
SMOLLETT	Married: satisfactorily.
SAMUEL JOHNSON	Married a vulgar and affected widow twenty years his senior. The marriage considered a grotesque affair by Johnson's friends and contemporaries. Childless.
JAMES THOMSON	Unmarried.
GRAY	Unmarried.
HUME	Unmarried.
STERNE	Married. Got on badly with his wife, and had various love affairs and sentimental philanderings.
ADAM SMITH	Unmarried.
BOSWELL	Married; frequently unfaithful to his wife.
GOLDSMITH	Unmarried.
GIBBON	Unmarried.
SHERIDAN	Married; not unhappily.
COWPER	Unmarried.
BURNS	Married to a woman who had been his mistress. Occasionally unfaithful to her afterwards.
CRABBE	Married: satisfactorily.

BENTHAM	Unmarried.
WORDSWORTH	Married : satisfactorily.
SCOTT	Married : not quite sympathetically.
SOUTHEY	Married twice. First wife became insane. Married his second wife at age of 66, just before complete failure of his own mental faculties.
COLERIDGE	Married : unsatisfactorily. Husband and wife became almost completely alien- ated, and lived apart.
SHELLEY	Made an imprudent marriage early in life. Separated from his wife, who committed suicide.
KEATS	Unmarried. Tormented by an unhappy love affair.
BYRON	Separated from his wife after a great scandal, and entered into various irregular unions.
CHARLES LAMB	Unmarried.
HAZLITT	Married twice. First wife divorced him ; second refused to live with him.
LEIGH HUNT.	Married : not quite happily.
THOMAS MOORE	Married : satisfactorily.
DE QUINCEY.	Married : happily, so far as the husband's habits permitted. Wife died <i>anno</i> <i>ætat.</i> 39. 'One can suppose that hers had not been the easiest or happiest of lives.'—Prof. Mason.
MACAULAY	Unmarried.
EDWARD BULWER LYTTON	Separated from his wife.
NEWMAN	Unmarried.
CARLYLE	Married : bickered a good deal with his wife.
JOHN STUART MILL.	Unmarried.
HERBERT SPENCER	Unmarried.
DARWIN	Married : satisfactorily.
RUSKIN	Marriage annulled.
LANDOR	Quarrelled with his wife, and lived many years apart from her.
DICKENS	Separated from his wife.
THACKERAY	Wife became insane.
CHARLES READE	Unmarried.
FROUDE	Married : satisfactorily.
MATTHEW ARNOLD	Married : satisfactorily.
KINGSLEY	Married : satisfactorily.
TENNYSON	Married : satisfactorily.

BROWNING	Married : satisfactorily.
ROSSETTI	Unsatisfactory married life, ended by wife, two years after wedding, dying of overdose of laudanum.
EDWARD FITZGERALD . . .	Separated from his wife.
JAMES THOMSON ('B. V.') .	Unmarried.
WILLIAM MORRIS	Married : satisfactorily.
WALTER PATER	Unmarried.

Taking this list of sixty-eight names, all those of men of high, in some cases of the highest, literary talent, we find that there are only twenty marriages which can be called satisfactory, even if we include some, like those of Fielding and Southey, which can hardly be so described, and others like that of Defoe, of which next to nothing is known. Twenty-three of the marriages were unfortunate, and several disastrous ; and twenty-five of the persons mentioned were unmarried. Thus among these sixty-eight gifted writers less than a third were married and lived in ordinary content and comfort with their wives.

The result would be similar if we included women in our list. We might mention the cases of Aphra Behn, Maria Edgeworth, Hannah More, Fanny Burney, the Brontë sisters, Mrs. Hemans, Jane Austen, George Eliot, Christina Rossetti, to indicate that the woman-writer rather frequently avoids matrimony or is unfortunate in her experience of it. And if we turned our survey to France, Germany, America, the names of Goethe, Balzac, Dumas, Heine, Kleist, De Musset, George Sand, Walt Whitman, Poe, and many others leap to the mind, and suggest the same reflection. It would seem that a well-regulated family life does not in the majority of cases go with literary production of the higher kind either for men or women. In two cases out of three the great author is either unmarried or married badly. It is notable that only three or four of the more splendid names are found in our catalogue of successful marriages. It includes Moore, Crabbe, Smollett, Kingsley ; but not Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Keats, Byron or Burns. Wordsworth and Browning are among the exceptions—great poets who achieved at least average felicity as husbands and fathers. But more commonly, the great writer does not marry, or if he marries the union turns out badly.

It may be said, of course, that in this respect the great writer shares the common lot of humanity. Engineers, architects, painters, stock-brokers, cheesemongers, are often unmarried, and if married they do not always 'get on' with their wives. But one would like to know whether in these avocations the matrimonial failures are as numerous as among the men of letters. That is where the Professor of Psychological Gossip might do useful work. He might ascertain whether the proportion of the celibates and the ill-married is really as high among

cheesemongers and stockbrokers as it has been among the poets and playwrights. He might conduct an historical survey through other professional biographies, and let us know the result. If we took the seventy most famous soldiers, statesmen, or artists between the age of Elizabeth and the middle of Queen Victoria's reign, should we find that only about a third were married and lived happily with their wives? Is failure in matrimony the penalty of eminence generally, or merely of literary eminence?

If the common opinion that the author is exceptionally unlucky in this respect proves to be well-founded, our scientific gossip-expert may be able to give us the reason. A friend of mine who though not scientific is rather shrewd maintains that no recondite cause is required to explain the marital ill-success of the man of letters. It may be summed up in one single ugly word, which is the word *Juxtaposition*. The 'literary temperament' is not so much to blame, according to this view of the matter, as the literary habit. The man of letters may or may not be 'domesticated'; but he usually gets an overdose of domesticity owing to the nature of his employment, and the conditions under which it is carried on. In most other pursuits husband and wife are occupied apart during the working day. Most men, from stone-masons to cabinet ministers, transact their main activities outside their own home, and aside from the presence of their wives and children. The mechanic picks up his dinner bundle and is on his way to the factory at dawn, only to return, tired and hungry, at dusk; the clerk, the Government official, the business man, make for their offices; the barrister goes to his chambers, the teacher to his classrooms, the painter to his studio, the manufacturer to his 'works,' the solicitor, the soldier, the politician, the sportsman, all expend the daylight hours in some place, be it office, warehouse, law-court, barrack-square, committee-room, or polo-ground, to which wives have no access. The wife stays at home, looks after her house and her children, has her own occupations and interests; and after the long day's separation it is no great strain for the two partners, both a little exhausted by their separate toils, to converse in indolent amiability. The husband is willing enough to listen in lazy content to his wife's record of her day's doings, or to tell her something of his own. But the literary man, unless he is also a journalist, compelled to write in offices or wander forth in search of copy, the literary man, pure and simple, he does his work at home. He sits in his study, with his wife, so to speak, outside the door. If she is a discreet lady she does not lift the latch too often. But it is inevitable that the couple shall see a great deal of each other. They take their various meals together, they have opportunities for communication on and off through the twenty-four hours. There is no occasion for the husband to embrace his spouse on the suburban doorstep after breakfast, before he starts

to catch the 9.15 train to town. He can caress her all day if he likes. Privileges so easily obtained are not always valued. One has heard the story of the conscientious person who had a painful revelation to make to a married friend. 'I think it my duty to tell you,' he said, 'that I have seen X. kissing your wife.' 'Fancy that!' replied the injured husband; 'and he is not obliged to do it!' And I have been told of a wise virgin who, before marriage, said to her adorer: 'I have only one thing to ask you, and that is, that you will promise not to be in to lunch.' But the literary man is often in to lunch. He is 'about the house' most days, and his wife is about him more or less; and if they get on each other's nerves a little, who can be surprised? For the man of action the little drama of domesticity may provoke some interest when it is enacted for him retrospectively; but the literary man has too many opportunities of witnessing it in rehearsal. Not all wives would resist interrupting the composition of an epic by deferring till the late evening the announcement that the cook was drunk, or that the kitchen boiler had burst; not all authors would accept the interruption in the right spirit.

A good deal of superfluous sentiment has been wasted on what is called the 'tragedy' of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh, his wife. There was no tragedy; only the rather dull, rather shabby comedy of a real attachment crossed and thwarted by the constant irritating pressure of small uncomfortable things. Except for the genius of the man, and the distinct talent of the woman, there was nothing at all remarkable or romantic in the life-story of this couple. They began with a vivid affection on one side, and an ardent admiration on the other: probably about as large a supply of the complex emotion we call love as goes to the making of most unions. But they eventually got on each other's nerves, and tried each other's tempers, mainly because they were too much together. The childless, overstrung, sensitive woman, with her acidulated tongue and her hunger for sympathetic attention, was the worst person in the world to be locked up alone with a dyspeptic, self-absorbed man of letters. Besides, Carlyle had too much to fill his mind, and Mrs. Carlyle too little. Nowadays the one would have broken his studies with golf, and the other diversified the laborious trivialities of her house-keeping by joining the Suffragettes or the Primrose League; but these things were not done in the mid-Victorian day. Even as it was, in spite of Carlyle's indigestion and his wife's more serious ailments, they would probably have rubbed on together comfortably enough but for the fact that too much of their lives were passed in juxtaposition. If Carlyle had been compelled to attend at an office from ten to four daily, Mrs. Carlyle might have been a happier woman, and the world would have lost some interesting volumes.

But if that is an explanation it certainly does not cover all our

cases, nor perhaps the majority of them. We may search through the ages, and examine periods when the domestic arrangements were widely different from those of nineteenth-century Britain, and still the same tale is told of futile marriages and uneasy households. Is there some larger, some more comprehensive, cause at work? Are we to suppose that the domestic unhappiness of genius is a device of Nature to guard against the premature production of a race of super-men? If every great writer were happily married, and produced and reared children like unto himself, we might in due course have a caste of geniuses, and human faculty in a few favoured lines might go on developing till men—some men at least—had attained to almost god-like stature. Suppose that a Shakespeare were the father of another Shakespeare, and he again gave the world a super-Shakespeare? Or that a greater painter and sculptor sprang from the loins of a Michael Angelo? That an Amurath succeeded an Amurath in the dynasty of the Newtons, the Leibnitzes, the Descartes, the Bacons—until man became indeed as the gods, and might be able to put forth his hand and take of the tree of life and eat and live for ever? But that, perhaps, was not Nature's plan. Here as elsewhere she sacrifices the individual remorselessly for the general good. Better a poet unhappy, a woman's life wrecked and wasted, than a break in the slow gradual process of movement towards the preconceived goal. 'So careful of the type she seems, so careless of the single life.' Genius is an excessive, and usually an abnormal, development of individual faculty. But the work of evolution goes on by raising the average of the species, and by the gradual improvement of all those qualities which are useful and the elimination of those which are superfluous. It may be that humanity has to be protected against the disproportionate growth of any special attribute. A race of geniuses might soon become a race of moral and intellectual monsters; and monstrosity, lying apart from the line of gradual advance towards the typical Idea, cannot be perpetuated. Is there some unknown physiological element of this kind operating to render genius so often sterile, so seldom capable of sober connubiality, so rarely crowned with the common blessings that life brings to meaner mortals? Is it for some such reason that an abnormal faculty so rarely passes down to the second generation? We cannot accept this as an illustration of Weismann's great axiom, for most of the distinctive qualities that go to make up the intellect and character of a Napoleon can hardly be regarded as acquired. But a Napoleon leaves only a weakling to bear his name; an Oliver Cromwell transmits his to an amiable ineffectual Richard; a Frederick the Second, an Alexander the Great, dies childless; the victor of Agincourt is succeeded by the feeble martyr of the Tower. Must we infer that the divine fire burns itself out when it has done its work with a single human soul and brain, that no brand can be snatched to kindle

the flame in another ? Or are we to suggest that genius is itself a thing so anti-social, so apart from the stream of tendency, that it cannot help in the great work of preserving the species, that it develops the individual, but would only impede the race in its upward struggle ? It is not a procession in which the torch passes from one swift runner to another ; but a solitary beacon streaming from the hills through one clouded night, and then flickering into lifeless ash and cinder.

SIDNEY LOW.

OUR 'LOST' NAVAL SUPREMACY

AFTER months of uncertainty the nation has at last a definite pronouncement on the state of the naval defences, by an authority the impartiality and fairness of which was admitted at the outset of the enquiry by Lord Charles Beresford on the one hand, and on the other by the Board of Admiralty by the retention of office. There is no ambiguity in the main conclusions of the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence which has investigated the issues raised by Lord Charles Beresford in his memorandum of the 2nd of April last. For the lack of cordial relations between the Board and the Admiral both are held to have been in fault. This incident is closed, and no good is to be done by dwelling upon it, since Lord Charles is no longer actively employed, and the situation cannot therefore recur.

The question of importance is not the past but the present and future. Lord Charles made the very definite and alarming assertion in his communication to the Prime Minister that 'the fleets in home waters . . . are not organised in readiness for war now, to-day.' These words were written after the great Home Fleet had been organised by the Admiralty, and he added that 'Under the new scheme for the redistribution of the Fleet the true principles of organisation for war are infringed in those essentials, to the neglect of which it has been my duty to direct the attention of the constituted authority from time to time during my tenure of the command of the Channel Fleet. . . . I have to inform you that I regard the strategical and tactical situation arising from such a system of organisation with the very gravest apprehension.'

This was the vital point in the Admiral's criticism, with the addendum that the necessary small craft and destroyers did not exist. On these points the Committee's conclusions are unequivocal. They find that between the fleet organisation announced by the Admiralty in February, and regarded by Lord Charles in April with 'the gravest apprehension,' and that outlined by Lord Charles himself in his letter (the 2nd of April), there is 'no difference in principle,' and that it 'satisfies in substance all Lord Charles Beresford's requirements,' while they hold that there is no such deficiency of small craft

and destroyers 'as to constitute a risk to the safety of the country.' On the chief subject of moment—the present organisation of the fleet in home waters—the Admiralty and Lord Charles are in agreement; in other words the Admiral's model scheme of April is practically the same as the Admiralty's definite plan announced in February and carried out in March.

In his reminiscences of service at the Admiralty Sir John Briggs records an incident of over fifty years ago, which may perhaps be recalled not inappropriately in this connexion. He states that 'an animated discussion was taking place between Admiral Sir Charles Adam and Admiral Dundas as Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ward, the Political Secretary, was passing through the Board-room on his way to his private room. In an undertone, smiling, he said to me, "How those admirals quarrel!" "Oh, dear no, sir," I replied, "it is only their peculiar mode of conducting a naval discussion." Mr. Ward had scarcely left the room when Sir Charles Adam, in a loud voice, exclaimed, "I say it is so," Admiral Dundas replying, "That is exactly what I have been maintaining." "The d—— it is!" said Sir Charles; and then, addressing himself to me, said, "Did you think, Briggs, that we naval chaps have been agreeing all this time? How do you account for our not having understood each other?" "Well, sir," I replied, "if I may venture to say what I think, it is easily explained; both talked and neither listened." Sir Charles then good-naturedly said "Confound the fellow! I dare say what he says is not far from the truth." It is unnecessary to labour the application of this anecdote.

The present organisation of the Fleet in home waters has been a slow evolution dating back to the 1st of January 1905, when ships in reserve, hitherto unmanned, were provided with nucleus crews—that is, crews containing all the essential officers and skilled men for fighting them. Two years later these ships were given larger nucleus crews and organised into the Home Fleet, with one fully manned division at the Nore—that is, these ships at the Nore had nucleus crews plus their balance crews always on board. Into this division all the new ships as completed for sea were passed. Then in March the final step in the organisation of the Home Fleet was taken. Since this date, to quote the Committee's report, the whole of the naval forces in home waters, with the exception of the Atlantic Fleet, have been united in the Home Fleet, under the command of a single flag officer. The former Nore Division is now the 1st Division, the old Channel Fleet the 2nd Division, both these being fully manned; the nucleus-crew ships form the 3rd Division, and the special reserve ships the 4th Division of the Home Fleet. The only portion of the force in home waters which remains outside the Home Fleet organisation is the Atlantic Fleet, which, though closely associated with the Home Fleet, is still retained as an independent command, capable of

being detached, if necessary, to show the flag elsewhere without breaking up the organisation of the Fleet in home waters.

Thus we reached in March last—a month before Lord Charles Beresford sent his memorandum to the Prime Minister—an organised war force in home waters, complete in all its units, and thus graded :

In full commission : 25 battleships (including the three battleship-cruisers of the *Invincible* type), 11 armoured cruisers, 12 other cruisers and scouts, 48 destroyers, 52 submarines, and 8 auxiliary ships ; repair ships, depot ships for destroyers, and ' mother ships ' for submarines.

Manned with nucleus crews in proportion to the war-worthiness and usefulness of each vessel (ranging from 75 per cent. of the full crews downwards) : 21 older battleships, 13 armoured cruisers, 33 other cruisers and scouts, 16 torpedo gunboats, 75 torpedo-boat destroyers, 36 coastal destroyers, and 12 auxiliary ships.

These 362 ships constitute the seagoing fleet in home waters in case of war, while other ships are entrusted with the local defence of important ports and harbours. This organisation is the fruit of a consistent and continuous policy of reform. To the excellence of this organisation Lord Charles Beresford has borne testimony since the publication of the Committee's report, and thus out of the late discussions has evolved a general agreement as to the results of Admiralty policy. In these circumstances the nation may well forget Lord Charles's condemnation of April last, probably due to incomplete knowledge.

This unanimity will be heartily welcomed by that section of the public which has for so long been tortured by doubts as to whether the best use was being made of our naval resources.

There is no reason for blinking the fact that it is upon the German Fleet that the eyes of the British people have been and are now fixed, and it happens that this confirmation of the wisdom of the Admiralty's dispositions comes at a moment when the German Navy has completed the first stage in its expansion as an ocean-going force, and will repay examination. It is now about to enter on what may be described as the '*Dreadnought* stage,' when, owing to various circumstances, it will be no longer concentrated and based on Kiel, but will be divided between that Baltic port and Wilhelmshaven on the North Sea. The German Fleet is now at its zenith as a concentrated war force, all the battle units in commission acting always in association under one Admiral.

During the coming winter—probably about the end of the year—the first two German *Dreadnoughts* will pass into the High Sea Fleet, and under a new commander-in-chief—for Prince Henry of Prussia is relinquishing his command—this naval force will, for a time, be divided. The Kiel Canal cannot give passage to the new ships, and as it is desired to have them in the North Sea, there they must be

stationed. The accommodation at Wilhelmshaven is at present insufficient for the whole fleet, and consequently it will be divided between the two ports under peculiar circumstances; the pre-*Dreadnought* ships will be able to pass through the canal to reinforce the *Dreadnoughts*, but the *Dreadnoughts* will be too large to proceed through the canal if they are needed in the Baltic, and will have to steam by the longer route. No details are yet known of the new fleet organisation beyond the fact that this division of force has been decided upon. This disposition is inevitable. It marks the beginning of the work of transferring Germany's naval power from the Baltic to the North Sea. It has become the custom to speak of the German Fleet as though it were already based on the North Sea, but this statement has never rested on any foundation in fact, because Kiel has remained the main naval station. Now the first stage of the naval expansion at Wilhelmshaven is approaching completion, and hence the removal of a portion of the High Sea Fleet, which coincides with the passing under the ensign of the first of the *Dreadnoughts*. One more point is also of importance. Numerically the High Sea Fleet will not be increased by more than one unit as the German *Dreadnoughts* are completed. Seventeen battleships is the number assigned by law to the High Sea Fleet, and when a new ship is completed an older one will be withdrawn and placed in reserve. Some time must elapse before the German Fleet is again concentrated as to-day, and it is of interest at this moment to leave the more or less problematical controversy as to Germany's strength in 1912 or 1913 in *Dreadnoughts* and pre-*Dreadnoughts*, and review what has actually been accomplished during the past twenty years of continual effort towards naval expansion.

How far has Germany advanced towards her goal, which is to possess 'a fleet of such strength that even for the mightiest naval Power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy'? The consideration of this matter is appropriate because loose statements as to relative naval power have reduced the public to a confused idea that already the trident has passed from our hands, or at least that our supremacy has been so seriously encroached upon that we can hardly hope again to hold our traditional position on the seas. References have indeed frequently been made to 'our lost naval supremacy'; ten, even five years ago, it has been stated, the British Navy had a great and undisputed advantage as against any two Powers. To-day, so it is alleged, that advantage has been entirely lost; as against the two strongest Powers it can never be regained unless there is a complete change in Admiralty policy and in national finance. Lord Charles Beresford has spoken very much in this strain, giving his authority to counsels of despair. As recently as the 7th of August the Marquis of Lansdowne, speaking at Bowood, stated that 'we found ourselves

now no longer enjoying the superiority of strength over a combination of two Powers to which we formerly looked, but barely able to hold our own against a single foreign Power in the competition for naval supremacy.'

This is a gloomy picture of the depths of self-depreciation to which the British people have fallen, particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that this year we are preparing to build twice as many ships of war of various classes as Germany alone, at present the most active of all the nations in shipbuilding. Is there anything to justify such statements as to the present degeneracy of our naval power? We know all that is to be known at present of the possibilities of the future, but what has Germany—the Power referred to by Lord Lansdowne—succeeded not in *planning* but in *doing* that the late Foreign Secretary should regard our aforetime naval supremacy as a thing of the past?

Twenty years ago the German people were spending two-and-a-half millions sterling only upon their fleet; to-day the expenditure has risen to nineteen-and-a-half millions. In the history of naval power no parallel can be found to this rapid growth in expenditure upon naval armaments. When we come to analyse the results which have been achieved at such colossal sacrifice by the German people, it becomes at once evident that naval power cannot be accurately judged by the outlay which is made upon it. Germany, for instance, buys her naval power in a relatively expensive market, paying about 25 per cent. more for her armour, and a higher price for all the material required for the creation of a fleet.

Every nation pays in varying ratio for its fleet, because the conditions vary. In the United States naval power is most costly because not only is the production of war material carried on in a protected market, where high rates of wages rule and raw material is dear, but the Americans have also to rely upon a voluntary system of enlistment, which results in a high scale of pay for officers and men. In Germany, where the tariff has not handicapped naval shipbuilding and equipment so seriously, and wages are lower, the conscript system provides the Fleet with relatively cheaply paid crews. Despite this advantage, however, Germany pays considerably more than we do for her naval power. In comparing naval strength, expenditure on naval armaments is never a true guide. In Japan, for instance, workmen in the arsenals are paid in pence where ours are paid in shillings. Other differences exist to vitiate any rough-and-ready attempt to evaluate naval expansion by the expansion in expenditure. The fact that Germany to-day is spending seventeen millions sterling annually more on her Fleet does not prove that she is obtaining the amount of additional naval force which a similar expenditure in this country would have secured. The contrary is indeed true; she has obtained

and is now obtaining considerably less in return than is generally understood.

It is the fashion in England to refer to German naval expansion as though it had been well planned from the outset and had been pursued persistently, methodically, and economically. Is this conclusion borne out by an examination of the German Fleet as it exists to-day when it has reached its first stage of development, and is about to be reorganised in view of the early entry into the navy of the first two ships of the *Dreadnought* era?

Every one is familiar with the manner in which a driver with a heavy load behind his horses will manœuvre his way up a hill. He will take a zigzag course, crossing and recrossing the highway so as to diminish the upward gradient. He will reach the top of the hill, but the horses will probably have covered about twice the distance that they would have covered if they had had the strength to advance direct up the face of the hill. This has been the policy adopted in Germany. When the naval expansion movement began it had little popular support, and it was thought England had reached the limit of her naval expenditure. The plans were framed on modest lines. England took reciprocal action, and then, at the first breath of popular support in the German States, German naval policy was arrested for a moment and a fresh start was made. Then with the further growth of foreign fleets and a further awakening of popular opinion in favour of a great navy, another pause and another start, and so on. It has proved an expensive course of action, because time and again the naval standard has had to be recast and work has had to be done over again. It is for this reason that Germany is now building *Dreadnoughts*, because it is realised that she has hitherto made little progress *vis-à-vis* to Great Britain; it is for this reason the Kiel Canal is now being redug at a cost of 11,000,000*l.*, it is not big enough for the new ships; it is for this reason that Krupps' establishment has been extended because it has not hitherto been able to supply many big guns and none bigger than the 11-inch weapons (hitherto each battleship has required four big guns with gun mountings, whereas now each vessel needs a dozen); it is for this reason that immense sums are being expended on dock extension, the existing docks are too small for the new ships; it is for this reason that costly dredging operations are being carried out, because at present the harbours are not sufficiently deep. The zigzag policy has proved delusive. German intention has been continuous, but the policy adopted has been neither methodical nor economical, and she has not obtained what ten years ago she hoped that she might obtain.

A glance backward for twenty years will illustrate this point. At the commencement of the period of German expansion the German Empire was a military Power. In 1848 the Danish Fleet with a few small vessels succeeded in blockading the German ports, so insignificant

was Germany's influence on the seas. In the subsequent forty years comparatively little progress was made in the upbuilding of a German Fleet, and not until 1898 was a definite effort made by way of legislation to increase German prestige on the sea. At that time she possessed four completed battleships of the first class; these vessels displaced just under 10,000 tons each. There were in addition four second-class ships of slightly over 7000 tons displacement, and twenty-five small battleships or coast-defence vessels; eleven of them of 1000, eight roughly of 3500 tons, and the remainder old battleships of comparatively insignificant fighting power. There were in addition three battleships building, as well as seven cruisers. The German Naval Bill of 1898 fixed the establishment of the Fleet at seventeen battleships, eight coast-defence ships, nine large cruisers, and twenty-six small cruisers, which it was intended to distribute in two squadrons. The adoption of this new establishment necessitated the construction of seven more battleships, two large cruisers, and seven small cruisers, and it was proposed to build these ships by April 1905 at a total cost of 23,633,000*l.*, including the outlay upon ships already in hand. Eventually it was decided to make an effort to complete the vessels in six years instead of seven, and on this understanding the Government proposal was passed. This was the first step in German naval expansion, and as the late M. Weyl, a well-known authority on naval policy at that time, explained, 'Germany will still, after the programme is carried out, remain a second-rate, or rather a third-rate, maritime Power.' M. Weyl added, and his words may be recalled with profit at this moment, 'that the adoption of a fixed standard of strength appears a strange idea when the difficulty of foretelling the future progress of science and the changes it brings about in naval material is borne in mind.'

It is unnecessary to recall in detail the subsequent course of naval legislation in Germany, because this has been very effectively done in a remarkable article which lately appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* entitled 'The Faults of our Naval Policy.' It was there pointed out that, as foreseen by M. Weyl, 'naval programmes for a fixed term of years are an absurdity, because they are never adhered to either from the technical or from the financial point of view.' This is demonstrated very conclusively by the course of German naval policy. As the *Berliner Tageblatt* points out, the German Navy Law of 1898 laid down a programme for six years,⁶ but within two years a new law had to be passed fixing the building programme up to 1916, and providing for a fleet of thirty-eight battleships—in short, doubling the establishment. The financial basis of this law was that each battleship would cost about 1,250,000*l.*, the total expenditure on building battleships, cruisers, &c., being roughly 80,000,000*l.* By the time the new supplementary law of 1906 became necessary, conditions had changed so much that the battleships cost over 1,800,000*l.*, and the cruisers also pro-

portionately higher than was at first intended. Finally came the third supplementary law of last year, setting the life of battleships at twenty years instead of twenty-five years. The net result of 'naval expansion by methodical progressive stages fixed by naval law' is that Germany has not carried to completion a single one of her Navy Acts, and has been led to spend vast sums of money unproductively.

It is an absurdity in face of the actual story of German naval expansion to hold up Germany as a model to be followed. The history of the naval movement in Germany is rather a warning which has a parallel in our one and only Naval Defence Act. As a result of a popular agitation in 1888, the British people suddenly realised that the British Navy was little, if any, superior to that of France alone. The Government of the day at last capitulated, and the Naval Defence Bill was introduced, making provision for the construction of seventy ships of war of various classes at a cost of twenty-one-and-a-half millions. The programme was regarded at the time as a statesmanlike and methodical effort to regain our naval supremacy. The seventy ships included eight first-class battleships, each of 14,000 tons displacement and seventeen knots speed; two second-class battleships, each of 9000 tons displacement; nine first-class cruisers of 7300 tons displacement; twenty-nine second-class cruisers of 3400 tons displacement; four third-class cruisers of 2600 tons, and eighteen torpedo gunboats of 735 tons each. Of this number thirty-two were to be laid down, built, armed, and equipped by contract at once—four battleships, five first-class cruisers, seventeen second-class cruisers, and six torpedo gunboats. Twenty vessels were to be begun immediately in the public dockyards—four first-class and one second-class battleships, three first-class and six second-class cruisers, and six torpedo gunboats. The remaining eighteen vessels were to be laid down as the slips in the dockyards became vacant.

The Government thus tied the hands of the British administration for four years, with the result that it was impossible in succeeding years to take adequate action to maintain the Fleet in face of increasing foreign competition. The relative strength of the Navy was little affected as a result of this Act, because rival Powers made an unprecedented effort to checkmate this widely advertised effort on the part of Great Britain to regain her lost supremacy. By the time the Naval Defence Act had run its course a Liberal Government was in power with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister, a Government strongly opposed to heavy expenditure upon naval armaments. What happened? In 1893 a 'naval crisis' occurred. It was recognised that we had been slipping behind instead of advancing, owing to the progress of foreign Fleets, particularly those of France and Russia. At that time we kept all our largest ships concentrated in the Mediterranean, and Lord Brassey, in the spring of 1894, came to the following conclusion:

'A Russian squadron has recently visited Toulon, and has there been

received by the French people with an effusion of welcome which could hardly have been exceeded if Russia had rendered the most conspicuous services to the French people. The visit of the Russian fleet has drawn attention more particularly to the relative strength in the Mediterranean. It has been discovered that our squadron, as at present constituted, is inferior to the French squadron in the Mediterranean, and still more to the French supplemented by the Russian squadron.'

Lord Brassey then dealt with the British Fleet in home waters, including British ships only partially manned, and he gave this statement of the 'aggregate strength of ships in commission or partial commission in European waters':

	England	France
Battleships	21	15
Coast-defence Ships	1	8
Armoured Cruisers	6	2
First and Second-class Cruisers	4	6
Look-out Ships and Torpedo Cruisers	5	8
Torpedo-gunboats	5	8

He also stated that surveying the whole problem we had forty-six battleships built and building and twelve coast-defence ships to fifty-one and thirty-one respectively possessed by France and Russia, while these Powers possessed thirty-four armoured cruisers to our eighteen. This was the relative position to which we had been reduced owing to the rigid policy of the Naval Defence Act. The Admiralty demanded a number of new ships. Mr. Gladstone resigned rather than be a party to the proposals, and in 1894 Parliament sanctioned the largest single-year programme then on record, comprising seven battleships of the first class, six cruisers of the second class and two sloops. In the following year the programme comprised four first-class cruisers, four second-class cruisers, two third-class cruisers and twenty torpedo-boat destroyers. Thus by *large annual programmes* we regained the leeway which we had lost owing to the adoption of a *fixed four-year programme*. The Naval Defence Act threw on later years an unprecedented burden because it tied the hands of the Government of the day until at last we were faced by a 'naval crisis.' The experience of Germany has been very similar. In successive Navy Acts she has fixed a standard of strength for her Fleet, advertised it far and wide, and other Powers—and more particularly Great Britain—have taken reciprocal action. She has been compelled to abandon Navy Act after Navy Act, and the result may be seen in the colossal estimates of to-day, which are in large measure the fruit of the zigzag policy.

It is questionable whether Germany's naval position *vis-à-vis* to Great Britain has improved as a result of the past twenty years of effort. Naval power can never be assessed accurately by the mere counting of noses, balancing this ship against that ship. The value of a fleet depends largely upon opportunity for its employment, in short

on the international situation. Twenty years ago Germany had not entered upon her world policy. She was in the happy position of having many friends, among whom Great Britain was perhaps the most conspicuous because the friendship was becoming closer. No one who was in Berlin in 1888 will forget the extreme cordiality of the welcome which was accorded to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her visit to the late Emperor Frederick, nor will anyone who recalls the subsequent visits of the Emperor William the Second to this country doubt that at that time there existed a close community of interest between the British and German peoples. The British nation recognised in Germany the greatest military Power of the world, and the German people recognised, without bitterness, that Great Britain was supreme afloat. Parallel lines do not meet and there was no reason why the friendship between the two countries should not have continued, because at that time the British people viewed with considerable interest and sympathy Germany's need for territorial expansion in order to find an outlet for her vast and increasing population. It may be that if those relations between the two countries had continued, some means might have been found for assisting German policy in a spirit of friendship. At this date the two countries were keen commercial rivals, but their relations were marked by a sense of kinship and on both sides of the North Sea there was a desire to settle amicably, by a policy of give and take, all outstanding points of difficulty. Nothing indicated this temper more conclusively than Lord Salisbury's cession of Heligoland. This incident was merely one of many which occurred at this period. The *entente* appeared to be based on permanent foundations, and it was realised that the two nations were complementary one to the other—Germany being a great land Power and Great Britain the greatest of all sea Powers. At last under the inspiration of the Emperor there was a change in German policy, and the whole scene was changed ; gradually Germany, by pin pricks here, by waving her world-flag there, by unrestful diplomacy and a domineering attitude towards neighbours, associated with a violent agitation for a great fleet—engineered from above—alienated her friends.

After twenty years of expansion, what is the standing of the German Navy to-day ? It is true Germany has overtaken and passed Italy, Russia, and France in the race for sea power, but the British people certainly have no reason for lamentations. Germany has lost more than she has gained in this struggle for naval power. While she has been building ships and setting on edge the teeth of Europe in her effort to prevail upon the German peoples to provide adequate funds for a new Navy—for they were unwilling converts—the British Government, irrespective of parties, has been quietly developing a new policy, and at the same time has kept its sword keen. In these days memory is short; it is apt to be forgotten that when the German naval movement was in its infancy England was not only without a

close friend, but was surrounded by powerful and bitter enemies. At her very gate she had France and Russia, the two next strongest naval Powers in the world in definite alliance and in alliance against her. British relations with the United States were strained ; indeed at the time of the Venezuela incident there was talk of war between these two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Powers in the Mediterranean kept their love for Great Britain well under control and in a spirit of desperation Mr., afterwards Lord, Goschen boasted of our 'splendid isolation.'

Twelve years ago—that is when the first German Navy Act was passed and Anglo-German relations had become somewhat strained—built or building Germany possessed thirty-six armoured ships of various descriptions. At that date the largest British battleships displaced 14,900 tons, while Germany had under construction ships of nearly 11,000 tons. The German fleet was deficient in ships of the largest sizes, but it possessed a large number of vessels admirably suited for purposes of coast defence. There was no telling when events might not arise which would enable the German Fleet to be used with effect. From month to month there were rumours of possibility of war between England and France, and later on between England and France and Russia. The world faced the possibility of the three greatest Fleets being engaged in offensive operations, and at that time the German press regarded the outlook with hardly concealed jubilation—the initial naval propaganda had already cooled the friendship between the two countries. It was argued that if England engaged in hostilities against France and Russia, she might win but she would be crippled, and then opportunity would arise for using the German Fleet. Germany would play the part of 'honest broker,' even if she did not find opportunity for taking a more active rôle. The exact excuse for German intervention would depend upon circumstances, but whatever the circumstances Germany would intervene after England had been crippled. The German authorities openly argued thus: under the existing circumstances it is not necessary for the German Navy to rival the great fleets of the world then under the flags of Great Britain, France, and Russia. It was held that it was not essential that 'the German Fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest sea Power, because generally a great sea Power will not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us.' The idea underlying German naval policy was that the German Fleet should be maintained at moderate strength and should lie in the background until the moment arrived when the British Navy, as a result of war with France and Russia, had been seriously depleted, and then Germany would be able to step into the ring, and, either by offensive operations or by the silent pressure of a fleet-in-being, force from the British people humiliating concessions. This was the basis of German naval policy twelve

years ago. At that time Germany was a very real and serious menace to the British Empire, because England stood apart and alone in 'splendid isolation' faced by the great armadas of Russia and France, then at their highest in popular esteem.

Twelve years have past; the Russian Fleet has practically disappeared in the whirlpool of the war in the Far East. France has lost her former position on the seas. France, Russia, and England have formed a triple *entente*. The community of sentiment between these three peoples is steadily increasing; it is based on enduring elements; the triple *entente* is not a political manoeuvre; it is the consummation of a definite policy of friendship and is based upon the predominant needs of the three Powers—financial, commercial, and industrial. Along the shores of the Mediterranean the British Fleet passes exchanging cordial greetings with this Power and that. The relations between Great Britain and Italy have steadily improved in the past ten years. The misunderstanding between England and Austria-Hungary—at present of minor naval importance—is a new factor and it is impossible to judge how far it will prove a permanent factor in affecting the balance of power. But whatever course Austrian irritation may run, the British people have this abiding consolation, that, whereas ten years ago they occupied a position of isolation which was more or less splendid, now they have two close friends among the great Powers of Europe and are regarded with something akin to affection by many of the lesser Powers who look to the British Government as their main protection against the loss of their independence. Looking beyond the confines of Europe, the situation has also improved. There is no longer a dark cloud in the Far East threatening the peace of the world. Japan has ceased to be a counter under the influence of any ambitious Power. Japan, the only Power with a battle fleet east of Suez, is our ally and will remain so until 1915, and before that date arrives no one doubts but the alliance will be renewed. Our relations with the United States were never more cordial.

This is a remarkable change in British relations. *For the first time in her history England is on terms of closest friendship with all the great traditional naval Powers.* In the exchange of pleasant courtesies, all the embittered memories of the past are forgotten. Great Britain, instead of being faced by the two strongest fleets of Europe and of the world, with the navies of Germany, Japan and the United States as possible opponents, has now been forced by circumstances—and above all by the peace propaganda of the King—to measure her strength not in comparison with two or three Powers as was the case ten years ago, but in contrast with one Power only, and that Power Germany. It is true that in the past ten years, owing to the war in the Far East which engulfed the Russian Fleet, and owing to the mismanagement of naval affairs in France, Germany now

possesses the second greatest navy in the world, but in *matériel* at least Germany is to-day little stronger than Russia was ten years ago ; her allies, Austria and Italy, whatever their future, are at present of small consequence as naval Powers, and there is no rival fleet of importance in the background waiting to play the part of honest broker if England is drawn into war. Germany stands alone, isolated by her own acts and ambitions. Ten years ago British naval power was estimated and balanced in relation to the next two greatest fleets of the world : to-day it is measured in relation to one fleet only. This is a remarkable, a most significant change in the situation. It may not be a permanent factor, it cannot be used to limit our naval preparations, but it does bear on the consideration of German naval power as it exists to-day.

In view of these circumstances it is interesting to examine the German navy with careful scrutiny. According to the Rangliste der Kaiserlich Deutschen Marine for the present year, the German active Fleet is organised in one great command under the orders of Prince Henry of Prussia, who flies his flag in the battleship *Deutschland*. This High Sea Fleet is divided into two squadrons composed as follows :

FIRST SQUADRON

Battleships

<i>Hannover</i>	(Displacement, 13,000 tons ; Guns, 4 11-in.
<i>Schlesien</i>	(40 calibres), 14 6·7-in., 22 3·4-in. ;
	(extreme speed, 18½ knots.
<i>Kaiser Karl der Grosse</i> .	(Displacement, 11,000 tons ; Guns, 4 9·4-in.
<i>Kaiser Barbarossa</i> . .	(40 calibres), 18 5·9-in., 12 3·4-in. ;
	(extreme speed, 18 knots.
<i>Zähringen</i>	(Displacement, 11,643 tons ; Guns, 4 9·4-in.
<i>Wettin</i>	(40 calibres), 18 5·9-in. (40 calibres), 12
<i>Mecklenburg</i>	(3·4-in. ; extreme speed, 18 knots.
<i>Wittelsbach</i>	

SECOND SQUADRON

Battleships

<i>Preussen</i>	(Displacement, 13,000 tons ; Guns, 4 11-in.
<i>Hessen</i>	(40 calibres), 14 6·7-in. (40 calibres), 12
<i>Elsass</i>	(3·4-in. ; extreme speed, 18½ knots.
<i>Lothringen</i>	
<i>Braunschweig</i>	(Displacement, 18,000 tons ; Guns, 4 11-in.
<i>Schleswig Holstein</i> . .	(40 calibres), 14 6·7-in., 22 3·4-in. ; speed,
<i>Pommern</i>	(18½ knots.
<i>Deutschland</i>	

Associated with these two squadrons are the two small cruisers *Blitz* and *Pfeil* of 1300 tons, mounting a few quick-firers. These two small ships act as dispatch vessels. There are also eleven torpedo boat destroyers.

CRUISER SQUADRON

<i>Roon</i>	{ Displacement, 9850 tons ; Guns, 4 8·2-in., 10 5·9-in., 16 3·4-in. ; extreme speed, 21 knots.
<i>Yorck</i>	.	.	.	.
<i>Gneisenau</i>	{ Displacement, 11,420 tons ; Guns, 8 8·2 in., 6 5·9-in., 20 3·4-in. ; extreme speed, 22½ knots.
<i>Danzig</i>	.	.	.	.
<i>Königsberg</i>	.	.	.	.
<i>Dresden</i>	.				Small protected cruisers of 3200 to 3600 tons, mounting 10 4·1-in. quick-firers, and a number of smaller guns ; extreme speeds varying from 22 to 24½ knots.
<i>Berlin</i>	.				
<i>Stettin</i>	.				
<i>Lübeck</i>	.				

Ignoring for the moment the cruisers, what is the fighting significance of the battle force comprised in these two main squadrons ? The ships are well armoured ; they are of fair speed and in point of age the oldest is the *Kaiser Karl der Grosse*, which was laid down at Hamburg in 1899. These sixteen men-of-war fall into four classes as follows :—

Five of the *Deutschland* type, with 20 11-in. guns, 70 6·7-in. guns, and 110 3·4-in. guns.

Five of the *Braunschweig* type, with 20 11-in. guns, 70 6·7-in. guns, and 60 3·4-in. guns.

Four of the *Wittelsbach* type, with 16 9·4-in. guns, 72 5·9-in. guns, and 48 3·4-in. guns.

Two of the *Kaiser* class, with 8 9·4-in. guns, 36 5·9-in. guns, and 24 3·4-in. guns.

The three armoured cruisers mount 16 8·2-in. guns, 26 5·9-in. guns and 52 3·4-in. guns. This is the gun enumeration of the armoured ships of the German High Sea Fleet, and there are sixty 4·1-in. guns and ten 3·4-in. guns carried by the small cruisers.

In comparison with this German force we have lately had assembled in the Thames and in the Solent the corresponding British High Sea Fleet—otherwise the First and Second Divisions of the Home Fleet. It is impossible in a limited space to make a detailed comparison of the two commands, British and German, but admitting that men-of-war are gun platforms and that gun power is the main factor, they contrast thus :—

Type of Gun	Number	
	British	German
12-in.	136	None
11-in.	None	40
9·2-in. or 9·4-in. . . .	100	24
8·2-in. or 7·5-in. . . .	42	16
6-in., 6·7-in. or 5·9-in. .	326	274

In face of this contrast there can be no doubt as to the unchallengeable position of the 'ever ready' section of the British Home Fleet, and, moreover, this 'deadly parallel' entirely ignores the Third and Fourth Divisions of the Home Fleet, maintained on a peace footing

with nucleus crews. In the German Fleet there is no peace organisation to compare with this.

But the relative positions of the two navies may be indicated in another way. Battleships are the *ultima ratio* in naval warfare. How do the two fleets stand at present in battleships, whether in commission or out of commission? The most conclusive evidence on this point is available. Below, the two fleets are contrasted, showing the number and the penetrative power of all their main guns, according to an admitted formula:—

Theoretical penetration *in inches* of the best Krupp armour at 5000 yards, using capped projectiles.

GREAT BRITAIN			GERMANY		
Guns		Penetration	Guns		Penetration
72	=	17½ inches			None
84	=	15 to 16 inches			None
68	=	11½ inches	40	=	12 inches
20	=	10 inches			None
72	=	8½ to 9 inches	40	=	8½ inches
<hr/>			<hr/>		
116 with a penetration varying			80	=	12 to 8½ inches
from 17½ to 23 inches					•

This is a sufficiently effective contrast of the fighting power of the two fleets in armour-piercing guns and yet it ignores the British lead in armoured cruisers, which also carry a large number of armour-piercing weapons. The British Navy has thirty-five such vessels, Germany possesses eight and eight only.

This is the British naval position in contrast with Germany. The British Fleet would take into action nearly five times as many armour-piercing guns as the German Fleet or, deducting the six British battleships in the Mediterranean—the only battleships not concentrated in British waters—over four times as many. Germany is admitted to be the second strongest naval Power, and it therefore follows that since in armour-piercing guns we are as five to one against Germany, we are rather more than five to two against Germany and the United States or France, and five to two is above the two-Power standard. This comparison is not intended for wide application. It is merely a simple method of conveying an idea of the present superiority of the British Fleet as a corrective to the wild and misinformed statements which have recently been current. They have disturbed the public mind at a moment when no justification exists for anxiety as to our present position. There is nothing heroic or statesmanlike in misleading a nation by depreciating its sacrifices in the past. The British people have made heavy sacrifices and it is disheartening after years of effort, after the expenditure of vast sums year by year, to be informed that the goal of endeavour has not been attained. The goal has been reached. This is not a party question, because the British Fleet as it exists to-day is, with few exceptions, the fleet which was built under Unionist administrations. If it were less than adequate, the discredit

would belong not to the present Government but to its immediate predecessors.

There is nothing in these figures, on the other hand, which condemns the alarm recently experienced—alarm as to the future. It is well that the issues should not be confused. They may be thus stated :—

At present the British Navy is above the two-Power standard.

Next year it will still be above the two-Power standard.

In 1911 the German, French and American Fleets will be strengthened by a number of new ships—how many is subject for speculation and not for definite assertion. In this year, owing to the fact that under last year's programme only two armoured ships were laid down for the British Fleet, our lead will decrease.

In 1912 the German Navy will have benefited by the recent acceleration of shipbuilding, and the British margin of superiority in the most modern armoured ships might have almost disappeared had it not been determined to lay down eight British battleships of an improved *Dreadnought* type in the next six months.

In 1913 the German Fleet will gain by at least four more large armoured ships ; next year's British programme must neutralise this accession of German naval power.

This is the extent of the problem. For some years to come persistent statesmanlike effort will be necessary if we are to hold our afore-time position, but we grasp the trident to-day as firmly as, if not more firmly than, at any time during the present generation, and assuredly have not been false to our heritage.

ARCHIBALD HURD.

THE WINGS OF WAR

EIGHTY years ago, in a period of which some of the general characteristics appear to us almost as remote as those of palæolithic man, the Liverpool to Manchester Railway was opened, and the new age was begun. How many of those who officiated at that ceremony, the harbinger of the conditions of the modern world, realised the vastness of the change, the all-penetrative quality of the effect, which steam was to apply to the evolution of man? Could they have seen, as in a vision, the gigantic alterations, direct and indirect, which were to accrue politically, socially, economically, even mentally and morally, through the mere development of a mechanical device, how should they have contained their amazement, or how been able to continue the even tenour of their previous way?

But, in the nature of things, no such conception was possible. The human imagination cannot grasp the aspect of the future, even though logical thought might tear the curtain back and grant a glimpse into the dim vistas of the time to come.

So now, in 1909, the human race stands, certainly and obviously, at the portals of a changed world. The surfaces of sea and land suffice mankind no more. No longer doomed to disport themselves only in the lowest stratum of the ocean of air which enwraps our globe, men shortly shall be free to move upward and downward, to and fro, in its viewless depths, and its paths, unalaid save by the chemistry of nature and of time, shall give them passage to new destinies and new conditions.

Is this prospect assured? Is it the case, some will ask, that aerial navigation already offers these possibilities to the nations of the earth? The reply is 'No,' if we confine our survey to that which has been as yet achieved. If we choose to leave out of account the entire promise of coming time; if we ignore the march of mechanical invention; if we resolutely assume that that conquest of the air, which is being effected visibly and with increasing rapidity week by week and day by day, will suffer sudden and permanent arrest at the moment when this article is written or is read; if we clothe ourselves with infallibility like to that of those men of science who, in the third decade of the nineteenth

century, declared it to be impossible that any ship should ever cross the Atlantic under steam—then, in that case, these forecasts are vain, and, for us, the shadow of a new future does not lie across the earth.

But if we decline to ignore the obvious ; if we grasp the fact that the best brains of the world will soon be engaged (if they are not engaged already) in the solution of the problems of aerial flight, and that a large part of the difficulties which have long delayed that solution has already been removed ; then the question of the effects which this portentous change in human affairs is calculated to produce will acquire immediate and painful interest. Amidst the crowds of rejoicing English people who witnessed at Dover the gallant and all but successful attempt of M. Latham to cross the Channel in a flying machine, one wonders if any reflected that they were assisting at the first stage of the funeral of the sea power of England.

Already the dirigible balloon of the Zeppelin type can traverse a thousand miles without replenishment of fuel ; already, according to a reported interview with one of the Wright brothers, it would be possible to construct an aeroplane which could rival that performance. Who is hardy enough to set a limit to the achievements of the next ten, or even of the next five years ? The truth is that the coming conquest of the air by man is now a certainty, and that what is left in doubt is the date of the different stages of achievement.

We know, for instance, that the Atlantic will before long be crossed by a lighter than air machine, but we do not know whether the Wrights are too sanguine in anticipating the event within twelve months. We know again that it will be traversed by a machine heavier than air within a very few years, but we do not know whether the number of those intervening years will be two, or three, or five, or ten. (Probably most men who realise the rate of progress of the art of aviation will be inclined to one of the earlier estimates.)

It is proposed here, then, to lift the gaze from the immediate present, and to dare to look towards the not distant future. Let us suppose that ten or fifteen, or may it be twenty, years have elapsed, and that that has happened which is bound to happen. Let us imagine that lines of flying machines have been started all over the world, and that passage through the air is the accepted mode of human transit. Then we shall find also that what may be termed the centre of military gravity will be in process of shifting from the sea and the land to that aerial ocean, which encompasses both.

If any doubt this, let them consider that even if aerial navigation should be confined to the comparatively awkward and slow vessels which the persevering genius of Count Zeppelin has created, our position in Egypt will probably have become untenable in five years from now, unless by the possession of an aerial navy of our own. For we may at least assume that within that space of time, dirigible balloons will have immensely increased in radius of action and in carrying

capacity. If a voyage of two or three thousand miles should then be within their reach, and if Germany and Austria should then possess a large fleet of these craft (as they certainly will, unless airships of that type become obsolete in the interim), it would be within the power of those States to transport in less than forty-eight hours what would be literally 'a flying column' of several thousand men to any point or points in Egypt which they choose to attack. It may be objected that such a force would have neither cavalry nor artillery, but for scouting purposes cavalry would not then be wanted, while by that date some dirigibles, at all events, would be built to carry and to discharge light guns. At any rate, it is plain that all existing military and naval arrangements for the defence of Egypt would be revolutionised by the presence of such a possibility as that which is likely, if not certain, actually to accrue.

I quote this instance of Egypt, however, merely as an illustration of the manner in which what I have called the centre of military gravity will be transferred to the air. The object of military force, whether exerted on the sea or on the land, or (in future days) in the region above, is to coerce an enemy. The coercion is effected by the defeat of his armaments, the destruction of his property, and as has been frequently the case in the past and may probably be the case again, by the general slaughter of his citizens. Now an aerial navy within at the most half a generation of the present time, and most likely very much sooner, will have it in its power to destroy both life and property, whether at sea or on shore, and it could only be effectually prevented from exercising that power by a force possessed of like attributes, that is, by another aerial navy.

Therefore it is absolutely certain that, so soon as flying machines are produced (whether lighter or heavier than the air) having (1) wide radius of action, and (2) the means of giving direction to the explosives which they emit, then navies on the sea and armies on the land will alike be obsolescent. For sea navies and land armies will then be equally impotent to protect the lives and the property of the nations which maintain them, or to defeat the aerial fleets which destroy those lives and that property.

Only conceive the plight of the British mercantile marine, if exposed to the swift attack of assailants from the air. Conceive also the inability of the British Navy (so long as it remained tied to the face of the sea), to give protection to that marine. As M. Bleriot, in his memorable Channel flight, passed over English men-of-war before he attained English soil, so in the future may the crews of English fighting ships be doomed helplessly to gaze into the skies while fleets which they are powerless to reach pass over their heads to the destruction of that which they seek to defend.

(It is perhaps necessary to observe here that I speak of the future, and that nothing short of insensate folly could make the need of

providing for that future an excuse for neglect to strengthen the existing navy now.)

As a commerce destroyer, the flying machine of days to come will indeed have an enormous potentiality. Poised, like a hawk, high in the skies, with a huge expanse of ocean under survey, and able to sweep upon her prey with a speed far exceeding perhaps that of the swiftest wind, her power of wreaking mischief will be immense, so long as ships continue to float on the surface of the sea.

Less absolutely annihilatory, though yet tremendous and crushing, would be the power of an aerial fleet to effect destruction upon land. It has indeed been said that explosives launched from an airship or an aeroplane would inflict no greater injury than similar explosives hurtling through the air in a shell. But the bombardment of a town can only be attempted by a fleet or an army. To use the first requires the greater sea power; to use the second, the greater land force. But against a fleet sailing in the abyss of air, both these superiorities would be valueless. Unless every large town in Britain could be provided with a numerous and powerful artillery, warranted, even in dark night, to hit objects which those who aim it cannot see, no protection against aerial attack could be given either by the British Navy or the British Army to British cities. Against each such city, the aerial force could concentrate its attack, and bombard it at will, choosing its own time, and able also—since we are speaking of time some years hence, when speeds will have vastly increased—to renew within a few hours the stores which it expends.

But it cannot be requisite to labour this point. It must surely be admitted that the existence of an aerial fleet, capable of causing an immensely wide destruction and incapable of defeat save by another similar fleet, must involve the passing to those fleets of the supreme interests of war.

What follows again from this position is that we are approaching the verge of a change far greater than that which occurred sixty years ago, when the introduction of steam suddenly rendered obsolete all the sailing warships of the world. That change eclipsed only the then existing fleets of all the nations. This change, now coming, will eclipse their armies, too.

And in that eclipse is evidently involved a vast revolution in the life of Europe. The very foundation of the modern European system is the obligation of compulsory military service. *Pace* our English Radicals, whose ideas of the universe are perhaps more profoundly opposed to fact than those of any set of politicians who ever preceded them, all human arrangements are in reality based upon force, and force in Europe takes the form of vast masses of men, of whom as many as possible are to be brought into the firing line. Upon the efficient fulfilment of this necessity, the maintenance of the political geography of Europe depends. Because Russia failed to fulfil it, we have lately

seen that geography altered, and Bosnia and Herzegovina incorporated in the Austrian Empire.

But the moment in which flying machines become the dominant factors of war will be a moment at which the whole European polity will be pierced at its base. To bring masses of soldiers into line of battle will become an aimless act of archaic stupidity. For they will be unable to defeat the machines; and they will be unable to prevent them from ravaging the resources of the individual and of the State.

Hence the necessity of universal compulsory service will pass away—to the infinite loss of the moral and physical health of the European peoples—and, in the stead of masses of briefly-trained men, will arise a new set of elaborately-trained warriors to man the aerial machines of the future.

If this diagnosis of tendency be correct, the governing conditions of the twentieth century will approximate to those of the seventeenth and the eighteenth. In that age victory was gained by rapidity of fire, and such rapidity could be attained and, above all, maintained in action, only by persistent, prolonged and elaborate training. That training, again, involved the creation of standing armies, of a set of men, that is, who lived under conditions widely differentiating them from their fellow-citizens, and under the influence of ideas which made them a class apart. This class necessarily took its orders from the executive authority, which in those days was usually the sovereign, and constituted, in the hands of that authority, the irresistible instrument of despotic will. From this cause proceeded the unbounded domestic power of Louis the Fourteenth and of Frederick the Great; of the French kings and of the German princes; of Oliver Cromwell, and of the Russian Czars. They ruled absolutely because, within their own dominions, no force existed competent to resist that which they wielded.

Thus were the entire internal politics of the civilised world governed by the needs of fire discipline.

If there is any truth in these observations, and if fleets of flying machines are fated (as appears certain) to become the arbiters of war, then every reflecting person must see that democracy is likely to encounter a very great peril. Unless those fleets can be handled and can be fought so easily as to render elaborate training unnecessary, a special class of men must be set apart to their use, and these will give to whatever authority they obey an absolutely overwhelming power.

The supreme authority in any State, whatever it may be called, must be always, in fact, either an oligarchy or an autocracy, because, in the nature of things, no large body of men can direct administration. Therefore the executive authorities of the future will certainly be assailed with a tremendous temptation to substitute personal rule for the forms of democracy. It has often been said that a great

navy is no menace to liberty ; nor could it be hitherto, since its power stops with the sea. But a fleet of airships will suffer from no such disability, and as regards the State to which it appertains, it will be omnipotent and omnipresent.

If the multitudes of people assembled, even as this is written, at Rheims realised the probable effects on European institutions of flying machines, it may well be doubted if their cheers would be so loud.

But to Englishmen, and to British citizens generally, the one question which is of dominating interest is that of the probable result of this revolution upon Britain and upon the British Empire. That result is at once sure and terrible, though the exact date of its accomplishment cannot be foretold. We shall be torn from our pedestal of insularity and flung into the same arena in the dust of which our fellow-nations strive. That shield of sea-power will be taken from us, which more or less has been ours since in the thirteenth century Eustace the Monk cut off, in the Channel, the succours of Louis the Dauphin. We shall be able no longer to live in the saving shadow of Trafalgar. The blood which we have paid as ' the price of Admiralty ' has secured us our past. Will it do nothing to secure our future ?

The answer must depend on the soul of England—on the spirit and fire that still live in our race. For the mastery of the seas, which our fathers won for us, their children, was gained by effort long continued, by self-sacrifice, by virile energy, by nerve, by daring, by all the qualities of men.

Will not like qualities be needed now, and, if that be possible, in even greater abundance than were required of old ? What pen or pencil is adequate to present the scenes of future strife ? When the midnight enemy rush through the air at speeds now undreamt of ; when the opposing fleet grapples with them in the void ; when every man in either navy is face to face with instant death—will not then discipline and devotion be wanted in a measure equal at least to the needs of yore ?

And if heroic valour, skill, nerve, and quick decision will be necessary in those who obey and those who command in the conflicts of the air, not less will foresight, patient preparation, and patriotism (which is another name for self-sacrifice) be required of the nation which wishes to preserve its independence amidst perils greater, because swifter and more instant, than were ever known before. Moreover, the power to bear armaments is at once the trial and the sum of a nation's strength. Its manufacturing ability, its wealth, its public spirit, the honesty and soundness of its work and its workmen are all tried, as by fire, in that test.

Therefore both the warlike exploits of our forefathers, whether by sea or land, and the example of sacrifice set in times past by the nation as a whole, remain to us as abiding sources of strength, whence,

if we will but bear them in mind, we may draw the spirit that will bring victory in conflicts to come.

But this much of advantage at least we shall derive from the substitution of aerial fleets for squadrons and armies fighting on the surface of the world—that the number of men required for the purposes of war will be incomparably less than is required now. The fact that naval strength involves the need of fewer men than military strength gave us advantage in earlier days, and it was this fact which enabled England, a century back, with a population of some ten millions, to hold her own against the twenty-five millions of France. But under the new conditions the difference is likely to be greater far. Germany, which now with such fervour of national enthusiasm seeks the lead in this conquest of the air, may find and will find in the ultimate issue that she has thrown away the privilege of numbers and placed herself on an equality with less populous states. By her own action, she is taking means which must eventually destroy the entire military system on which she now bases her national life.

If these results are amongst the progeny of the power of the air, others, not less momentous, remain to be estimated. The abolition of distance means the approach of the east to the west, and involves a danger to Australia and New Zealand which none but the wilfully blind could fail to see.

The distance from Hong Kong to Port Darwin on the northern shores of Australia is but 2300 miles. Every indication points to the attainment of high speeds by the flying machines of the future. Nor is it possible that China will very long resist the causes which will compel her adoption of these. If she decline to adopt them, she must become the subject empire of some other race. And when she does adopt them, then, it may be in fifteen years, it may be in thirty, a reservoir of humanity containing five hundred millions of beings will be brought within a few hours distance of an almost empty continent.

Again, while at present over 4000 miles of ocean divide Japan from Canada and from the United States, that distance will shrivel into insignificance in presence of the new means of communication.

It is vain to shut our eyes to the immense and ominous signs of coming danger; it is vain to refuse to recognise the gigantic shadow cast by the wings of war.

HAROLD F. WYATT.

L'ART FRANÇAIS CONTEMPORAIN

IL n'est pas commode de tracer un tableau exact et clair de l'état où est présentement l'art français. Cette difficulté résulte de deux faits qu'il importe d'abord de noter : la prodigieuse abondance de la production contemporaine et l'extraordinaire désordre de cette production.

Autrefois, à chaque printemps, ouvrait, en notre Paris, 'le Salon.' Les œuvres de peinture et de sculpture qu'on y voyait n'étaient pas extrêmement nombreuses ; et elles avaient entre elles un petit air de famille, puisqu'un seul et même jury les gratifiait de son assentiment. Ce jury n'était pas sceptique ; il n'était pas non plus très éclectique. Si bien que nous eûmes, à côté de ce salon officiel, un salon des Refusés, un salon des Indépendants. On put alors vérifier que ces Indépendants avaient assez d'analogie les uns avec les autres pour constituer un groupe qu'une précise volonté d'art animait. Et puis, le salon officiel se divisa ; nous eûmes la Société des Artistes français et la Société nationale des Beaux-Arts : deux Salons officiels. C'est beaucoup ;—mais ce n'est pas tout !... Nous avons encore le Salon d'Automne. Et, si l'on voulait énumérer seulement les autres sociétés qui, en toute saison, requièrent l'attention du public parisien, que de pages il faudrait,—et fastidieuses !... Il y a les Aquarellistes, et encore les Pastellistes, et aussi les Miniaturistes ; n'oublions pas les Orientalistes, ni certes les Intimistes, ni les Peintres de marine, ni les Peintres de montagne... Les autres, oublions-les, par lassitude. Ceux-là suffisent à démontrer que tous les prétextes sont bons, de nos jours, à la formation d'un groupe de dissidents ; la moindre circonstance fournit l'étiquette.

En même temps que pullulent ces 'Sociétés' diverses, les expositions particulières se multiplient. Car il est agréable de n'être que quelques-uns ; mais il est plus flatteur encore d'être seul. Nous regorgeons de ces artistes dédaigneux qui refusent d'exposer avec les camarades et qui, pour la chère exhibition de leur génie, louent une salle, impriment un catalogue et organisent une réclame congruente.

Lorsque la Société nationale des Beaux-Arts s'est détachée de la Société des Artistes français, on a pu croire que celle-ci serait, de ce fait, diminuée, allégée d'autant... Pas du tout !... Les vides se sont comblés avec une rapidité merveilleuse,—merveilleuse

et terrible. De son côté, la Société nationale des Beaux-Arts accueillit à peu près autant d'exposants que sa rivale. Quant aux Indépendants, l'année dernière ils présentaient à nos regards éblouis (et fatigués) quelque sept mille toiles. Je crois qu'on peut évaluer à plus de vingt mille, à vingt-cinq mille peut-être, le nombre des œuvres d'art—ou prétendues telles—que les expositions importantes et classées offrent annuellement à l'admiration d'un amateur de peinture et de sculpture.

C'est trop !... Un statisticien nous effarerait s'il calculait combien de kilomètres carrés de peinture, combien de tonnes de bronze, de marbre et de pierre sont tous les ans travaillés par nos artistes célèbres ou obscurs.

Et l'on s'étonne que les campagnes soient abandonnées ; et l'on constate avec émoi que l'agriculture manque de bras !... Comment donc en serait-il autrement, lorsque les beaux-arts accaparent et inutiles tant de citoyens valides et normalement constitués !...

Avec cela, plus d'écoles ; plus de maîtres non plus. Jadis, aux splendides époques de l'art, certains artistes, que leur génie distinguait de la foule peignante ou sculptante, groupaient à leur suite les talents moindres, les employaient et les disciplinaient.... C'est fini de cette maîtrise et de cette abnégation. Avouons-le, c'est la faute des maîtres : ils ne sont peut-être point assez évidents, assez indiscutables et surtout assez engageants. C'est aussi la faute des disciples : ils manquent tout à fait. Le moindre barbouilleur ne rêve que de marquer son autonomie. Un des plus éminents artistes de ce temps disait d'un peintre —je ne sais plus lequel :—M. un tel ?... Il ne fait rien : il cherche sa personnalité !

C'est dangereux, cette recherche ; c'est ridicule et poignant si, après tout, il n'y a rien à trouver. La véritable individualité n'est pas le résultat d'un effort : elle est involontaire. Et la recherche opiniâtre de l'originalité peut être considérée comme le signe alarmant d'une époque où les individualités font défaut. Je le dis avec tristesse.

Il y a longtemps que les corporations d'artistes et les ateliers, qui ont flori à la Renaissance, n'existent plus. Mais le dix-neuvième siècle français en eut à peu près l'équivalent : ce furent les groupements organisés de novateurs, lesquels suscitaient logiquement la rude opposition des conservateurs. Un Delacroix dresse contre lui la résistante énergie d'un Ingres. Classiques et romantiques se répartissaient en deux camps ; et, dans chacun de ces deux camps, il y eut toutes les nuances d'esprit réactionnaire ou hardi. On vit, par l'initiative des novateurs, se dérouler une logique évolution de manières d'art. Les peintres de Barbizon retrouvèrent un vif et un frais sentiment de la nature, qu'ils embellissaient encore, et plus qu'ils ne le croyaient. Et puis, survinrent les Réalistes, qui, pour être sûrs de ne pas embellir la réalité, l'enlaidirent parfois outrageusement. Et puis préludèrent les Impressionnistes : le scrupule de la vérité méticuleuse les empêcha de

synthétiser en une seule image les aspects divers d'une même nature ; ils furent les amis fervents des minutes et ils diviniserent le fugitif instant. Bientôt ils semblèrent ' vieux-jeu,' lorsqu'apparurent les Pointillistes ou Néo-impressionnistes, les Seurat, les Signac, des savants ceux-là, qui avaient étudié la subtile chimie et la physique des couleurs et qui recoururent aux artifices les plus malins pour réaliser l'atmosphère, avec ses transparences, ses demi-opacités, ses passages de lueurs, ses papillottements et ses incertitudes ravissantes.

Et puis, alors, ce fut tout. Avait-on déjà été jusqu'au fin du fin ?... L'on n'inventa plus grand'chose.

Tandis que, successivement, naturalistes, réalistes, impressionnistes, néo-impressionnistes défilaient en longue série révolutionnaire, l'art académique durait et ressassait éperdûment sa formule ancienne et surannée. Je ne dis pas que les uns avaient raison contre les autres ; et, pour le moment, je ne choisis pas. Mais je constate qu'il y avait, dans la succession des écoles nouvelles, une logique remarquable et, dans la querelle obstinée des novateurs et des conservateurs, de l'ordre.

Cela, nous ne l'avons plus. Les néo-impressionnistes ont été, si je ne me trompe, la dernière manifestation d'une idée d'art qui ait réuni les jeunes artistes dans un commun projet. Ils durent encore : ils ne règnent plus.

Les conservateurs ont-ils donc triomphé ?... Pas le moins du monde !... En même temps que l'attaque perdait sa vivacité, la résistance s'éparpillait. On a vu de vieux peintres, longtemps fidèles à des traditions périmées, faire, sur le tard, les jeunes gens et lancer de petites audaces bien déplorables : tentatives sans verdeur, molles complaisances !...

Au total, complète anarchie.

Examinons cette anarchie complète dans les différents arts que pratiquent nos contemporains.

Les peintres d'abord, car ils sont les plus abondants, les plus terriblement féconds de nos artistes.

Sans malveillance aucune, et au contraire avec le sincère désir d'y découvrir les tendances nouvelles de notre peinture française, j'ai soigneusement visité les dernières expositions de la Société des Artistes Indépendants. Puisqu'ils sont si indépendants, me disais-je, sans doute n'ont-ils pas subi l'influence de leurs prédécesseurs ; s'ils l'ont, malgré eux, subie, sans doute en sont-ils fâchés et se révoltent-ils contre elle : leur révolte et leur invention me donnera la clef des volontés prochaines.

Eh ! bien, je fus déçu. Les Indépendants manquent d'originalité ; ils manquent de spontanée indépendance. Ils imitent Monet, Renoir, Sisley ; ils imitent, à l'occasion, Gustave Moreau ; ils imitent Whistler ; ils imitent Gauguin, Signac et Seurat ; ils imitent M. Matisse et, en outre, M. Lobre ou M. Zuloaga. Et même, dans leurs

rangs confus, on remarque des imitateurs extrêmement modestes, quoi?...de Cabanel et de J.-J. Henner !...

D'ailleurs, il y a, au milieu de ce fatras, de jolies œuvres. Mais les tendances !...Comment les démêler, les tendances, parmi tout cela ?... Enfin, voici les observations que j'ai faites.

Ces peintres, pour la plupart, ne composent pas et n'achèvent pas des tableaux, à proprement parler : ils se contentent d'études, de croquis, de notes. Il leur suffit d'avoir signalé leur intention ; mais ils ne tiennent pas à la réaliser tout à fait. Leur manière est analytique.

Leur intention n'est pas souvent très nette. Ce qu'ils font a quelque chose d'aventureux : on se demande s'ils le font exprès. Ce qu'ils font ressemble un peu à ces célèbres 'tranches de vie' que livrèrent à leur clientèle, naguère, les littérateurs. Il y avait là peu de réflexion, peu d'effort. On ne savait pas beaucoup pourquoi les littérateurs, et on ne sait pas beaucoup pourquoi les peintres avaient choisi et choisissent telle portion de la réalité plutôt qu'une autre pour la copier. Les tranches de vie étaient arbitrairement limitées, comme aujourd'hui les paysages des Indépendants s'arrêtent aux bords d'un cadre qui pourrait tout aussi bien être plus large ou plus étroit. Et, bref, ce sont des fragments, qu'on nous donne.

Ce n'est pas désagréable. Les peintres de genre, qui combinaient leurs petites scènes, veillant à de vaines symétries, obéissant à des règles désuètes et employant de fades procédés, étaient fort ennuyeux. Il fallait réagir contre de telles fabrications ; et, alors, plut un certain laisser-aller. Des œuvres qui n'étaient pas du tout composées eurent un air de sincérité, de loyauté, de franche vérité, qui amusa, qui fut, pour le spectateur blasé, rafraîchissant et à peu près délicieux, accordons-le simplement.

Mais tant de nonchalance, à la fin, lasse ; et tant de négligence choque. En fait, un bel art ne se contente pas d'impressions bien attrapées, adroitement notées.

En second lieu, ces peintres sont, pour la plupart, accaparés par des recherches de technique, non de pensée. A peine ose-t-on le leur reprocher : ils font, en somme, leur métier de peintres, en songeant à la fine et à la splendide couleur. D'autres, jadis, la négligèrent par trop. Ceux-là, on se demande pourquoi ils avaient résolu de peindre plutôt que d'écrire, et en prose. Leurs tableaux seraient aussi bien—ou aussi mal—des récits. Ils n'aimaient point assez leur instrument.

Les Indépendants, eux, sont devenus fous de leur instrument. Ils en viennent à oublier que la peinture, comme chacun des différents arts, est un moyen d'expression,—dirai-je : pour des idées ?...Je le dirai, s'il est bien entendu qu'ici je ne parle pas d'idées littéraires. Les idées ne sont pas nécessairement littéraires : certaines, en effet, demandent à être exprimées par des mots ; mais à d'autres conviennent mieux les sons, à d'autres les formes, à d'autres les couleurs, etc. C'est ainsi qu'elles se répartissent comme d'elles-mêmes entre les

différents arts, littérature, musique, sculpture, peinture, etc. Il ne faut pas, parce qu'on peint, renoncer à exprimer des idées et ne faire que peindre, à tout hasard ; ou bien, alors, l'art qu'on réalise est quasi insignifiant : je le comparerais au babillage des rhéteurs...

Il y a de la rhétorique, d'ailleurs souvent ingénieuse, dans l'art des Indépendants... Il y a mieux que de la rhétorique, il y a de la pensée, dans le *Saint-Mathieu* de Rembrandt, dans la *Kermesse* de Rubens et dans l'*Embarquement pour Cythère*. Et, pourtant, on ne peut pas dire que Rembrandt, Rubens ni Watteau aient sacrifié la peinture à l'idée ; ils ont voulu seulement qu'une idée animât leur peinture. ..

Autrement, si l'on n'a de curiosité que pour de subtiles rencontres de couleurs, à quoi bon donner aux taches diverses de la couleur les contours des objets et des personnages réels et intelligibles qu'on voit ici-bas ? Pourquoi ne pas tout simplement peindre, sans nul souci de représenter rien ?... Quelques-uns, il est vrai, vont jusque-là, c'est à dire jusqu'à l'extrémité de leur esthétique plus ou moins consciente : ils sont logiques, oui, jusqu'à l'absurde.

On se lasse, à la fin, de ces jeux ; on est choqué de ces laborieuses plaisanteries : un bel art est plein de pensée.

En troisième lieu, ces Indépendants, qui ont, pour la plupart, subi l'influence, directe ou non, des Impressionnistes, peignent en clair, en vif. Ils n'ont pas trop de ces tons noirs, de ces tons gris, de ces tons sales qui étaient en usage il n'y a pas très longtemps encore et auxquels n'ont pas renoncé les élèves attardés de maîtres qui, selon le mot d'Hugo, sans devenir antiques, ont vieilli. Le Salon des Artistes français,—le vieux,—est le plus sombre ; la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts l'est beaucoup moins ; les Indépendants ne le sont pas du tout : aussi leurs panneaux de toiles inégales et souvent insignifiantes ont-ils un frais et gai aspect. C'est le plaisir des yeux et leur amusement.

Nombre de ces toiles ont l'air de fresques... Comparez aux tableaux de Luini, d'habitude un peu ternes, ses fresques du Brera. Celles-ci ont les jeunes et jolies couleurs des matins de printemps, bleus et roses. C'est à la différence du procédé qu'est due cette différence de la tonalité générale. La fresque, vivement exécutée, sans surcharges et sans mélanges, laisse la couleur telle quelle, en son état de simplicité charmante... Eh ! bien, les Indépendants,—et, souvent, parce qu'ils bâclent,—procèdent un peu à la manière des peintres de fresques. Sans doute plusieurs d'entre eux, avec plus de zèle et d'application, gâteraient-ils cette apparence : n'importe ! le résultat, même hasardeux, est agréable.

Observons cependant que cette peinture ne semble pas solide. Elle paraît fragile comme l'improvisation ; elle n'a pas de support, elle est à fleur de toile, on ne sait pas ce qu'elle deviendra... La couleur de la fresque pénètre l'enduit de chaux et de sable fin sur lequel on l'a posée ; aussi, elle n'est pas seulement une pellicule légère et calami-

teuse .. Combien de temps dureront les tableaux de nos Indépendants ? ... Louons ces peintres qui—modestes, après tout—ne songent pas à la postérité.

Ils font, en somme, de la peinture décorative ; ou, du moins, ils en feront. Ils ne font pas, je l'ai indiqué, de tableaux ; mais plutôt, ce qu'ils exposent, ce sont des études,—des études qui serviraient mieux à des ensembles décoratifs qu'à des tableaux de chevalet... Oui, la seule chose un peu nette que j'aie aperçue, en traversant les salles des Indépendants, c'est la prochaine fin du tableau de chevalet, du tableau de musée.

Ah ! ce qu'on peut dire contre le tableau, je ne le nie pas. Où le placerez-vous, ce tableau, dans quel ensemble architectural, ornemental ? Vous ne le savez pas : alors, comment pouvez-vous en prévoir, en préparer l'effet ? Ne sera-t-il pas, où on va le mettre, bizarre et falot ?...

Le tableau passera de mode, comme le livre. Le temps où nous vivons, temps de vie extérieure et de vie collective, préfère au livre le théâtre et au tableau de chevalet un ensemble décoratif. C'est bien ; et, principalement, c'est inévitable sans doute. Je le regrette inutilement !... Le liseur solitaire a plus de loisir attentif que n'en a une turbulente foule ; aussi le livre peut-il être plus chargé de pensée, plus délicat de forme et plus fin qu'une pièce de théâtre. Je ferais, entre le tableau et l'œuvre décorative, une pareille comparaison.

Mais, à quoi bon déplorer les caractères de l'époque où l'on vit ?... La nôtre manque de silence, de solitude et de recueillement. Personne n'y peut rien. Et, si les peintres d'aujourd'hui réussissent à nous créer un bel art décoratif, il ne faudra que les remercier et les féliciter.

Seulement, y réussiront-ils ? Aux siècles glorieux de la peinture décorative, il y avait des princes opulents, tyranniques mais fastueux, et des papes heureusement simoniaques. Je me demande si une démocratie, même bourgeoise, pourra subvenir à tant de luxe...

J'ai mis la meilleure volonté du monde à considérer les salons des Indépendants comme la réserve de l'art prochain ; et j'ai tâché d'y démêler, dans le pire désordre, les signes d'une féconde nouveauté. J'y entrevois une peinture gaie, claire, aimablement décorative, agréable à l'œil, dépourvue de pensée profonde, ou de toute pensée, assez peu intéressante,—et qui n'est pas du tout réalisée, et qui aura peut-être beaucoup de peine à se réaliser.

Dans les salons officiels, en vérité, rien de nouveau.

S'il faut l'avouer, cela ne serait pas bien grave, à mon gré. Je ne tiens pas beaucoup aux nouveautés. J'adorerais un art résolument traditionnel ; un art qui, au lieu de se donner des airs d'invention perpétuelle, aurait noblement pris son parti de la lenteur des modifications humaines, de leur lenteur et de leur assez petite importance ; un art qui, voulant être le compagnon fidèle de la race, ne tâcherait

point d'aller plus vite qu'elle, mais, animé des vertus profondes de cette race, en continuerait l'imposant devenir ; un art qui, dédaigneux d'une vaine agitation, chercherait le repos et trouverait son point d'appui dans le passé ; un art qui aurait assez de confiance dans les ressources que les âges ont accumulées en lui pour ne pas demander à de faux semblants un attrait momentané ; un art qui aurait une assez exacte connaissance de la véritable nouveauté pour savoir qu'en tout cas elle n'est point une génération spontanée ; un art enfin qui, partant d'une saine philosophie, conformerait sa méthode à l'inévitable nature des choses !...Combien est émouvante, profonde et belle une œuvre si, liée aux réalités d'un peuple, à ses réalités anciennes et durables, elle dépend de nos fibres assez pour les faire tressaillir toutes !...

Seulement, hélas ! nos peintres traditionnels sont, si j'ose dire, des traditionnalistes honteux. Ils craignent beaucoup de ne pas paraître assez avancés ; et ils ajoutent à leurs vieilleries des gamineries inutiles, presque toujours. On sent qu'ils sont traditionnels à contre-cœur et faute d'avoir trouvé quelque chose de neuf. Leur traditionnalisme perd ainsi toute valeur et toute efficace vertu. C'est pitié !... Ils n'imaginent pas sous les espèces d'un vénérable usage : ils ressassent.

En somme, ce qui manque le plus à notre peinture contemporaine, c'est une esthétique. Aux peintres innombrables que nous avons, on voudrait, sinon des règles rigoureuses, du moins une volonté commune, ou quelque chose d'analogue à une volonté, une tendance un peu nette.

Certains siècles sont honorables dans l'histoire pour avoir produit, non seulement de grands artistes, mais une splendide idée de l'art : idée religieuse, ou bien nationale, ou bien encore idée frivole magnifiquement, si les peintres et les sculpteurs, comme aussi les poètes et les autres écrivains, ne songeaient qu'à l'amusement délicieux de l'art... Notre temps a de beaux artistes ;—il en a même d'assez beaux, —mais si hésitants !... On les voit, d'année en année, changer de manière ; et leurs envois d'une seule année sont ensemble peu cohérents... Dira-t-on qu'ils se renouvellent ? dira-t-on qu'ils prodiguent les diverses et abondantes ressources de leur génie ?... On serait enchanté de le dire ; mais, la vérité, c'est qu'ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils veulent : ce qui leur manque, c'est une claire volonté esthétique.

Depuis quelques années, l'extrême facilité des voyages a permis à nos jeunes peintres de visiter les grandes et composites galeries de l'Europe entière ; en outre, les études relatives à l'art se sont multipliées, mettant à la portée de tout le monde la connaissance de toutes les techniques. Et puis, le XIX^e siècle, en sa deuxième moitié principalement, s'est consacré à la recherche de procédés nouveaux. Il en a inventé plusieurs,—de bons et de mauvais.

Aujourd'hui, tout cela, toutes les techniques et tous les procédés, pêle-mêle, en prodigieux désordre, tout cela est offert au choix des artistes qui surviennent. Ils choisissent on ne sait pas comment ni pourquoi ; on ne devine pas les raisons de leur préférence : ils ont

l'air de l'avoir tirée au sort. Nous voyons soudain renaître d'anciennes esthétiques, lesquelles, en leur prime jeunesse, devaient correspondre à quelques nécessités de l'heure, à quelque idéologie régnante, à quelque difficulté pratique ; ces conditions n'existent plus : et alors, ces antiquités, qui font leur réapparition subite au milieu de circonstances tout autres, sont d'éconcertantes et un peu comiques.

Des peintres d'intérieurs emploient—les imprudents !...des procédés qui convenaient à la peinture du plein air. Des peintres de tempérament paisible ont, sans presque s'en douter, des hardiesses de jadis et qui jadis réagissaient contre un usage maintenant aboli : leur geste est drôle et insignifiant. Des peintres inconsiderés unissent en un seul tableau des influences contradictoires, etc...Quel désordre !...

Ce désordre serait admirable et charmant, s'il résultait de la vive et tumultueuse exubérance du génie, s'il était le bel épanouissement de spontanéités incoercibles. Ce n'est pas du tout cela ; et le désordre auquel nous assistons ne vient pas d'un excès de richesse : il est le résultat d'une pauvreté nombreuse et un peu folle.

Nous avons la réputation, nous Français, de posséder présentement une école de sculpture que l'Europe entière nous envie. Ou, du moins, on le dit en France ; mais je ne suis pas sûr que l'étranger le sache. En tout cas, si l'Europe nous envie notre école de sculpture, faut-il avouer que je la lui donnerais bien ?...

Je n'ai pas une admiration passionnée pour la peinture contemporaine, non. Mais la peinture contemporaine est, à côté de la sculpture contemporaine, une merveille éblouissante.

Nous avons beaucoup de sculpteurs ; nous en avons trop. Nous en avons moins que de peintres, cependant ; et il est à noter qu'aux derniers salons des Indépendants il n'y avait, pour aussi dire, pas de statues. Je crois que voici la principale cause de ce fait. La grande—et si médiocre—innovation de nos artistes d'avant-garde consiste à ne point terminer les œuvres d'art qu'ils exposeront ; ils les laissent en un état d'inachèvement bizarre qui évidemment leur plaît ; ils aiment une sorte de chaos mystérieux d'où émergent des formes vagues, très vagues et indéterminées. Or, la peinture peut, à la rigueur, se prêter au vœu d'une si étrange esthétique ; la sculpture, non. Avec ses lignes nettes, elle a une précision presque nécessaire et qui choque assurément le goût de nos ténébreux novateurs.

Et puis, nous l'avons vu, ces novateurs peu inventifs subissent encore, bon gré mal gré, l'influence des Impressionnistes. Quelque véhément mépris qu'ils affichent pour un Pissarro, un Renoir ou un Claude Monet, ils n'ont pas secoué cette contagion. Ce qu'il y a de hasardeux ou de peu réfléchi dans leur talent les mène naturellement à un art d'instantanéité furtive, d'émoi trouble et passager. Or, si la peinture convient à ces prestes notations, il n'en est pas de même de la sculpture : le bronze et le marbre sont de pesantes et dures

matières dont le caractère éternel et immuable contraste avec les souples et changeantes rapidités de l'impressionnisme.

C'est pour cela qu'ils négligent un peu la sculpture.

Ils ont cependant leur sculpteur privilégié : c'est Auguste Rodin. Ils l'admirent passionnément et ils ont organisé autour de lui une gloire extravagante. De tous les artistes français d'aujourd'hui, Rodin est certainement le plus célèbre : il a fait un bruit formidable ; et ce n'est pas fini. Il règne, et non seulement à la manière d'un monarque : il est passé à l'état de demi-dieu. Je l'appelle un demi-dieu pour m'exprimer avec une sorte de modération ; j'aurais dû dire : un dieu entier, Zeus !...

Et il s'en rend bien compte. S'il ne se considérait pas lui-même comme ce dieu maître des dieux, il n'attacherait pas une importance souveraine aux moindres marques et aux plus petites écorchures que ses doigts font sur un bloc de glaise. Mais il veut que tout soit moulé, mis en plâtre et offert à la ferveur des multitudes. Jamais, en aucun temps et en aucun pays, aucun artiste n'a été si fier de ses ratures : il les confie au bronze. Certes, il y a de beaux 'repentirs,' selon le joli nom qu'on donne à ces primes erreurs et qui approchent de la vérité. Pour M. Rodin, ce ne sont pas des repentirs, mais des sujets d'orgueil. Il ne choisit pas parmi eux ; il les garde tous : et, quand ils sont assez divers et incohérents, il s'en tient là, content, et n'ose plus toucher à son indéchiffrable brouillon. C'est un cas prodigieux d'intoxication de soi-même.

À la dernière exposition que j'aie vue de lui, il y avait trois statues. La première s'appelait *Muse*. Et elle ne méritait pas ce nom. Ce n'était pas une muse ; et ce n'était guère davantage autre chose. Imaginez une femme, une sorte de femme, debout, la jambe gauche levée, appuyée sur quelque roc ; et cette femme regardait son pied gauche : elle l'eût regardé, du moins, si elle avait eu des yeux. Pourquoi elle marquait de l'intérêt à ce membre inférieur, on ne le savait pas trop ; mais elle avait au mollet une espèce de varice qui faisait éclater la peau. Le pied droit était formidable. Le cou était un cylindre énorme ; la tête, celle d'une brute... Mais il y avait, dans le dos, des modelés assez jolis.

La deuxième statue s'appelait *Triton et Néréide*. Ainsi, c'était un groupe ?... On l'apprenait par le catalogue. Sans le secours de ce volume, on ne s'en fût point aperçu. Au bout de quelque temps, on remarquait tout de même les deux personnages. Ils faisaient de très singulières gymnastiques. Tel était, d'ailleurs, l'enchevêtrement qu'on n'y démêlait presque rien. Pourtant, l'artiste avait eu la précaution de couper les bras et les jambes de ces gaillards : s'il avait laissé les bras et les jambes, cela eût fait un vil paquet de macaroni confus... Mais la petite poitrine de la Néréide était charmante, délicatement sculptée, enfantine, précieuse.

La troisième statue s'appelait *Orphée*. Un petit Orphée, un jeune

homme, était en train de dégringoler. Un personnage en train de dégringoler peut-il être un sujet de statue?...Immobiliser le mouvement, quelle aventure!...Mais le jeune homme dégringolait à cause d'un objet fort lourd et qu'il portait sur l'épaule gauche : cela ressemblait à un morceau de monument ; et c'était une lyre, puisque le jeune homme était Orphée. Derrière la lyre, il y avait une main, toute seule, coupée au poignet, une main qui était tombée là on ne savait pas comment, et qui n'était pas empruntée à Orphée, lequel avait ses deux mains, ou peu s'en faut...Mais la petite hanche, maigre, fine, était assez joliment travaillée.

Ces trois statues étaient laides. Et elles étaient simplement laides,—non pas d'une de ces fortes et complexes laideurs qui, au total, font une espèce de beauté, si une pensée les éclaire, ou bien si une volonté d'art les anime : ces trois statues étaient laides et insignifiantes. Des critiques éperdus, ou inspirés, ont décerné à M. Auguste Rodin, le titre de penseur. Il est censé mettre, dans ses blocs de matière détraquée, des idées de merveilleux philosophe. Mais, ni dans la *Muse*, ni dans le *Triton*, ni dans l'*Orphée*, il n'y avait aucune idée, même petite. C'était le néant et le chaos tout ensemble ;—et c'était le hasard, principalement!...Je ne connais pas d'art plus accidentel que celui-là. Et je n'en connais pas de plus prétentieux, de plus acharné à séduire une clientèle de snobs, à l'étonner par les moyens les plus faciles.

Et ces œuvres étaient tristes, parce que, en dépit des manigances pitoyables, elles donnaient une douloureuse impression d'impuissance. M. Auguste Rodin n'aboutit jamais à terminer un ensemble. Ce n'est pas tout à fait sa faute si, chaque année, il n'expose que des fragments, des blocs en quelques points achevés, ailleurs dégrossis à peine et dont la masse est telle que la nature l'a fournie. Il ne peut pas aller plus loin dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche. Il voit petit ; et il est capable de pousser à la perfection quelques détails : l'ensemble lui échappe. J'ai dit que le dos de la *Muse*, la poitrine de la *Néride* et la hanche de l'*Orphée* étaient de jolis morceaux de sculpture : c'est vrai. Seulement, ces gentillesse partielles ne font pas des statues véritables.

M. Rodin serait un charmant sculpteur de statuettes. Il a toute l'habileté qu'il faut pour modeler en blond délicat d'étroits espaces, pour réussir de gracieux profils, pour suivre et combiner avec goût de souples lignes. Et il y a, dans sa manière, un agrement voluptueux, dont il abuse même quelquefois pour réaliser de trop sensuelles galanteries. Il est pourvu d'une douce ingéniosité manuelle. Bref, il aurait pu imiter avec succès Mino da Fiesole, je suppose. Mais on l'a persuadé qu'il était Michel-Ange!...Alors, il travaille, il se tourmente pour faire grand : il ne le peut pas. Ses statues—et, par exemple, la *Muse*—même hautes et larges, sont des statuettes agrandies : elles restent petites, malgré leurs dimensions. On l'a persuadé qu'il

était un révolutionnaire : il est un disciple dévoyé des Italiens du XVI^e siècle, et cela malgré toutes les menues excentricités de ses expositions. On l'a persuadé qu'il était un métaphysicien sublime ; alors, il se torture pour exprimer des idées ou, du moins, pour en avoir l'air : ce n'est pas l'affaire de ce subtil praticien.

Du reste, M. Rodin a beaucoup d'imitateurs. Il est un des rares artistes français de notre temps qui aient fait école. Seulement, ce que ses nombreux imitateurs imitent de lui, ce n'est pas l'habileté manuelle, le soin de quelques détails, l'adresse du métier, la rouerie professionnelle : tout cela est trop difficile pour eux. Ce qu'ils imitent de leur maître, c'est le chaos ostentatoire, c'est l'inachèvement, c'est la brutalité de l'ensemble et enfin la laideur générale : tout cela est très facile à imiter. Et l'on arrive sans peine à des effets qu'un scrupuleux artiste réprouve, mais qui attirent les regards étonnés des multitudes,—succès que les élèves de M. Rodin, de même que leur maître, ne méprisent pas.

Quand on visite les expositions d'art français moderne, on y remarque deux sortes de statues. Les unes ressemblent à des tas de décombres, jetés pêle-mêle et comme déversés d'un tombereau ; on n'y discerne pas grand'chose : ce sont les œuvres des rodinistes. Les autres toutes rondes, polies, léchées, fadement élégantes, niaises : ce sont les œuvres de nos classiques. Je ne sais pas si je déteste davantage ceux-ci ou ceux-là.

Cette école de sculpture qu'on dit que l'Europe nous envie est dépourvue de toute originalité. Elle subit l'influence de la dernière Renaissance italienne. Elle n'a pas encore réussi à s'en dégager : de nos sculpteurs, les uns s'y soumettent bien volontiers,—ce sont les classiques ;—et les autres protestent contre elle,—ce sont les rodinistes. Mais, dociles ou révoltés, par sympathie de disciples ou par antipathie d'esclaves mécontents, ils travaillent tous en fonction, si je puis dire, en fonction du XVI^e siècle italien. La docilité des uns est bien médiocre et basse ; la révolte des autres est bien sommaire et impuissante. Au total, quelle désolation !...

C'est la manie actuellement, chez nous, d'élever, sur les places publiques, à tous les carrefours, dans les avenues, dans les rues, des monuments et des statues à la gloire de mille gens,—politiciens, inventeurs, écrivains ou philanthropes,—qui n'ont pas tous une grande importance ni même une notoriété bien durable. Cette pratique a de nombreux inconvénients, dont le principal est d'enlaidir considérablement l'aspect de nos villes. Paris en a beaucoup souffert. Et ainsi, l'on peut, hélas ! connaître la qualité de notre sculpture française... Ah ! je comprends la haine désespérée qu'éprouvent nos novateurs à l'égard de cette sculpture académique !... Mais, il est triste de le constater, pour réagir là-contre, ils n'ont encore rien trouvé de mieux que les décombres dont je parlais tout à l'heure.

Aux belles époques, la sculpture et l'architecture ont été deux arts fraternels. La sculpture était l'ornement de l'architecture ou, si l'on veut, l'architecture était l'encadrement de la sculpture. Cet accord se réalisa d'une manière particulièrement admirable à divers moments et, par exemple, au V^e siècle grec, au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles français, au XV^e et au XVI^e siècles italiens. Le Parthénon, la Cathédrale de Chartres et, à Florence, la place de la Seigneurie, sont des réussites héroïquement harmonieuses. L'architecture et la sculpture ont besoin l'une de l'autre ; et elles souffrent, l'une et l'autre, de négliger cette relation réciproque.

Un des défauts de notre sculpture moderne, en France, consiste à omettre les conditions d'encadrement que l'architecture lui offrira. Cela, on ne saurait trop le dire !... Et il faudrait y insister. Mais d'autre part, si la sculpture moderne voulait se soumettre, comme elle devrait logiquement le faire, à notre architecture moderne,... on frémit à l'idée de ce qui arriverait :—car notre architecture moderne est tombée dans la hideur et l'absurdité. Pour en avoir la douloureuse certitude, il suffit de parcourir les rues de Paris et d'y regarder courageusement les constructions les plus récentes. Quelle horreur !...

Il reste de vieilles maisons ; même modestes et détériorées par le temps et les réparations, elles gardent un aspect agréable, un air de bon goût, une simplicité raisonnable et charmante. Il en reste de moins en moins. Nos architectes ont hâte de les démolir toutes. Je les comprends : ils détestent ces témoins de la gentillesse d'autrefois.

Je dis que la nouvelle architecture est laide et absurde. Laide, il suffit de la regarder pour s'en convaincre. Et, absurde, je voudrais l'indiquer. L'architecture est peut-être l'art le plus évidemment soumis à des règles nettes et précises... Je sais bien que la notion de règles n'est plus en faveur et qu'en m'exprimant ainsi je semble faire bon marché de cette liberté que revendiquent si gaillardement nos artistes. J'en fais bon marché, en effet. Qu'ils le veuillent ou non, les règles de l'architecture résultent de la nature des choses et elles ont été mises en lumière de la façon la plus frappante par Schopenhauer dans les appendices de *Le monde comme volonté et comme représentation*. L'architecture a pour objet d'organiser la lutte égale ou l'équilibre de deux forces dont l'une se pose et l'autre s'oppose ; l'une est une force d'action, l'autre de réaction ; l'une est la pesanteur et l'autre la résistance. Le combat de la pesanteur et de la résistance, c'est tout le noble, puissant et pathétique drame que représente l'architecture... Schopenhauer considère que c'est l'architecture grecque qui l'a le mieux représenté ; je crois que l'architecture gothique y a réussi mieux encore. Mais, quoi qu'il en soit de l'application, le principe demeure. Oui, l'architecture est bien cela ; ce duel intime et profond de la pierre est, en réalité, sa substance vivante et magnifique.

Les conséquences de cette théorie ne sont pas douteuses : à toute pesée doit correspondre un organe de résistance et toute résistance doit correspondre à une pesée. En outre, il faut que la pesée et la résistance soient exactement proportionnées l'une à l'autre. Si la pesée l'emporte sur la résistance, l'édifice est calamiteux. Si la résistance l'emporte excessivement sur la pesée, l'édifice est lourd, chargé de matériaux inutiles : il est affreux. Dans l'architecture grecque, le nombre, la hauteur et le diamètre des colonnes répondent harmonieusement aux dimensions et au poids de l'architrave. Dans l'architecture gothique, les arcs-boutants sont pareillement mesurés à l'action des voutes, à toute cette charge formidable et déterminée que les 'maîtres de l'œuvre' ont eu l'habileté de répartir en divers points où vient buter la résistance.

Eh ! bien, ces principes si clairs et impérieux, nos architectes les méconnaissent avec une naïve effronterie. Dans les immeubles qu'ils construisent maintenant, il y a de fausses colonnes qui n'ont rien à supporter ; et, aux points où doivent aboutir les pesées, il n'y a pas de résistance apparente. Il y en a : autrement, la maison s'écroulerait. Mais on dirait qu'ils cherchent à dissimuler la résistance, comme ils empâtent les pesées, tandis que leur devoir d'art consisterait à dégager la résistance et la pesanteur, à les faire ostensiblement jouer l'une avec l'autre, l'essentiel plaisir d'une belle architecture étant le spectacle de ce combat.

De tout ce qui précède, il ne résulte certes pas que je recommande à nos architectes modernes de bâtir, pour notre logement, des temples grecs ni des cathédrales gothiques. La lutte de la résistance et de la pesanteur n'est pas la formule d'un style architectural particulier : elle est l'architecture même. Et l'on peut la traiter comme on voudra, de cent mille manières diverses et ingénieuses, pourvu qu'on ne la méconnaisse pas.

Mais voyez seulement les façades qu'on bâtit à présent chez nous : c'est horrible et c'est la déraison même. Une ornementation dépourvue de finesse et de vraie élégance est plaquée sur un organisme qui précisément n'est pas un organisme, mais de la bâtisse absurde, folle sans drôlerie.

Examinons le mobilier. Même décadence. Et c'est fort grave, si, comme l'architecture est le cadre indispensable de la sculpture, le mobilier est l'accompagnement redoutable de la peinture. En admettant qu'on veuille ravalier le mobilier jusqu'à n'être qu'un art secondaire,—et l'on aurait tort, à mon gré,—il a beaucoup d'importance à cause de tout le dommage qu'il peut faire à la présentation d'une belle œuvre picturale.

Or, jamais on n'eut moins de goût. Nos artisans sont habiles à imiter les styles anciens ; ils ont été, jusqu'à ce jour, incapables d'imaginer un style qui serait le style de cette époque-ci. Aussi les

amateurs ne sont-ils plus que des collectionneurs d'antiquités. Dans les immeubles effrontés que l'on bâtit, les plus riches et les plus fastueux de nos bourgeois groupent de leur mieux ce qu'ils ont pu attraper de Louis XIII, XIV, XV et XVI, d'Empire et voire de Restauration ; à quoi ils joignent de l'anglais moderne et du lorrain...Quelle peinture trouverait-on qui pût s'accorder avec de tels ensembles archaïques et incohérents ?...

Si l'on y songe, comment notre époque, qui a perdu le sens d'une judicieuse architecture, saurait-elle construire un fauteuil ? Les principes de ces deux arts sont les mêmes : un joli fauteuil vaut par son architecture ; ici encore, il faut que la pesanteur et la résistance concordent. Mais, au lieu de rechercher des combinaisons rationnelles, on n'aboutit qu'à des singularités ridicules, symboles de catastrophes, menaces de chutes inquiétantes, instruments de tortures médiévales.

Les lignes n'ont pas de netteté, de fermeté. Elles se confondent ; on ne se reconnaît pas dans leur embrouillement ; on ne sait pas à quoi elles servent ; on ne voit pas comment elles suivent la direction de telles forces plutôt que de telles autres. Désastreux mélange et tempétueux enchevêtrement d'une sorte de vernicelle exaspéré.

Dans nos salons opulents, quelle sauvage accumulation de mille et mille choses qui n'ont pas été faites pour se trouver réunies ! que d'importation ! Pêle-mêle s'y confondent l'Orient, l'extrême Orient, l'Occident, tous les pays du monde, à de quelconques doses et selon le hasard des emplettes. Quel bric-à-brac de cauchemar !..

Les menus objets familiers, les bibelots qui sont le détail nombreux et varié de la vie quotidienne, pourquoi aujourd'hui sont-ils si étrangement vilains ?...Nos orfèvres, à moins de copier des échantillons d'autrefois, ne sont plus capables de faire un gracieux hochet d'enfant.

Cela justement à l'époque où les procédés industriels, où les instruments d'art se sont admirablement perfectionnés !...Eh ! bien, voilà précisément la cause, si bizarre que l'événement paraisse, si incroyable même. Je donnerai deux exemples de cette aventure.

Les vitraux furent, en notre pays, merveilleux au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles. Ensuite, cet art, qui n'a pas duré longtemps, périclita. Aujourd'hui, ce que font nos verriers est abominable. Ce n'est pas tout. Mais prenez une simple verrière du XIII^e siècle et faites la copier trait pour trait, au millimètre, par un artiste d'à présent. Il semblerait que ce ne fût pas très difficile. Les vitraux du XIII^e siècle sont des mosaïques de verre, la juxtaposition de morceaux de verre dont chacun est d'une seule couleur. Il n'y a donc qu'à en calquer la forme et la disposition. Eh ! bien, la copie sera, je l'affirme, hideuse. A quoi cela tient-il ?...Le verre qu'on employait au XIII^e siècle est épais, rugueux, impur. Aujourd'hui, on obtient du verre en plaques parfaites, également épais dans toute son étendue, d'une pureté sans défaut, d'une transparence impeccable et où la couleur est identiquement répandue en toutes ses parties ; la taille du verre est facilitée

par l'usage du diamant qu'autrefois on ignorait...Alors ?...Le verre, médiocre et médiocrement coloré, du XIII^e siècle valait mieux. La lumière ne le traverse pas tout d'un trait. Elle s'y attarde, elle s'y promène ; elle s'y joue et ses jeux sont charmants ; elle se nuance, elle se diversifie, elle vit. Premier exemple du danger que sont, pour l'art, le perfectionnement industriel, l'excellente qualité des matériaux.

Second exemple, l'art du médailliste. Nous avons, en France, des médaillistes très célèbres ; deux surtout : Roty, qui est inférieur à sa renommée, et Chaplain, qui vient de mourir. Il y a, je ne le nie pas, de belles médailles de Chaplain ; son 'Gaston Paris' est probablement son chef d'œuvre : travail exact et sobre, élégance de bon aloi, la ressemblance obtenue par les moyens les plus honnêtes, la synthèse du caractère réalisée avec une délicate puissance, etc...Mais comparez le 'Gaston Paris' de Chaplain avec une médaille grecque, je ne dis pas avec l'une des plus extraordinaires ; non, avec une médaille grecque quelconque...Aussitôt, vous verrez l'œuvre moderne pâlir, s'affadir, s'anéantir. Sur la médaille grecque, les reflets ont une étonnante vigueur, un accent superbe ; la médaille moderne est blonde, terne, ennuyeuse. Et pourtant, les médaillistes anciens avaient des outils presque barbares : ils plaçaient entre deux empreintes une boule de métal et ils tapaient là-dessus à coups de marteau ; les bords éclataient et bavaient. A présent, les procédés de frappe sont des prouesses de mécanique souveraine. Pas un défaut, pas une inégalité, pas la moindre tare ; c'est une réussite mathématique. Voilà l'inconvénient mystérieux des procédés superflus : ils gâtent tout.

En résumé, tout se passe comme si la qualité d'une œuvre d'art était en raison inverse de la facilité que trouve l'artiste à son exécution. La difficulté vaincue n'est pas le rêve que l'artiste doit poursuivre ; mais la difficulté à vaincre est la condition même de son heureux succès. Or, le progrès —comme ils disent !—le progrès industriel a fourni aux artistes ou aux artisans de notre époque des commodités qui galvaudent leur talent, détruisent leur imagination, avilissent leur caractère.

Tel est, en fin de compte, le tableau qu'il m'a paru juste de tracer de l'art français contemporain. Je n'ai pas flatté mon modèle ; je n'ai pas eu non plus l'intention de le dénigrer. Il est en état de désordre et de décadence regrettable.

Pour que surgisse une très belle et noble époque d'art, il faudrait, quoi ?...une philosophie. Oui, je le dis : une philosophie !...C'est une erreur de penser que l'art puisse fleurir avec splendeur s'il n'a point ses racines dans une pensée profonde.

Voyez ce qu'a fait, au moyen âge et à l'aube de la Renaissance, la pensée religieuse. Elle a suscité le grand zèle des bâtisseurs de cathédrales. Et, sans doute, on abuse d'un trop commode symbolisme quand on traduit en mysticisme la forme et les dimensions de leurs architectures ; leur esprit positif travaillait à un problème rigoureux

qu'ils ont, à force d'étude, résolu : mais leur pratique était animée par la foi. Semblablement, la pensée religieuse animait les sculpteurs des portails et les peintres verriers. Elle anima les Cimabue, les Giotto, les Angelico et tous les peintres qui, à côté de ceux-là, exerçaient leur profession. Et l'on sait toute la ferveur qui, des vallées d'Ombrie, alla, gagnant de proche en proche, exaltant les âmes d'artistes, quand le gai saint François d'Assise eut prêché son évangile d'allégresse...

Ce que la pensée chrétienne avait réalisé, le paganisme le fit à son tour, quand déborda la Renaissance, avec son prodigieux amour de la vie. Les peintres et les sculpteurs du XVI^e siècle, même s'ils traitent des sujets chrétiens, dépendent d'une idéologie antichrétienne, d'une philosophie prise à l'antiquité grecque et latine, mais renouvelée et comme revécue.

Les paysagistes français, qui, au milieu du XIX^e siècle, restituèrent dans l'art le sentiment de la nature, faisaient aboutir à la peinture la philosophie, lentement venue à eux et par divers intermédiaires, la philosophie de J.-J. Rousseau.

Et peu s'en fallut que les métaphysiques allemandes n'aboutissent à un art; elles y eussent abouti, si Arnold Boecklin avait été un grand peintre et un esprit digne de ses ambitions.

J'ai cité ces différents exemples pour montrer qu'une doctrine n'est pas plus indispensable qu'une autre à cette animation de pensée qui a favorisé les belles époques de l'art : une doctrine ou une autre, mais une doctrine !...

Il est un fait qu'on doit noter comme l'explication d'un grand nombre de phénomènes de l'heure présente, en mon pays : pendant la majeure partie du précédent siècle, la philosophie française a chômé. Peut-être en faut-il rendre responsable un Victor Cousin, qui d'ailleurs est lui-même effet, s'il est cause. L'influence déprimante de Cousin dura longtemps ; et puis, quand elle eut cessé de nuire, les philosophes qui se révélèrent furent des historiens de la philosophie plutôt que des créateurs de systèmes. On ne vit pas un système d'idées s'organiser, prédominer, produire un état nouveau, un état vivant, de la conscience française. La connaissance des systèmes variés, entre lesquels on ne choisissait pas, eut pour conséquence naturelle le scepticisme.

Alors, les peintres—pour ne parler que d'eux,—l'esprit libre,—trop libre!—ne s'occupèrent que de trouver des procédés ingénieux, amusants : voilà tout. Aujourd'hui, on hésite parmi ces divers procédés et, faute d'une idée profonde qui suscite une volonté d'art, on n'a aucune impérieuse raison de choisir l'un plutôt que nul autre. Surtout, on n'a aucune volonté d'art à laquelle on puisse et veuille astreindre, comme il convient, le procédé.

Est-ce qu'une doctrine, est-ce qu'une philosophie va bientôt prendre les âmes françaises et régner?—On ne le dirait guère; et même, on ne le dirait pas du tout !...

Ce n'est assurément pas que nos contemporains ne soient pas idéologues. Ils le sont ; et peut-être ne le sont-ils que trop. Seulement, le grand effort de la pensée contemporaine, se détournant de la métaphysique, va vers la sociologie. Il est tumultueux, discordant ; il n'a encore rien donné.

Donnera-t-il quelque chose ? Et, ce qu'il donnera, quel emploi l'art en fera-t-il ?...Problème alarmant !...

Il peut survenir un grand homme, un héros de l'esprit, qui s'empare de toute cette anarchie et qui en fasse un art sublime...On n'attend que lui...Mais on l'attend !...

ANDRÉ BEAUNIER.

THE BOOK OF LISMORE

IN the year 1814 the Castle of Lismore in Ireland was repaired, and the workmen employed upon tapping the walls, testing the floors, and generally examining the structure, came upon a walled-up passage which they opened and explored. An old wooden box was found, containing a crozier and a vellum manuscript of 197 leaves, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The parchment was soiled and damp, and gnawed by rats and mice. Perhaps the leaves were tied together so tightly that the rodents' heads could not pierce inwards very far, perhaps the ink had a disagreeable taste, perhaps it was a miracle in keeping with many already recorded there; the fact remains that only the margins were injured, and most of the text itself, the lives of nine ancient Irish saints and a few other fragments, was preserved. It seems that the book was made in the fifteenth century for Finghin Mac Carthaigh Riabhach and his wife Catherine, who was a daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, and was compiled from the Book of Leinster, the lost Book of Monasterboice and others, by at least three scribes, all of them careless and ignorant. They are said, the three scribes, to have made many mistakes; thirty-six pages have been lost, many more are illegible from damp or because the writing has faded, or, worst of all, because an illiterate man called O'Floinn rewrote portions of it in 1816.

Traces of different periods are to be found also in the language, which is a mixture of old Irish, late middle, and modern forms. The manuscript has been deciphered and translated into a beautiful terse English by Professor Whitley Stokes, who died since I began writing this paper. The whole work was published in a volume of the *Anecdota Oxoniensis* in 1890.

So far my science goes, but no farther. I do not understand a word of the Erse tongue, and I am not learned in the lives of saints; but the Book of Lismore, which came by chance into my hands, has been a well of delight to me, and I long to share my pleasure with others.

It must be difficult to write the life of a saint—to give at once the sense of holy isolation and of reality; to put before the reader a warm, breathing, human being and yet keep the gleam of the halo. Where there are no miracles to record the task may be lighter, for many people find it easy to believe that a man has conquered human nature

and is wholly good, but cannot admit that he has turned water into wine or healed the sick. Yet it should puzzle most of us to say which achievement is the more supernatural. The fact remains that the records of miracles are apt to be flat and uninspiring; they do not express the saintliness of the miracle worker, and are simply not believed. Now the Book of Lismore, though it abounds in miracles, preserves so intimate, simple, one might almost say domestic an atmosphere, that the saints never lapse from humanity, and remain throughout all their achievements living men and women.

I had quite wrongly imagined that the saints of the first few centuries, who worked miracles, and whose thigh-bones and thumb-joints heal to this very day, were usually grim ascetics, living in caves or else tramping for ever along the roads; silent, stern people, solitaries, denouncing kings and women, and mortifying their own flesh. But I have learned that the Celtic saints, and I believe also the contemporary French saints, were of a very different type. They lived, it is true, on remote islands, or at the back of desolate mountains, but not only were they seldom alone, having schools of young monks and nuns and aspiring disciples about them, but they seem to have constantly visited each other, and exchanged miracles, as it were, instead of greetings. Nor did questions of sex trouble them—once a saint, the difference between men and women became unimportant, and St. Brigit could visit St. Patrick, and St. Canair visit St. Sénan, and no one even shake their heads. The Great of the Earth also used to visit the saints; kings and lords, and bishops with their retinues, and they were suitably entertained. If the provisions ran short it was of little consequence. Brigit had only to bless, say one sheep and a few loaves, and there was enough and to spare for her congregation, and Patrick's congregation too.

Brigit, the Mary of the Gael, is perhaps the most interesting and attractive of the female saints, though, for reasons to be given later on, I confess to a great weakness for Canair. Brigit was, both before her birth and after it, recognised as a saint. Her father was one Dubthach, a rich man of Munster, her mother a bondmaid out of Connaught. Now Dubthach's consort was jealous, and threatened to leave him, and to take her dowry with her, if he did not sell the bondmaid. There came to Dubthach's house 'a poet of Húi Meic Úais from gathering treasures.' The poet seems to have understood that here was another treasure to be gathered, for after hearing the story he bought the bondmaid, though Dubthach would not sell the unborn child. Many years after, 'when boldness and strength and size came to Brigit,' she desired to go and visit her fatherland. But though her father, already aware of her fame as a holy virgin and a worker of miracles, was joyous when he heard of her return, they did not get on very well together. Brigit had an irritating habit: 'Of her father's wealth and food and property, whatsoever her hands would

find or would get, she used to give to the poor and needy of the Lord.' Her father made up his mind to sell her, and took her to Dunlaing, son of Enna, King of Leinster. But when Dunlaing asked her why she stole her father's property and wealth, she answered boldly to the King, 'If I had thy power with all thy wealth, and with all thy Leinster, I would give them all to the Lord of the Elements.' After this the King refused to buy her, for he realised that her merit was higher before God than his own. 'Thus then was Brigit saved from bondage.'

Brigit refused to marry, though a certain man of good kin asked for her. She was remonstrated with in this fashion: 'Idle is the pure eye in thy head, not to be on a bolster beside a husband;' but she remained unmoved, and went with certain other virgins to take the veil.

When the ceremony was begun 'a fiery pillar rose from her head to the roof ridge of the church. Then said Bishop Mél, "Come, O holy Brigit, that a veil may be sained on thy head before the other virgins." It came to pass then, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, that the form of ordaining a Bishop was read out over Brigit.' She obtained this rank in spite of all possible prejudice against her sex. Even in those days there was a strong distrust of women's pretensions, but the Bishop declared he had no power in the matter—the dignity 'had been given by God unto Brigit beyond every woman.' After this she seems to have led a proper saint's life, working miracles, healing the sick, reproving the sins of lying and unkindness, and giving away everything she could lay hands on. Her great piety enabled her to read the hearts of everyone about her, and those harbouring a secret malice or a stealthy hate were wise to keep out of her sight. Even a minor sin, such as sloth, was not safe in her presence, as witness the story of her visit to 'another virgin, even Brigit, daughter of Conaille.'

When Brigit with her virgins went to eat their dinner she began to look for a long while at the table. The other Brigit asked, 'What perceivest thou?' Said Brigit, 'I see the Devil on the table.' 'I should like to see him,' said the other virgin. 'Make Christ's Cross on thy face and on thy eyes,' saith Brigit. The virgin made it, and she beheld the Satan beside the table, his head down and his feet up, his smoke and his flame out of his gullet and out of his nose. Said Brigit: 'Give answer to us, O Devil!'

'I cannot, O Nun!' saith the Demon, 'refuse to answer thee, for thou art a keeper of God's commandments, and thou art merciful to the poor and to the Lord's household.'

'Tell us, then,' saith Brigit: 'Why hast thou come to us among our nuns?'

'There is a certain pious virgin here,' saith the Devil, 'and in her companion-ship am I, enjoining upon her sloth and negligence.'

Brigit said to that virgin: 'Put the Cross of Christ over thy face, and over thine eyes.' She put it at once; the virgin beheld the hideous monster. Great fear seized the virgin when she beheld the Demon. Said Brigit: 'Why dost thou shun the fosterling whom thou hast been tending for so long a time?' The virgin then made repentance and was healed of the Demon.

This terrible power of insight might have made Brigit unpopular ; but she was really humble, and withal generous of her supernatural gifts, and was adored even in her lifetime. I fancy her a very simple being, shrewd, more than clever, with rapid intuition rather than knowledge, illuminated, not intellectual. It is told in the book how she once went into Magh Lemna to converse with Patrick. He was preaching the Gospel there. ' Then Brigit fell asleep at the preaching. Said Patrick : " Why hast thou fallen asleep ? " Brigit prostrated herself thrice and answered, " It was a vision I beheld," saith she.' Patrick seems to have accepted this explanation without question, although he asked her at once to declare the vision. She was quite equal to this task, and it proved to be a prophecy of the greatness both of Patrick and herself, which was opportune. Brigit, however, though more apt to dream than to listen to sermons, was also associated with scholars, and they are under her special protection.

The origin of this patronage is told thus :

Brigit was once with her sheep on the Curragh, and she saw running past her a son of reading ; to wit Nindid the Scholar was he. ' What makes thee unsedate, O son of reading ? ' saith Brigit, ' and what seekest thou in that wise ? '

' O nun,' saith the scholar, ' I am going to heaven.'

' The Virgin's Son knoweth,' saith Brigit, ' happy is he that goes the journey, and for God's sake, make prayer with me, that it may be easy for me to go.'

' O nun,' saith the scholar, ' I have no leisure ; for the gates of heaven are open now, and I fear they may be shut against me. Or, if thou art hindering me, pray the Lord that it may be easy for me to go to heaven, and I will pray the Lord for thee, that it may be easy for thee, and that thou mayest bring many thousands with thee unto heaven.'

Brigit recited a paternoster with him. And he was pious thenceforward, and he it is that gave her Communion and Sacrifice when she was dying. Wherefore, thence it came to pass that the comradeship of the world's sons of reading is with Brigit, and the Lord gives them, through Brigit's prayer, every perfect good that they ask.

This Irish Brigit and the Brighid of the west of Scotland are endowed with the same characteristics of gentle firmness and simple loveliness—the figures may be different, but the haloes are the same—and the same quality of love and worship is given to them both.

' Her name among created things is dove among birds, pine among trees, sun among stars . . . her heart and her mind were a throne of rest for the Holy Ghost. . . ' and in the beautiful passage of rhetoric with which the life closes, Brigit is described as ' she that helpeth everyone who is in a strait and in danger : it is she that abateth the pestilences ; it is she that quelleth the anger and the storm of the sea. She is the prophetess of Christ : she is the Queen of the South ; she is the Mary of the Gael.'

In great contrast to Brigit's simple life are the many adventures of the famous Patron Saint of Ireland, Patrick. As is generally known, he was not an Irishman by birth, but a Briton, and although our chronicler declares that he was of the Jews by origin, ' the learned,'

who are said to vouch the fact, bring as proof, merely, that miracles were wrought for him which made it manifest that 'he was of the children of Israel, for of them were the Jews besides.' This does not seem conclusive, unless every saint is a Jew, which I should be loath to admit.

Patrick's life, unlike Brigit's, was full of adventure : he was born in Nemptor, and he came of the Britons of Ail-Cluade, which means the Rock of Clyde, and in modern terms Dumbarton. His mother's sister, having no children, took him in fosterage ; she probably never regretted her charge, for in those days it was no mean help to have a child saint in the house. Patrick wrought numberless miracles, nearly all concerned with small domestic difficulties : he made fire-wood out of icicles ; he turned drops of water into fire ; he brought back dead cows to life ; he made the tribute of curd and butter, which the King's steward demanded, out of snow ; he healed his sister Lupait, when she struck her head against a stone, with the sign of the Cross ; he raised both his foster father and a child from the dead. ' God's name and Patrick's were magnified thereby.'

Then a great disaster overtook those Britons of Ail-Cluade who happened to be on a journey in Armorica, for the country was ravaged by four exiled sons of the King of Britain. Patrick's father and mother were slain, and Patrick and his two sisters, Lupait and Tigris, were seized and sold into bondage, all in different parts of the land. Patrick became the property of Miliuc, the King of Dalaradia, and his three brothers, ' and such was the zeal of the service in which Patrick abode, that each of the four households which he used to serve supposed that it was to it alone that he was a servant ; and yet he was subject to the other spiritual direction, even a hundred genuflexions in the morning, and a hundred at evening, and but one meal from the one watch to the other.'

Miliuc, when he realised that Patrick was that priceless treasure in all ages, a really good servant, bought him from the others. It was the custom of the heathen to free their thralls every seven years ; but when the time drew near, Miliuc naturally did not want to lose Patrick. In order to retain him, he bought a bondmaid and presented her to his thrall. ' They were brought together in a house apart on the night of the wedding,' but Patrick was a saint : he preached to the bondmaid and they spent the night in prayer. In the morning Patrick saw a white scar on the bondmaid's face, and asking her about it he discovered that she was his sister Lupait. ' Said Patrick, " I am thy brother, and it is I that healed thee, and it is God's mercy that causeth us to meet again after our scattering abroad." Then they gave thanks to God, and afterwards they went into the wilderness.' It was here that Patrick heard the voice of the angel telling him that it was time for him to depart and go to Italy to learn the Holy Scriptures. Miliuc would not let him go unless he paid a

talent of gold ; this demand presented, of course, no difficulties to such as Patrick, and a boar obligingly dug up a mass of gold for him next day. He was then allowed to go free.

Patrick went to sea and, after various adventures, got to his birthplace, Nemtor. The people of his fatherland begged him to stay with them, but ' this was not got from him.' For already the great work of his life was clear to his sight : his heart yearned to preach to Ireland. ' Whenever he slept it seemed to him that it was the isle of the Gael that he saw, and that he heard the chanting of the children from the wood of Fochlad.' So he went first to Germanus, ' sage Bishop of all Europe at that time,' and, being then only thirty, read the Ecclesiastical Canon for thirty years more, till at last Germanus sent him to Rome to be ordained a Bishop.

He was sixty, and one fancies even Patrick may have been beset with doubts. Would there be time ? Had he garnered all knowledge and all power only to die before his mission were accomplished ? Also the hard-heartedness of the Gael was well known, for had they not rejected the preaching of Pelagius ? Now listen to what befell Patrick.

Then he went to sea with nine in his number ; and he came to the island, where he saw the new house, and a married pair therein. And he asked the young man who dwelt in the house how long they had been therein. ' From the time of Jesus,' saith he, ' and He blessed us, together with our house, and we shall be thus till Doom ; and God hath enjoined thee,' saith the young man, ' to go and preach in the land of the Gaels ; and Jesus left with us a staff to be given to thee.' So Patrick took the staff of Jesus with him . . .

I have wasted much time in fancy over this married pair in their new house. Who might they be ? Would it be possible to find them still, as Doom is not yet come ? The people that harboured this legend understood the character of the Lord who sat in the garden of Lazarus, how gentle and tender He was to all human love, knowing it to be a fragment of the Divine fire which burned within Himself. Did He find two lovers so guileless, so untainted, that He deemed fit to give them this happy fate ; or when He went down for three days to the spirits in prison, did He release any two who had sacrificed their lives for love in an ancient time of blood and rapine ; or take pity on Orpheus and Eurydice, or Brunhilde and Siegfried, or Deirdre and Naise ? Did He smile, and, leading them out of bondage, place them upon an island in a new house, young and happy till the day of Doom, with no task laid upon them but to give the staff to Patrick ?

Nothing hindered Patrick now in his voyage to Ireland, and his life becomes a record of journeys from one valley to another, preaching and baptising, working miracles and prophesying. When things went well he gave practical blessings ; when ill, as at Inver Dé, where the fishermen did not welcome him, he placed a curse. ' He set his word on the Inver that there should never be produce therein.'

He lived long enough to see many saints established in Ireland, two of whom he prophesied concerning before their birth—namely, Colomb Cille and Sénan. He knew Brigit also, and preached to her, as we have seen; he converted numberless kings, and established many churches and monasteries. But, besides all this, he it was who obtained some of the peculiar privileges of the Irish—an interesting fact when one remembers that he was a Briton. For instance, he left seven persons, alive for ever, safeguarding Ireland. Seven very old persons—what may they not have done? When the British Government of the day is dismayed and disappointed at the result of well-meant efforts to anglicise Ireland and restore it to prosperity, let them remember with awe these inscrutable seven, who cannot be consulted or canvassed, who do not write to the papers, who do not make speeches, and who yet may upset the best-laid schemes of mice and men. Patrick seems also to have secured that every Saturday, to this day, seven men of Ireland may be taken by him from torment to heaven. Also, everyone that sings Patrick's hymn on his deathbed shall not be in hell at all. But, best of all, to Patrick himself was it granted to be the Judge of Doom for the men of Ireland. What with his evident partiality for Irishmen, the privileges attached to the singing of his hymn, his seven men rescued every Saturday, it is obvious that not many Irishmen go to hell—a fact which may account for some of the insouciance and gaiety of the Irish character.

I will quote at length the account of Patrick's death, for it is characteristic in its eloquence, its childishness, its beauty.

Now, when the hour of Patrick's decease arrived, Bishop Tassach gave him Christ's body; and he sent his spirit to heaven in the hundred and thirty-second year of his age. Howbeit Heaven's angels came to meet Patrick's soul, and took it with them to Heaven with great honour and reverence. And though great be his honour at present, greater will it be at the meeting of Doom, when the men of the world will arise at Michael the Archangel's command. And the men of Ireland will go to meet Patrick to Down, and wend along with him to Mount Zion, where Christ will deal judgment to Adam's children on that day; when, moreover, Christ will sit on His throne in glory, judging the three households, even the household of Heaven, and the household of Earth, and the household of Hell. And the twelve apostles will sit along with Him on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. And then will Patrick sit on his throne of judgment and judge the men of Ireland. For Patrick is the apostle of Ireland, and he is the father of teaching and faith for Irishmen, and he will be judge over them on Doomsday. And after the sentence of Doom, those who have fulfilled his command and his teaching, in fastings, in prayer, in alms, in compassion, in gentleness, in forgiveness, and in the other divine commands, will go along with him into the heavenly Kingdom.

Beside the principal saints whose lives are recorded in this book there seem to have been hosts of others. We learn, for instance, in the life of Findian of Clonard, that he had a large company with him. It is true that Findian was especially favoured in the drawing about

him of saints, for once when he was cleansing a well an angel came to him and told him he must dig a new well east of the church. 'Oh, my lord,' saith Findian, 'this pains that we have taken for a long time, what will come thereof?' 'He, whoever he be, over whom shall go the mould which thou hast dug,' saith the angel, 'will obtain mercy from the Lord.' Naturally, when this became known, people flocked to him from all parts of Ireland. One might imagine that sinners rather than saints were in need of God's mercy, but he is said to have had three thousand saints about him, all of whom built churches and monasteries round some reliquary which he had given them.

Now and then a rival attraction would appear, such as Ruádán of Lothra, and Findian was implored to go and confront him, for many pupils were leaving him. Ruádán had a lime tree 'from which there used to drop a sweet-tasted fluid, in which everyone would find the flavour which he desired.' Findian went to see, and made the tree dry, but Ruádán only ordered water to be brought from his well, prayed over it, and the 'water was turned into the taste of the fluid.' The clerics wished Findian to ban the well also, but to his everlasting credit he refused. 'Oh, dear brethren,' said Findian, 'why are ye giving trouble to Ruádán. For if he wished to change into sweet ale all this water beside the church, God would do it for him.' The end of the story is curious. Both Findian and the saints entreated Ruádán that his life should be like that of everyone, and Ruádán consented. He had not been 'living in community,' and it was this fact, and not jealousy, which made Findian yield so far to the fears of his pupils as to urge Ruádán to conform. Jealousy apparently was unknown; indeed, the greater saints were constantly acclaiming one another, and recognising new comers even before they were born.

Coming now to the life of Brenainn, we find that his birth was foretold by Bishop Eirc, who, after a year, took him to his own foster mother, even Ita, and the nun gave Brenainn 'exceeding love, for she used to see the service of angels above him.'

Angels in the forms of white virgins
Were fostering Brenainn,
From one hand to another,
Without much disgrace to the babe.

'Without much disgrace to the babe' is a delightful touch. If even saint children equipped with marvels and miracles were not always treated with proper respect, what can be said of the prospective politicians, poets, generals, and judges, whom we see any day of our lives being pushed and poked unceremoniously by their mothers and nurses, a 'disgrace' which they often bear with imperturbable gravity and dignity? This respectful bringing up was not wasted on Brenainn. He was impervious to temptation from the beginning.

On a certain day Bishop Eirc went to preach the word of God. Brenainn, who was then aged ten years, went with him into the chariot. He is left alone in the chariot after the cleric had gone to the preaching. Brenainn sat in the chariot, singing his psalms alone. Then a fine, full-grown, yellow-haired girl, of royal race, comes to the chariot to him, and looked on him, and sees his beautiful bright countenance, and attempts to jump at once into the chariot, and play her game with him. Then he said to her: 'Go home, and curse whoever brought thee here,' and he takes the reins of the chariot and begins flogging her severely, so that she was crying and screaming, and went to the place where her father and mother, the king and queen, were biding.

Bishop Eirc seems to have rebuked him sternly for beating the stainless maiden, and Brenainn offered to perform penance for his deed, and he was ordered into a cave till the morning. But all night troops of angels went up to heaven and down to earth around the cave, 'and the sound of Brenainn's voice singing his psalms was heard a thousand paces on every side.' Brenainn's character was thus vindicated; not so, I fear, the yellow-haired maiden's, though the chronicler is silent about her.

It is rarely indeed in the lives of these saints that women are looked upon as dangerous. Brenainn, it is true, is warned by Ita when he wishes to learn the Rules of the Saints of Ireland, 'Do not study with women nor with virgins, lest someone revile thee,' but she seemed to fear evil tongues more than actual harm to her foster son. Most of the saints, as we have seen, lived in the world, and took a prominent part in affairs, communing from time to time with their fellow saints, whether men or women. There was one, however, who, after founding many monasteries and building many churches, settled upon the island of Inis Cathaig and allowed no women to land. But even in those days women were not banned by a mere decree. The following story may remind some people of the persistence and courage of certain bands of women at the present day, who should certainly take Canair as their patron saint.

Canair the Pious, a holy maiden of the Benntraige of the South of Ireland, set up a hermitage in her own territory. There one night, after nocturns, she was praying, when all the churches of Ireland appeared to her. And it seemed that a tower of fire rose up to heaven from each of the churches; but the greatest of the towers, and the straightest towards heaven, was that which rose from Inis Cathaig. 'Fair is yon cell,' she saith, 'thither will I go, that my resurrection may be near it.' Straightway on she went, without guidance save the tower of fire which she beheld ablaze without ceasing day and night before her, till she came thither. Now when she had reached the shore of Luimnech, she crossed the sea with dry feet as if she were on smooth land till she came to Inis Cathaig. Now Sénan knew that thing, and he went to the harbour to meet her, and he gave her welcome. 'Yea, I have come,' saith Canair. 'Go,' saith Sénan, 'to thy sister who dwells in yon island in the east, that thou mayest have guesting therein.'

'Not for that have we come,' saith Canair, 'but that I may have guesting with thee in this island.' 'Women enter not this island,' saith Sénan. 'How canst thou say that?' saith Canair. 'Christ is no worse than thou. Christ came to redeem women no less than to redeem men. No less did He suffer for

the sake of women than for the sake of men. Women have given service and tendance unto Christ and His apostles. No less than men do women enter the heavenly kingdom. Why, then, shouldst thou not take women to thee in thine island ?'

'Thou art stubborn,' saith Sénan. 'What, then,' saith Canair, 'shall I get what I ask for, a place for my side in this isle, and the Sacrament from thee to me ?'

'A place of resurrection,' saith Sénan, 'will be given thee here on the brink of the wave, but I fear that the sea will carry off thy remains.'

'God will grant me,' saith Canair, 'that the spot wherein I shall lie will not be the first that the sea will bear away.'

'Thou hast leave, then,' saith Sénan, 'to come on shore.' For thus had she been, while they were in converse, standing up on the wave with her staff under her bosom as if she were on land. Then Canair came on shore, and the Sacrament was administered, and she straightway went to heaven.

This is an instructive tale. Notice the insistence of Canair, her imperviousness to rebuke ; when she is told she is stubborn she merely says 'How, then,' and repeats her request. Note, too, Sénan's somewhat unworthy temporising when he tells her that the sea will wash away her body, and Canair's serene confidence that this will not be allowed by God to happen. The man finally yields, and Canair has her desire. As she went straightway to heaven there was doubtless peace on that island, while it was made manifest that her stubbornness was not disapproved of.

As I turn the pages of this old and enchanting book I realise that there is no particular reason why I should stop at one story rather than another, and that I had better break off, if I can, before I have wearied the reader. So that I will not, as I should like, make extracts from Findchua's life, or Colomb Cille's, or describe that happier stage of Sénan's pilgrimage before he was beset by Canair. All these may some day be the subject of a further paper.

I have, I hope, at least shown that the Book of Lismore has a rare charm of thought and phrase, and gives vivid pictures of a time far removed from our own, not merely in tongue and custom, but in its very heart.

EDITH LYTTTELTON.

VIRTUES OF THE LONDONER

THE faults of the Londoner can always be recognised and identified ; his good qualities soon become taken as a matter of course, and fail, after a while, to obtain honourable mention. Just as it is necessary, now and again, to pull oneself up with a jerk in walking about town and to recollect that because the scene is familiar it need not be deprived of one's admiration, so in regard to the inhabitant, it is worth while to take the view of the stranger and to make a guess at his impressions.

A visitor must admit that in London he is treated with courtesy. In the shops this is expected as something within the bargain, and brusqueness exhibited across the counter would be a startling novelty. Wherever payment has to be made, politeness is thrown in as a matter of course. The general good manners of town are more apparent in casual circumstances. A traveller in a public conveyance wants to be set down at a turning not within the knowledge of the conductor ; at once every passenger gives up other interest, and attention is concentrated on the problem. The delight of an omnibus on discovering the presence of a Colonial who cannot distinguish between St. Margaret's and the Abbey is something that cannot be concealed ; brisk competition ensues for the privilege of acting as guide. A Londoner of whom a direction is asked takes a moment to recover from his surprise at the question (it seems incredible to him that anybody should be ignorant of the way to Charing Cross), but the situation once realised he will take considerable trouble in giving the information required ; some may count it a defect that in doing so he sometimes forgets to range himself, as a constable does, side by side with a questioner, with the result that in his recommendations left becomes right and right becomes left, but his intention is always admirable. As for the policemen themselves, the excellence of their behaviour can be estimated in recollecting the stir occasioned when the conduct of a member falls below the high standard and an impartial magistrate has to speak of him in tones of reproof. Performing a considerable duty in looking after decorum, it may be claimed that the constable is equally valuable in representing officially the good manners of town. Even among the class who regard him as an opposing force, he is looked upon as one whose general knowledge has no limitations ; and I heard a notorious

ex-convict the other evening consulting earnestly with a member of the S Division on the best way to deal with reluctant scarlet runners. The improvement which has taken place in the manners of children in the street finds its best signal in the fact that the presence of the unusual person rarely excites them into the derisive comments that formed subjects for the old pages of *Punch*. Let me add a further proof. A double line of St. Pancras schoolboys, marching to the public baths for their swimming lesson the other morning, were passed by a short procession going at a trot to Highgate Cemetery : every youngster at the right moment took off his cap.

221 The diminishing number of squabbles and disturbances in London streets must be reckoned as an important item on the credit side. Now and again lads of the hard-up districts will set out to create tumult, and sometimes success attends the efforts ; they are aged between fifteen and eighteen, and the action is the result, partly of an intense desire to prove that they are fully grown, partly because, the time being generally autumn, there is really little else for them to do. For the fest, domestic argument takes place less frequently in the roadway, and any attempt to revert to the old methods of public debate is met with urgent counsel from neighbours ; the parties are recommended to transfer consideration to a private committee of the house. The decrease in outdoor fights is due, I believe, to the fact that so many youths are being taught to box : a scientific knowledge prevents them from behaving stupidly, and the training gives some control over temper ; the tussle of the street is generally engaged upon by fools who are not sure whether they can fight, but are inclined to make an experiment. Here, the increasing temperateness of London in regard to drink is a factor. Anyone who knows the other large towns of Great Britain (and Ireland) can give the names of a dozen where the display of inebriety is more flagrant ; Glasgow, for instance, on a Saturday night at ten gives a spectacle that would astonish a Cockney, making him inclined to disbelieve the evidence of his eyes. I do not know that the number of total abstainers has become much greater, but the aid of statistics is unnecessary to prove that moderation is more popular. A grown man scarcely dares to brag of his tipsiness the night before ; only the type of the callow junior clerk speaks with pride of excess in this regard, and even he has to select his audience carefully for fear of being made the recipient of some contemptuous remark. There are reasons for this. The London workman does not have to labour so hard for his wages as do the similars in other towns ; his days are less monotonous and evening joys are provided ; the town smiles at him during his leisure hours, and the look-out is brighter than at, say, Wigan. Also, his earnings are not so large that he feels able to afford the dear excursions into luxury on which the Northcountryman engages. His language is limited, and it will take a good many further years of State

education to enlarge his vocabulary ; but he is discovering some adjectives that form a variant on the two which, for many years, made up a great part of his conversation. He must have ascertained that their power of expressing thought had limits, and there was certainly a touch of pathos in the circumstance that he had to use them to help him to describe annoyance, satisfaction, regret, contentment. A sensitive ear may still be hurt in Bethnal Green at moments when conversation becomes rapid, but it receives nothing like the amount of damage incurred a dozen years ago.

The Londoner of every grade prides himself on alertness of retort, and he knows the chief element of a repartee is that it should be served instantly. Deliberation is of no avail. A promise to think it over and write does not gain marks in a contest of words. From his boyhood the Londoner has lived in an atmosphere of chaff, and if he has no special capability in invention he can always imitate. This, for instance, is the plan of the omnibus conductors. All omnibus conductors are not witty, but a few of them happen to possess a fair talent in the direction, and colleagues less gifted have only to adopt and adapt the methods ; the fact that similar circumstances are frequently encountered where similar remarks are considered pat and appropriate, gives the class a reputation higher than it deserves. Also, the Londoner likes fun. A good anecdote, started in town, flies with extraordinary rapidity, so that one has to be fleet of foot to be the first messenger for more than a few hours. A man who can make up an excellent story and send it about rarely gets more than a small share of the applause, but he has the satisfaction of knowing that he has, in some small way, lightened the days and given excuse for laughter ; the town has some practice in the art of laughing ; I wish it had more. The Londoner is a child who can be induced to amend manners if only the right blend of firmness and of persuasion be used. Years ago in setting out for the play, and proposing to obtain the unreserved seats, it was taken as a matter of course that a desperate struggle must precede entrance to any popular theatre, with a body of folk swaying and surging in front of the pit entrance, women screaming, umbrellas snapping, hats disappearing, lads shouting until the doors were suddenly unbarred by an official who sprinted up the staircase, whereupon the patrons forgot enmities, dismissed friendships, and rammed and crammed and jammed themselves into the opening ; the street resembled, ten minutes later, the field of Waterloo on the day after the battle. Similarly, there existed Promenade Concerts where the music was cautiously arranged so that no bar should be above the comprehension of the unmusical, and young blades of town, devoting themselves to the ample refreshment counter behind the orchestra, counted the evening wasted unless they could say afterwards that they had been turned out of the place on account of riotous behaviour. All this has changed. All this has improved. It was only necessary in one case to issue a request that patrons of

the theatre should line up in two's instead of forming a turbulent half circle, only required in the other that something better than infantile waltzes should be offered ; the Londoner ranged himself at once, and few sights impress more deeply those who have memories of town as it was than the spectacle to be seen at Queen's Hall, where hundreds of people, closely packed in what is called the promenade, listen attentively to a thirty-five minutes' symphony, without so much as a sign of impatience beyond a glance of reproach at the water fountain for showing indifference. To find anything resembling the old behaviour inside a theatre you now have to go to Edgware Road on a Saturday night ; even there the tumult only lasts while preliminaries are being mentioned on the stage : so soon as the heroine trips on with a basket of roses, the gallery—ordering itself, in sterner tones than those used by the officials, to keep order—settles down quietly to watch her duel against horrid fate. Even the comments wrung from the audience in moments of stress are now exceedingly rare ; in the larger theatres they have almost ceased, but some time since, when a notable actor manager made his appearance in Act One through double doors, throwing them open with an air and standing there in impressive silence for the moment, a voice from the gallery did call out, 'Next station, Marble Arch!' For the rest, the disturbance within theatres comes from occupants of the private boxes, whose elocutionary powers are better than they know.

The general impression of the Londoner on holiday, and one that will require many pens working through many years to eradicate, is that he goes intoxicated to the Heath, where he dances foolishly after changing hats with his lady companion, roaring his way home at a late hour, and generally breaking the peace into small fragments. I spent nearly the whole of last Bank Holiday at Hampstead. I saw in the afternoon two boys simulating inebriety, but stopping this on seeing one of their teachers ; in the late evening, in the course of half an hour's walk home, I detected three men and one woman who were extravagantly lively as a consequence of drink. There was dancing on the Heath, and good dancing too ; skipping (we should all feel a great deal better in health if we found some corner and skipped privately for half an hour every day), swinging in boats, a dozen different opportunities for testing skill, from shooting at a ball that danced on a spurt of water to the aiming at cocoanuts on dwarf sticks, and the crashing of a hammer on a machine which registered the amount of force put into the task ; everywhere a good blend of decorum and gaiety. Now, when you consider the anticipations preceding the day, the encouragement to youth on finding itself in a large open space to run amok and create mischief, the fact that here is an occasion on which there is money to be spent, friends encountered, relatives welcomed, it will be agreed that the Londoner has discovered how to take his pleasures sanely. Not, of course, everyone

goes to the open on Bank Holiday. Many a Londoner devotes the hours to his back garden. The pride of a townsman who by courage, ability, and artfulness can induce flowers to grow is something that may possibly be equalled—it can scarcely be surpassed; if in addition he owns a cucumber frame, or, with ordinary luck, raises lettuces, then he becomes a man who must only be addressed in tones of great deference. In second-class compartments of City trains you will see, any summer morning, young and middle-aged men ignoring their newspaper and risking the acquisition of a squint in anxiety to admire the rose in their buttonhole; waiting with a certain impatience to respond to inquiries concerning its title. Children of the hard-up districts are being encouraged in this direction, and their flower shows given during the daffodil and hyacinth time in such neighbourhoods as Shoreditch and Bethnal Green give them some of the joys of paternity. Where no facilities exist for private cultivation, window boxes are used, and increasingly used, from Grosvenor Square west to Canrobert Street east, and there is good reason to believe that the time will come when any window in any quarter of town will reckon itself naked and ashamed unless its sill contributes some colour and some brightness to the general effect. The sentiment which the Londoner, young, middle-aged, and old, hides in regard to so many subjects is not concealed where flowers are concerned. You can make yourself more popular by taking bunches to the infants' department of the County Council schools than by practising any other form of bribery.

The small people in the hard-up quarters of town are so wonderful in their, perhaps, premature cleverness that it is difficult to see why greater efforts are not made to carry them safely through the perilous first year of their lives. The fact has to be recognised that parents are sometimes careless, often ignorant; it must be said in their favour that they are rarely intentionally unkind; they show gratitude for any assistance given in the preservation of their little ones. In Brunswick Place, Hoxton, we have started a home for wasting babies intended to deal with small patients not considered to come within the scope of hospital work, but all the same likely to make but a brief stay in the world unless treated wisely and correctly. It is amazing to notice the swift improvement in health, appearance, and spirits. They come in, desolate mites with the skin hanging loosely on their puny limbs, a tired air of not caring whether they live or not; a week or two of proper feeding and cleanliness and they become round-faced and cheerful, answering readily to the complimentary attentions of even a clumsy bachelor. The London child, if it does get over these dangerous early months, becomes a wiry person with a good deal of vitality, and, in spite of surroundings, not more subject to the absences of good health than a child who lives in the fresh air of the country. Theoretically, five people living in one room ought not to live; as a matter of fact they do have a fairly good innings, although the cen-

turies that are sometimes scored on village greens are rarely recorded at Abney Park. The Londoner owes something to himself ; a good deal to his town, where events are always happening, new incidents being prepared, and a lively interest continuously excited.

He is an enthusiastic collector of occurrences, for which reason he never can, however urgent the task on which he may be engaged, refrain from adding himself to any crowd that is assembling, and he does not leave until he has ascertained all the particulars. The Londoner possesses some of the instincts of a journalist ; his desire to be in a position to report exclusive news is sufficiently acute to encourage him at times into exaggeration. The City man, arriving home, likes nothing so much as to be able to put the question ' Whom do you think I met to-day ? ' insisting that his wife should guess, and keeping her upon the tenterhooks of suspense before proclaiming the information. Failing imperial news of this kind, he has, with any luck, a sheaf of incidents that his observation has gained, from the presence of distinguished visitors at the Mansion House to the crippling of a motor omnibus in Newgate Street ; the wife, on her side, offers a number of happenings which have come under her notice since his departure at twenty to nine that morning. Thus a fair exchange is made, to the advantage of both parties. I have mentioned that the Londoner is sometimes tempted into exaggeration. This happens only when the actual event is, from circumstances not within his control, lacking in sparkle and pungency. He cannot be charged with the instinctive untruthfulness that belongs to the inhabitants of some portions of His Majesty's kingdom, and is to be found also among the imported aliens. The county court judges of town will give him a good character ; when he makes an adventure into perjury he does it with so much clumsiness that fraud disappears. The Londoner, indeed, has a profound respect for the law, although he may sometimes break it, and the most determined iconoclast is a fervent worshipper of the policeman's glove, ready and anxious to obey its slightest movement. The obstructive gates which once protected the squares could not bar more effectually, and it is small wonder that the traffic director always has a chapter to himself in the books written by foreign visitors to town, a chapter as long as that devoted to English sports.

The attention to sport is no longer a monopoly of the English, certainly not the exclusive property of the Londoner ; but he has the idea that everything of importance in this respect takes place at or near to his town, and he receives with incredulity the statement that a conspicuous event has occurred elsewhere. Once his interest is excited there are no limits to it, and the afternoon papers cannot come out frequently enough to satisfy his appetite. A good score by a Middlesex man cheers London from end to end ; some excellent bowling by Surrey compels the most worried to throw off their cares ;

a year or two since you could tell by the exultant air worn by many that Kent had a chance of becoming the champion county. For some reasons, I regret the disappearance of the men in by-streets whose air of mystery was so elaborate as to destroy mysteriousness ; who walked about, but were ever on point duty ; who accepted slips of paper and coins in the manner of a conjuror and, I dare say, caused them to vanish ; the existence of these bookmakers' agents did mean that folk in minor circumstances shared the thrill that comes to many in the endeavour to gain cash without working for it laboriously. I think they were entitled to share this so long as opportunities were offered to any, and they have a grievance now on finding that the opportunities are reserved for the few, but I am bound to say one hears very few complaints. Here is a characteristic of the Londoner (which he shares with his countrymen), the readiness to shake hands once a fight is over. He may struggle and wrangle and argue and post bills and speak at street corners while the struggle progresses ; but once the matter is settled by a superior authority he wastes no time in treasuring rancour, and is indeed obviously relieved to find the contest over. The Londoner has spacious and regular opportunities for public oratory, in the parks, near railway arches, at open triangles ; because of the existence of these opportunities only a few take advantage. The Londoner does not mind listening, generally presenting a shoulder to the speaker and his features wearing an expression of amusement ; he prefers the cruet-stand type of address, with plenty of mustard and vinegar and pepper, and on the north side of Hyde Park will stroll from the Christadelphian group to one with a red banner in search of the most vigorous speech, the voice which can be heard without auricular effort. He looks upon it all as an entertainment, regards the strenuous exertions of the man on a chair as he would watch a turn at the music halls. There came at one time to Regent's Park on Sunday mornings an ex-convict who, underneath a tree, spoke with enormous fury of the hardship of prison life, of his grievances against warders, whirling his arms about madly, frothing at the lips, and in general eccentricity outbidding the occupants of the Zoological Gardens close by. He always had a good complacent audience until, his energy exhausted, he started to speak more calmly and to give a warning based on personal experience—a recommendation to pursue the straight path ; at the first words of this part of his discourse the crowd began to break off in flakes, and in less than three minutes his audience consisted of two nursemaids and a German waiter. No one can beat your townsman in bearing other people's troubles with equanimity.

The Londoner is made up of a good many types, benefiting greatly by those contributed every day by the country, and it is not claimed here that he is turned out of one mould. Whether born in town or recruited later, he does, however, acquire certain charac-

teristics that are mainly the result of his surroundings, and the average Londoner is the man who has been under consideration. An upright judge, attending to the evidence and giving ears to both sides, will not be likely, in summing up, to declare the Londoner perfect; a severe judge may give his opinion in what is called scathing terms; a generous judge will say that the Londoner with all his faults is rather better than the world has any right to expect him to be. It is with this last view that most of us, hoping for kindness when we ourselves are arraigned, will agree.

W. PETT RIDGE.

DEBUSSY: HIS SCIENCE AND HIS MUSIC

AMONGST the various productions new to the Covent Garden stage during the past season were the *Samson et Dalila* of Saint-Saëns and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*. To pass from the quite blatantly unimaginative but effectively solid operatic erotics of M. Saint-Saëns to the poetically imagined, beautifully wrought, yet so totally 'unoperatic' music drama of M. Debussy, is about as abrupt and ludicrous a transition from the materially sensuous to the sensuously spiritual as can be endured with equanimity. Since the days of Berlioz and Bizet, France has given the world nothing more individual in music than Debussy's work, unless it be Charpentier's audaciously conceived and brilliantly realised opera *Louise*, also given here this summer. In London we are now fairly familiar with most of Debussy's by no means too prolific output. Indeed, although experienced experts are wont to consider the possible issues of British taste in art an ungaugeable quantity, it would almost seem, from sundry small signs and tokens, that we may have embarked upon a serious Debussy cult. Special attention was first drawn to him here some four or five years back by Mr. Henry J. Wood's performances of the symphonic prelude *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*. Nor could Debussy have been introduced under better auspices. The small, lyrical, perfectly studied design of his style, like that of Tchaikovsky, is exactly calculated to draw forth Mr. Wood's best capacities of interpretation.

Everywhere, but pre-eminently in his own country, Debussy is at present exercising a paramount, if not too invigorating influence. The best compliment to be paid to one or, at most, two of his younger compatriots—Reynaldo Hahn for instance, with his minute, crystallised, but notably independent talent—is that they dare at least to be themselves.

When essaying an estimate of the tendencies, influences, relative values and actual accomplishment of any artist, one would always wish to know as much as possible concerning the man himself. His origin and environment; his opportunities, what he had made or missed of these; his attitude towards life and his fellows are all points

of departure that serve in no small degree. But although Debussy was already before the French public some eighteen years back, uncommonly little can be gleaned about him. We know nothing of the status, condition or ancestry of his parents and family; nothing of his early childhood. He was born, we are told, at St. Germain-en-Laye (Seine-et-Oise) in 1862. That he must have evinced a marked bent for music is clear, for by the time that he was fourteen he was gaining prizes at the Paris Conservatoire, where, at the age of twenty-two, he was awarded the Prix de Rome. The Conservatoire authorities remember him as an unusually satisfactory pupil. Genius has rarely shown itself so docile. Some slight, very reticent glimpses of Debussy later on point to probable conditions of stress, if not of actual poverty. At different times, he has had to earn a livelihood as teacher and journalist.

His criticisms are not likely to be preserved by posterity as literary classics. Musically they imply a deft individuality, sincere and unstereotyped, but much too intense and concentrated in its own creativeness to be altogether catholic in its judgments. Nor has he always troubled to envisage his subject from every point before expressing an opinion. Thus Debussy can find the songs of Schubert merely 'inoffensive, innocently repeating the same effect, couplet after couplet.' Of Bach, though, he can say that 'he still exercises a sovereign influence for good in music.' Those who know Debussy's own compositions will readily seize the significance of his unstinted admiration for what he so aptly styles Bach's 'divine arabesques.' Beethoven, on the whole, satisfies him more continuously than Wagner. He is repulsed, but all the same frankly interested by the 'very remarkable cinematography of Richard Strauss.' His advice to his readers, and possibly also to his colleagues, occasionally to assist at a sunrise, rather than to engender mechanically monotonous postures of mind by too frequent hearings of 'pastoral' music, reminds us somewhat of the counsels of Brahms, prudently tendered to an importunate lady pianist, eager alike for his instructions and his precepts as to how best she might grow musical: 'Gehen sie in dem Walde spazieren, so oft wie möglich, Fräulein, so oft wie möglich.' But the most incisive piece of musical criticism by Debussy that one knows is contained in the little pianoforte piece *Dr Gradus ad Parnassum*, the first number from *Le Coin des Enfants*, published last year. This little piece is written with a delightful *bon-homie* and quite guileless simplicity.* But behind its very guilelessness there lurks a brilliant note of satire upon 'the seeking of noon at fourteen o'clock.' Debussy has dedicated these pieces to his child 'avec des tendres excuses de son père.' Had he proffered his dedications to 'music colleges, academies and critics' not all might have perceived the joke, though the solemn ghost of Clementi flitting across a page of Debussy's *Gradus* might well relax into a smile. The quiet

irony of this piece in itself secures Debussy a place beside his compatriot and contemporary M. Anatole France.

One informing, if lightly sketched, character study is supplied in a couple of lines by M. Bruneau : ' Ce très exceptionnel, très curieux, M. Claude Debussy. Peu connu de la foule, ne se montrant nulle part, ne produisant, j'imagine, qu'à son heure, il vit en solitaire.'

And it is just in his accent of solitary aloofness that Debussy often makes most direct appeal to us. He is the least democratic of composers since Chopin. *Jardins sous la Pluie—Et la Lune descend sur la Temple qui fut—La Flûte de Pan—Le Tombeau des Naiades—Reflets dans l'Eau—L'Ombre des Arbres dans la Rivière* ; here are a few of the titles of his pianoforte pieces and songs. In each he can convey a delicious, yet fastidious, suggestion of sylvan repose, and remoteness, and softly-rounded beauty.

It may seem a far cry from William Morris to Debussy. Yet Debussy would surely well echo the spirit of : *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* ; *The Wood beyond the World* ; or *The Epoch of Rest*. But whereas Morris was attracted to the old Norse myths, Debussy reverts to Greece. It is the type and manner of his own meticulous elegance which makes him ejaculate in his criticisms of Wagner's *Trilogy* : ' How insufferable all these people in helmets and wild-beast skins become by the end of the fourth evening ! '

His *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* has a verbal basis in Mallarmé's eclogue of the same name, a poem which a few French, and many English readers, can still find rather a hard nut to crack. In England, though, we need not confine ourselves to Mallarmé for a suitable context to Debussy's prelude. The melodious lilt of his violins and flutes, of his clarinets and oboes and harp, weaving a shimmering mesh and web of harmonies, and the impression of whimsically delicate and restrained *volupté* left in the mind, can take us straight to Keats :

There crept

A little noiseless noise among the leaves,
Born of the very sigh that silence heaves ;
For not the faintest motion could be seen
Of all the shades that slanted o'er the green.

I gazed awhile, and felt as light and free
As though the fanning wings of Mercury
Had played upon my heels ; I was light-hearted,
And many pleasures to my vision started.

So did he feel who pulled the boughs aside,
That we might look into a forest wide,
To catch a glimpse of Fauns and Dryades,
Coming with softest rustle through the trees ;
And garlands woven of flowers wild and sweet,
Upheld on ivory wrists, or sporting feet :

Telling us how fair, trembling Syrinx fled
 Arcadian Pan, with such a fearful dread.
 Poor nymph—poor Pan—how he did weep to find
 Nought but a lovely sighing of the wind
 Along the reedy stream! a half-heard strain,
 Full of sweet desolation—balmy pain.

To say of Debussy, however, that he loathes the confusion and rush and realities of a modern world and finds the externals of contemporary civilisation hideous, need in no wise imply his supremacy amongst composers living or dead. What constitutes his peculiar charm is his perfection and ease in presenting his sentiment.

He is looked to as the impressionist of impressionists of the various schools of modern music. He has frequently been styled the 'Monet' of music. One would almost prefer to compare him amongst painters with Turner. Both painter and musician have veiled and shrouded the perspective and design of their ideas in a lovely phantasmagoria and chiaroscuro of atmosphere. Standing before *The Fighting Téméraire*, or revelling in the flood of golden, mellow light that suffuses the Turner known as *Morlake Terrace*, whole passages of Debussy can involuntarily occur to one. But with all that, he is as ardent an exponent of detail as ever breathed. He seeks continually to get to the core (if there be one) of mood states and atmospheric intangibilities, with as much exactitude as the old Dutch painters sought in their loving, homely presentments of the concrete realities of everyday human existence.

Charpentier's *Louise* is at the very antipodes of *Pelléas et Mélisande*, since Charpentier is exhilarated and inspired by the very sights and sounds that drive Debussy in desperation to the stillness and silence of the forest. The scene of *Louise* is laid in the very heart of modern Paris, amidst the hum and roar of street traffic; and one of the most poignant and affecting episodes of the opera takes place in a dress-maker's atelier, filled with apprentices, busy at their sewing machines.

Each composer can interest and convince us equally by reason of the truth and capacity with which he delineates life as he loves it, or would have it be.

In the mass of criticisms called forth by *Pelléas et Mélisande* it is repeatedly claimed that the monody to which Debussy has confined his voice parts, together with his whole method of construction and treatment, announces a completely new and revolutionary departure. Those who have been in Russia (it should be mentioned in parenthesis that Debussy has been there himself, and has incidentally expressed surprised admiration for the beauty and originality of much of the music that he heard there) may remember the name of the composer Dargomïshski. Dargomïshski died in 1869. In 1872 was produced at Petersburg his posthumous opera *The Stone Guest*, carefully finished after his own sketches by Rimski-Kórsakov. The production created

as much sensation and furore in Russia as was occasioned thirty years later in Paris by Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*.

Various previous operas of Dargomùishki had all been more or less tentative experiments on the lines of his last effort. The text of *The Stone Guest*, Pushkin's very Slavonic and characteristic version of *Don Juan*, is a gem of Russian literature. Dargomùishki has set Pushkin's play word for word in its entirety, with not a single break throughout for aria, duet or chorus. A leading Russian critic of the day commented upon the achievement :

Dargomùishki has really invented a new and novel kind of recitative ; a monody of expressive emphasis. Small words are just slightly underlined, so to speak ; he has seized the intonation and accent of speech and transmuted it into a chant of so fine and delicate a quality that it demands undertones of equally fine and delicate harmonies to fill in each interstice of syllable and phrase. Dargomùishki's recitative, be it noticed, is of a wholly different character to the broad, declamatory, arioso-like style evolved by Wagner in his remarkable *Tristan and Isolde*.¹

Dargomùishki himself claimed for his method, just as Debussy does to-day for his, that in due respect for the characters on the stage they must be left to develop the poet's intentions undisturbed, whilst the composers' mission should be to tell their story and paint each character carefully by means of the orchestra. No other Russian musician has ventured as far as Dargomùishki upon the road of dramatic realism. Several have been greatly influenced by his tenets ; but at best they still seem to seek a compromise between old and new. At the time, his supporters credited him with the invention of the music-drama of the future ; and many Russians to this day uphold him as the author of the one and only true operatic faith.

It seems highly probable that a study of Dargomùishki's score may have disposed Debussy in the direction of his own conclusions. But with all their identity of purpose and principle the temperament of the two musicians, their racial qualities, their chronological periods are altogether too divergent for there to be the slightest resemblance in the fabric and colour of their results. Dargomùishki was passionate, realistic, alternately humorous and gloomy, exuberant in his expression, where Debussy is contemplative, introspective, dreamy, reserved. Another feature, in which he has a certain analogy with the Russian school, though, is his constant use of whole-toned scales. The Russians derive these from their national folk-music, the existence of which in Russia to-day musical archæologists would trace back to Iranian migrations prior to the civilisation of ancient Greece.

With Debussy, another source seems feasible, namely, the evolutionary instinct of an abnormally sensitive cerebral clarity in his con-

¹ *Critical Essays on Music and the Theatre*. Ssërov. Petersburg, 1874. When Ssërov wrote this criticism, *Tristan and Isolde*, though it had been completed in 1859, was still a comparatively recent production. It was first given in 1865. Whether Dargomùishki knew the score, one does not know, but probably not.

ception and retention of musical sound. An instinct, be it noted, not necessarily linked with any very deep intellectual or emotional traits. The whole nature of Debussy, and his manner of working, indicate a very gradual maturing of his faculties. We must remember that he could take no less than nine years to write his music-drama ; and the keenness of his later powers of conceiving and hearing sound in his own way, which has so scandalised his former professors as well as the host of other critics, appears to have been still dormant in his Conservatoire days. As Mr. William Wallace effectively points out in his book *The Threshold of Music*, the auro-musical sense of man, compared with the development of his other sensory organs, has been obviously slow of growth. It is as yet little more than two centuries since the human ear first grasped the fact that it could appreciate certain overtones vibrating from any given note. It is evident that we are still far from realising in sound any equivalent for the ' thousand dazzling colours of the rainbow ' recognised by Ovid.²

It was not until the establishment of the tempered scale by Bach that the possibilities of chromatic, that is semi-tonal, harmony dawned upon the ear of musicians. And now we are surely entering upon an epoch when we shall be able to perceive and hear not merely in semi, but in quarter-tones. Max Reger in Germany, Cyril Scott here in England, Debussy in France, are the pioneers of the new musical hearing, based, however, upon the very oldest that man knows of.

Bach's theory was not so much a deviation or a revolution from the whole-toned scale, but simply an evolution. At the time it seemed, and it still seems to many ears, the only possible means of attaining modulation. But it restricted musicians to a clear demarcation between major and minor (consonant and dissonant) tonality. No such demarcation exists in a whole-toned scale. It is in itself major-minor, minor-major ; moreover what was dissonant to one generation has easily become consonant to another. We can feel now in music, as in nature, that concord and discord are inextricable the one from the other. The musical monument of the *Wohltemperirtes Klavier* bequeathed us by Bach epitomises in itself the poetic, emotional content of music and the complete grammar of acoustics, down to his day, and foreshadows the rest.

It has been said that Debussy has reverted to the limits of the eighteenth-century orchestra of Mozart. This is true. But the contrast of the Mozart and Debussy scoring is like laying down Herriok's *Hesperides* to pick up Shelley. In the scoring of his *Pelléas and Mélisande* Debussy is listening acutely to all the faintly mingling vibrations of his tone, consonant and dissonant. He wants it to undulate, and float and awaken and permeate his hearer's consciousness, even as it has awakened and permeated his own. His treatment

² *Die Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Farbensinns.* Hugo Magnus. Leipzig, 1877.

of the voice is often quoted as a drastic iconoclasm, tending to insipid monotony and affording little or no scope for the advance of the singer's art. With this one ventures to disagree forcibly. Adequately interpreted, the *legato mezza voce* foundation of Debussy's monody implies the finest evolution of the technique of the old *bel canto*. Could Lamperti, the last veteran of the old Italian masters of singing, have inspected Debussy's score, one can imagine his gratitude to a composer who has sufficient love and pride and comprehension for the capabilities of the human voice, that he asks from it, not mere crude, external surfaces of emotion, but each of those dynamical variations and shades and changes of vocal colour requisite, if the singer would discover the inner psychology of a living character. We have perhaps one singer alone in England at present fully trained to appreciate the restrained resonance of diction, and the absolute purity and flexibility of intonation involved in the correct vocalisation of Debussy. This is Mr. Gervase Elwes. And with some little education and due care Mrs. George Swinton, Mr. Frederic Austin or Miss Sara Davies, with one or two others, might also have here a wide scope for their intelligence and artistic gifts.

As to the ideal Mélisande—'cette princesse inconnue . . . enfouie . . . petit être si tranquille, si timide et si silencieux . . . pauvre petit être mystérieux' . . .—she will remain as rare as an ideal Ophelia. Under certain aspects Debussy requires a good deal more from his interpreters than does Wagner. To Wagner, at a pinch, if needs must be, we can listen with closed eyes. The desire for dramatic mime has never been part of the German national genius to anything like the same extent that it is born and bred in the Italians and French. By dramatic mime one means the play of eye and hand, of facial expression and gesture, wholly independent of words: the kind of play that can make Guitry's interpretation of 'Crainquebille' quite unforgettable, for example; or such as Irving understood so well, or such as rejoices us to-day in the acting of Mr. Norman McKinnell. The vivid concentration and culminating of the dramatic action in the orchestra of the Wagnerian music-drama is a Teutonic factor that can render us oblivious of the sight of Falstaffian sopranos and rotund tenors, and all those lamentable increases to which the singer's flesh is peculiarly heir. But this is impossible with the Frenchman Debussy. He has grown up too close to the best traditions of the oldest schools of the dramatic art. His characters must look and act, as well as chant their rôles.

It may be stated unreservedly though, that the closely woven, delicate filigree web of Debussy's workmanship in his music-drama cannot support a wide arena. The performances at Covent Garden were given with a nicety and care most unwonted in the frugal procedure of that institution. But Covent Garden was big enough to engulf Debussy, just as His Majesty's Theatre was small enough

miserably to cramp the massive, rock-hewn substance of Ethel Smyth's opera *The Wreckers*. *Pelléas et Mélisande* at His Majesty's, and *The Wreckers* at Covent Garden, on the other hand, would have provided better evidence of the artistic perspicacity of the respective managers concerned; and would, moreover, have enabled inquiringly interested audiences to judge and appreciate each work in its proper proportions and values.

Music, as we are beginning to understand it in the present age, reveals itself more and more clearly as the one distinctive art medium shared by the cosmopolitan civilisations of our era that older races lacked. But art, like history, after all can never be anything else than a mirror reflecting the changelessness of life and death against the ceaseless shifting of environment. The trio of classic Greek tragedians would be quick to perceive in Maeterlinck's play certain parts of a legacy inherited directly from themselves. Debussy's music would have to afford them wholly curious and novel sensations. We can picture them listening with puzzled, inquisitive, but ever quickening comprehension and pleasure. It is even not beyond credence to imagine a serious colloquy across the centuries between these three. They might finally settle that choruses, messengers, gods in—and out-of the machine, what not, might well be summarily ejected from their dramatic appurtenances, since our modern orchestra is there to colour as well as to frame their picture. And how gorgeously beautiful the Greek language would sound chanted in Debussy's monodies against a twentieth-century orchestral background! Whether either Æschylus or Sophocles or Euripides would definitely elect M. Debussy to supply his special needs, *donne à penser*.³

Maeterlinck would doubtless proffer strenuous advice in the negative. For his own plays M. Maeterlinck does not approve of musical settings of any kind. But more especially has he vetoed Debussy's treatment. He dismisses Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* as 'a thing entirely foreign to him.' Nevertheless there is a peculiar quality in Maeterlinck's art which to a musician irresistibly evokes the expedience and cogency of a musical setting. This quality has been felt by both Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Ernest Newman, two critics equally keen in the study of verbal euphony and musical fitness.

It is interesting (writes Mr. Newman) to note that many things in Maeterlinck either move us by their very vagueness, just in the way that music does, or else seem like a fragment from a libretto needing to be set to music before they can attain their full significance. . . . Many of his passages without music seem to be only the skeleton, the scaffolding, of an emotional effect. They read almost like a libretto, without its music.⁴

³ If the Greeks should hesitate at Debussy, we may venture to surmise that they would not have an instant's pause of consultation before betaking themselves swiftly, in shuddering flight, from before the *Elektra* of Richard Strauss-Hofmannsthal.

⁴ *Musical Studies*, Ernest Newman. John Lane. London 1905. In his considerations of Maeterlinck and music, Mr. Newman seems oddly enough still to have been

But it is one thing to deepen and emphasise the effect of what Mr. Shaw further delineates as 'fragile word-music,' and another to catch the pulse-beat and slow onward sweep of a tragedy. Subdued, slight, vague as may be Maeterlinck's outlines, and whatever other defects his play may possess, his *Pelléas et Mélisande* must be acknowledged to sound the true tragic chord.

Beethoven told us several times what tragedy can mean in music. Schumann has done so in his *Faust*; Wagner in *Tristan*; Verdi in *Othello*. Has Debussy caught the beat of it in *Pelléas et Mélisande*? In view of the immense delight that this miraculous score of his can never fail to afford one's purely musical sense, the query comes with all diffidence. From his opening bars the glamour of his orchestra is upon us. He makes us, too, forget footlights and all the artifices of scenic stage appliances. We are with him in the silence and mystery, the glimmer and dimness, of the forest. He echoes the melancholy cadence of the sea. He catches the fleeting beauty of the clouds. All of this, the innermost spirit of his own art, happens by a fortuitous coincidence to be also the Maeterlinckian landscape in its every touch. Debussy has given it to us repeatedly. It is there in the symphonic poems *La Mer* or *Nuages*, as well as in those delightful pianoforte pieces and songs of his.

As to the *Electra* of Sophocles—in the performances at the Court Theatre a fortnight ago the author would scarcely have failed to appreciate the slight but most pregnant touches supplied by Mr. Granville Bantock's music. Here was something quite apart from the thin, droning dulness which more than one British composer has tried to foist upon Greek tragedy. Sophocles, as we all know, was a past-master at the psychology of the tenacious woman with a grievance. In *Electra* he gives her full tongue. The type lives on. In the present day Sophocles would write a new *Electra*. He would call it *Mrs. Pankhurst*, with chorus. Mr. Granville Bantock would be commissioned for music, and would, it is to be hoped, be given free latitude to double his orchestra, quadruple his chorus and intersperse his melodrama plenteously.

In his exquisite music to the love scenes between Mélisande and Pelléas again he probes right inside the rapture and youth, and yet the austere fervour and purity and reverence, of the Maeterlinck conception. Nor has any more beautiful child-study in music ever been penned than his portrayal of Yniold. One only begins first really to be forced to hesitate when it comes to Debussy's psychology of the old king, Arkel.

Je suis très vieux et cependant n'ai pas encore vu clair, un instant, en moi-même; comment voulez-vous que je juge ce que d'autres ont fait? Je ne suis

unacquainted with Debussy, since he makes no mention of him, drawing his deductions chiefly from an hypothesis of presumable Wagnerian modes of handling.

pas loin du tombeau et je ne parviens pas à me juger moi-même. . . . On se trompe toujours lorsqu'on ne ferme pas les yeux pour pardonner, ou pour mieux regarder en soi-même. Cela nous semble étrange; et voilà tout. Cela nous semble étrange, parceque nous ne voyons jamais que l'envers des destinées . . . l'envers même de la nôtre. . . . L'âme humaine est très silencieuse. . . . L'âme humaine aime à s'en aller seule . . . elle souffre . . . elle souffre si timidement . . . Mais la tristesse . . . mais la tristesse de tout ce que l'on voit . . . oh ! oh ! oh ! . . . Si j'étais Dieu j'aurais pitié du cœur des hommes. . . .

Here, unless the composer can give the whole heart-grip of the chastened philosophy of this rare old age, its sweetly tender tolerance, its pitiful groping to fathom the wherefore of things, Maeterlinck is fully justified in his imperative demand for absolute silence. Again, too, one has to hesitate before Debussy's Golaud, 'homme comme les autres,' whom Maeterlinck, if we read him aright, will have full-blooded, a man in the prime of his physical energy, prosaic and unimaginative, if we will, but emphatically straightforward, honest and kindly, till he is caught in the meshes and toils of the agony and torment of his own sexual jealousy and suspicion.

And then there is that last moment of all in the play when to the peace and rest of death follows the sharp, tragic reaction of the claim and call of life. Mélisande's new-born child is in the cradle beside the death bed. The old King takes it in his arms.

Venez: il ne faut pas que l'enfant reste dans cette chambre. . . . Il faut qu'il vive, maintenant, à sa place. . . . C'est au tour de la pauvre petite.

A musician can linger happily over the gentle repose, the contented calm of the harmonies of the death-dirge that softly closes Debussy's score. Decidedly this is not Maeterlinck's last chord. For Maeterlinck there is no finality of repose. Life has once more issued out of death. The muffled march and tread of tragedy has begun again. For the hour the step may be light as a child's. But it is inexorable. . . . 'Mais la tristesse . . . mais la tristesse de tout ce que l'on voit ! . . . oh ! oh ! oh !'

No criticism is worth as much as the value of the scrap of metal that indites it, unless it be an attempt in one's impression of an artist's work to tell the truth, neither more nor less; and this naturally all the more where occasion occurs to deal with one of the most sensitive of poet-musicians. Between Debussy and Maeterlinck, then, one has to confess it, there seem to exist here and there several discords too sharp and unblendable even for Debussy's magic manipulations of dissonance. Or rather the musician has been at pains, unconsciously or from the sheer inclination of instinct, to soften and veil and shroud in a haze a psychology already too prone to veil and hide itself. In the revelation of his own most individual attribute Debussy has fallen upon a paradox. He emphasises the accent of Maeterlinck's crucial element of weakness. It were presumptuous and precipitate, though, to limit judgment at this stage. Debussy, be it observed, continues

to hover round the very fabric and substance of tragedy. During the last three or four years he has been engaged in the composition of an orchestral scene, *King Lear*. This score is at present in course of publication. The thought of Debussy as an exponent of the most essentially relentless and remorseless of the Shakespearean tragedies may give rise to dubious apprehension. Yet who can tell? It may so chance that in the strength and stamina of Shakespeare he has found just the meed and measure of support that he craves. *King Lear* belonged to England first before it became the world's heritage. It is to be hoped therefore that to English listeners M. Debussy will vouchsafe the earliest opportunities of hearing and studying his score.

A. E. KERTON.

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

INTEREST must be aroused in the minds of all thinking people by the story of the George Junior Republic, a great American institution for reclaiming boys and girls who, from the viciousness of their surroundings or other causes, have made a bad start in their life's journey. The essence of the scheme is self-government, and it might well be called a Lilliputian Republic of boys and girls, with Mr. George to superintend and help them in their efforts to become industrious and upright men and women, as well as good citizens of the great Republic of the United States.

Mr. William R. George, the originator of this great idea, worked for many years amongst the poor of New York, especially the 'Hoodlums' of that city, and thereby gained a knowledge of city boys that few men possess.

The wonderful inspiration from which the Junior Republic proceeded flowed like a great river, from quite a small source. Each summer, from the year 1890, Mr. George took a party of poor boys and girls from the City of New York, for fresh air and country life, to his summer home in Freeville, which is nine miles from Ithaca in New York State. This did much to benefit their health, but Mr. George was not satisfied with their moral progress. People in the neighbourhood were very kind in bringing clothes and food for them, but Mr. George soon realised that it was bad for the character of the children to receive so much and give nothing in return. It encouraged a spirit of greed and caused more grumbling than gratitude; he therefore told them they must work for the clothes they needed. This they at first refused to do, but when they found that Mr. George remained firm in his decision they changed their minds. A boy wanted a garment, and came to the conclusion that he would work for it. Another followed his example, and soon they were all working for clothes which they had formerly received as charity; and when the holiday came to an end they went home proudly with their earnings and with a feeling of self-respect they had never experienced before. In this way the golden rule of the George Junior Republic, 'nothing without labour,' came into existence.

During the following summer another important factor of the scheme was developed. The lawless boys used to steal apples from

the orchards in the neighbourhood, and each morning after chapel they were punished with corporal punishment in the presence of their companions. Mr. George disliked this task, but it seemed the only thing to do. One morning two boys were sullenly waiting for punishment, with the others listlessly watching; they had lost all interest in it, as they had seen the same thing enacted so often. Suddenly an inspiration came to him: he told the culprits that they should be judged by their companions. This immediately caused general interest in the proceedings, and the boys judged and gave sentence so fairly that Mr. George determined that this plan should be adopted in the future. So greatly did he dislike corporal punishment, that when some work had to be done he decided that hard labour should be ordered whenever the offence justified it. This was felt to be a far greater punishment, and it caused the offences to be reduced considerably. One day his assistant was ill and he had no one to superintend those who had been sentenced to hard labour, so he spoke to one of the boys who had always been sullen and difficult to approach and made him overseer. This boy became much interested in the work, and was very proud of his office; he did so well and made the culprits work to such good purpose that the number of boys punished that summer sensibly decreased. This was the beginning of Mr. George's great inspiration, and that year he thought out his big scheme, and his meditations gave birth to the George Junior Republic.

I will now as shortly as possible describe how the Republic is worked. The citizens are self-governing, they make their own laws, elect their president, judge, police, and other officers. They punish each other, passing sentence in court quite independently of Mr. George or the superintendent, who are, nevertheless, always present. The citizens are boys and girls from the age of fourteen years to twenty-one, and are taken from evil homes and surroundings and rescued from lives of sin. Even rich parents send their sons and daughters to this Republic when they find they are beyond control. Those parents who can afford to do so are obliged to pay a fee for any child sent to the Republic, but there are others who, perhaps, have no parents, or are too poor to pay anything for their maintenance.

The Republic has an ideal situation, the nearest town, Ithaca, N.Y., being about nine miles away. It is surrounded by beautiful country, wooded and hilly, with a creek running near where the boys and girls bathe and swim. It covers an area of about 300 acres of good agricultural land. There are ten cottages, with a house mother to manage each, two gaols, a very good school-house, a library, and a beautiful little chapel where undenominational services are held. The services, Sunday school, and Bible classes are well attended, although attendance is not compulsory. In addition there are car-

penters' and joiners' shops, and a large bakery where they make the 'G.J.R. wafers' which are becoming known throughout the States. Excellent bread is also made at the bakery, which is sold to the public, and each loaf is wrapped in paper and sealed by the bakers, so that no other hands touch it. I give this as an example of their up-to-date method of carrying on business. There is also a large laundry where the latest appliances are used, and farming and gardening are well managed, so that the boys and girls get the best training in the different departments.

The citizens can buy and order things they need from a store which is run by the Republic. Each citizen has a cheque-book instead of using coin; the cheques are only of value in the Republic; when the boys and girls leave, their savings are paid to them in the money of the United States. Their motto is 'nothing without labour,' and they have to pay for their board, lodging, and clothing with the money they earn. If they are lazy and have not sufficient money in their possession to pay for their maintenance, they are treated as vagrants and sent to the workhouse belonging to the Republic, where they are compelled to work. When the boys and girls first come to the Republic they ask for work in any department for which they think they are best fitted. The boys generally go first to the 'Boys' Hotel,' where they pay least and have the plainest fare and accommodation. After they have been in the Republic long enough to have saved a little, and are earning a higher wage, they choose the cottage they like best and ask the house-mother whether they may lodge there. If she has room she takes them in, if not they wait for a vacancy or go to another cottage. The girls, when they first arrive, sleep in a large dormitory in the cottages and afterwards attain to rooms of their own.

The bedrooms are small but very comfortable, and they are allowed to hang pictures and decorate them. Some of the rooms are most tastefully arranged, and everything is done to encourage neatness and refinement in their surroundings.

The house-mother has an important position to fill, and much depends upon her in the training and moral development of the boys and girls. She teaches the girls who work in her house to be good housemaids and cooks, to be neat and tidy in their dress, to take a pride in their bedrooms, to make the sitting-rooms and dining-rooms pretty with flowers and plants, and does all she can to refine them, make them happy, and help them to become good women.

One day a week the citizens of the Republic hold a 'Town meeting,' when they discuss any reforms they wish to make, or perhaps amend some law which has been passed by them. These meetings are most interesting, their organisation is good, and some of the boys speak remarkably well.

The court is one of the great features of the Republic. Before it commences the room is full of citizens talking and laughing. When it is time to begin the clerk of the court calls for order, and immediately there is silence. They are all very much in earnest, and the court is an impressive sight. The judge keeps perfect order, and the visitor is astonished at his dignity and his knowledge of law and legal terms. In passing sentence he speaks earnestly and well, and affords striking testimony to the thoughtfulness and judgment acquired by this system of self-government. The court is a great help in the moral training of the citizens. To stand up in a room crowded with their fellow-citizens, 'helpers,' and visitors, confess their sin and receive condemnation from one of their companions, is in itself a severe punishment without the addition of imprisonment or fine. There can be no question about partiality or the judgment being unfair. They are tried by jury and they can employ a lawyer, one of themselves, to defend them. Imprisonment is a serious matter, and they are very thankful if they can get off with a fine, even though it may cripple them financially. The prison rules are very strict, the food is plain, the beds are in iron cages, two to each cage, where the prisoners are locked for the night. These cages have an advantage over cubicles in that they are easily kept clean, have plenty of air and light, and the inmates can always be watched. The prisoners walk in 'lock step,' and have a keeper with them who is one of the citizens. They work in gangs on the farm or in making new roads or other outside work. They are not allowed to speak to the citizens. The girl-prisoners also have very strict rules and have a keeper with them, and are obliged to walk in single file with their hands behind their backs when they go through the village. Both boy and girl prisoners wear prison uniform.

The education in the Republic is good, and all the citizens are well taught. There is a headmaster with four or five women teachers under him, and the citizens are obliged to attend school five hours a day, either morning or afternoon. The prisoners also attend school, but are taught in a separate building. The first boy who graduated at a University had entered Cornell without further preparation; others have taken good degrees at Harvard and Cornell. One who graduated from the Harvard Law School is practising law in Syracuse, another is practising in Cleveland, another is a civil engineer, others are engaged as farmers, bookkeepers, salesmen, plumbers, bakers; one is an agent for a telegraph company, another is a buyer for a large New York department store. One boy has returned to the Republic to take charge of the printing shop, and another has charge of the bakery. This shows how some of the boys rise through the training they receive at the George Junior Republic, and take good positions among the citizens of the United States. Of the girls who have gone out from the Republic a number have returned to their homes,

many are married, several are in domestic service, others work in factories or are dressmakers, milliners, or laundresses, and one is a teacher of dietetics in the Harrisburg State Hospital.

When we compare the life in the George Junior Republic with the ordinary reformatory or penitentiary life, we are struck with the different atmosphere of the two institutions. The life in the Republic is full of interest and variety and helps to develop character. You see the boys and girls in the evenings walking about the village, or sitting in twos and threes laughing and talking, perhaps watching a baseball match, or the girls playing basket-ball or croquet. They have many topics of conversation and for thought. They have to make laws that will be best for maintaining order in the Republic, and which will help them to become good citizens. This is a great responsibility; they accept it seriously, and those in positions of trust earnestly endeavour to perform their duties faithfully. It makes them consider the purpose of life and the advantage to their country in being good citizens, and this is done by boys and girls who formerly lived careless, thoughtless lives of sin and ignorance, not caring or thinking about their evil influence upon others, the trouble and sorrow they brought to those who loved them, or the harm they were doing their country. The life at the Republic brings this home to them, and they feel they must endeavour to reform others as well as themselves. Both power and responsibility are given to them, and it is wonderful how they rise to their duties and become immensely interested in the work and very proud of their Republic. The citizens have every inducement to improve; only those who are industrious, earning a good wage, and working well at school are elected to the positions of trust and honour, and by attaining those positions they acquire many privileges, besides gaining the respect of their companions.

Think of their lives, varied, happy, full of interest, with this great scheme of self-government to develop their characters and to make them understand the responsibility of life. Compare this with the life of repression in a penitentiary, where day after day there is the same dull, monotonous existence, the strict rules, the many hours of silence in which minds must lie dormant or full of the thoughts of their former evil lives, which, as they have nothing else to talk about, they discuss with their companions, contaminating others often more innocent than themselves.

Surely this life of self-government is a splendid inspiration, and philanthropists all over the world will hold Mr. George in great esteem as the pioneer of a new and wonderfully humanising scheme for reformation of character. He established the George Junior Republic on the 10th of July, 1895, and it has proved so successful that it is being enthusiastically adopted by the States, and philanthropists

from all parts of the world go to Freeville to see Mr. George and inquire into the methods of his work.

In New York on the 1st of February 1908 the National Association of Junior Republics was formed, the purpose being to establish such institutions throughout the United States.

Could not this idea be adopted in England ?

ROSE C. BARRAN.

THE STORY OF HALLEY'S COMET

THE familiar name of ' Halley's Comet ' has an abiding interest for all who care for the story the heavens are telling. It is closely associated with events which have contributed largely towards moulding the destiny of Europe. And it is not too much to say that students of astronomy in every land honour the memory of our distinguished countryman, whose labours in an entirely new field of research enabled him to foretell, that the celestial wanderer that appeared in our skies in 1682 would come again after the lapse of three-quarters of a century. Since then it has paid us two more visits, and we are now looking forward to a third.

The light which science was then, for the first time in history, shedding upon the structure of the heavens inspired both Newton and Halley with the idea that the comets were perhaps controlled in their movements by the same influence as that which Newton already believed, and was just on the point of demonstrating, held the Moon in its orbit. The happy thought had occurred to them while gazing upon the truly imposing comet which astonished the world in the winter evenings of 1680. It came from regions high above the plane of the ecliptic, plunging down towards the Sun with amazing velocity. For a short time it was lost sight of ; then, emerging from the Sun's rays, almost grazing his sides as it passed round him, it put forth a train—straight, fierce, long—extending to a distance of many millions of miles. With like marvellous speed it ascended into the heavens above and swept onward into the abyss of space, followed with the keenest curiosity by every possessor of a telescope. Newton, using his seven-foot reflector, was the last to bid the stranger a final adieu, on the 19th of March 1681.¹ With remarkable insight Newton grasped the fact that comets were analogous to the planets in constitution and movement, and that the tail was formed of a very fine, slender vapour raised by the Sun's heat while the body was in his immediate vicinity. Reasoning thus, he applied his method of geometrical construction which had revealed to him the law of gravitation.

¹ Halley first caught sight of the comet while on his way to Paris. There he met with Cassini, and together they made careful observations of its exact distance from the nearest fixed star, and night by night noted its changed positions. These observations were of great service to Newton ; they enabled him taken with his own measurements, to fix the comet's orbit.

He found that a curve could be formed which would include all the places, he assumed, in which the comet would move. The problem was difficult but he solved it, and proved conclusively that the comet pursued an extremely eccentric course embraced within an oval which he thought would occupy it about 575 years to complete. But the fuller and more complete investigations of recent years render it not improbable that its mighty rush round the Sun may have been sufficient to carry it off for ever, and that it may now be winging its lofty flight towards some other system of worlds, in which it may possibly excite amazement or alarm, as here.

From the general application of the law it follows that comets move in one or other of the conic sections—either the circle, ellipse, parabola, or hyperbola—having one of their foci in or near the centre of the Sun, and by radii drawn from the Sun describe areas proportionable to the times. Having discovered the reason of the great law of the celestial movements in the single principle of mutual attraction of one mass of matter towards another, Newton gave it a mechanical interpretation, embracing the comets, and, indeed, all heavenly bodies. The first book of his *Principia*, showing that this was a necessary consequence flowing from the principle, was presented to the Royal Society in April 1686. He there lays the foundation of cometary astronomy, and he it was who made Halley's prediction possible. And yet, but for Halley, this great work might never have been printed. Halley, in 1684, paid a visit to Newton at Cambridge, and learned the good news that he had brought his demonstrations to perfection. Newton could not afford the cost of printing and publishing his work, but Halley, though not a wealthy man, undertook to bear the expense, and eagerly gave up his time to correcting the proof and in every way pressing forward to the utmost the printing and issue from the press.

From this moment a new era dawned upon the world of science; men awakened to a great truth, and began to understand something of the bond which holds in perfect harmony the stars in their courses in due relationship one to another; everywhere was manifest law, immutable, irresistible.

On the 15th of August 1682 the body whose career we are tracing came into view. It was first detected by Flamsteed's assistant at the Greenwich Observatory, while scanning the northern heavens with a telescope. Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, and Halley, his successor, kept a close watch upon the comet and followed its course over the sky. It was noticed that it had a somewhat oval-shaped body, and that it was moving in a path contrary to the regular course of the planets, or 'retrograde,' and but little inclined to the ecliptic. By the 26th the head, though no larger than a star of the second magnitude, put forth a tail of about 12° long, which waved towards the eastern side. Astronomers at Paris

now caught sight of it, and both Picard and La Hire thought they saw phases in the nucleus similar to those of the Moon. If this were really so, it would imply that the comet was solid and compact, as Newton from his observations of the one of 1680 believed the comets to be. But the immense nebulosity which enshrouds the head renders the inference very doubtful. The tail lengthened considerably as the comet came nearer to the Sun; and now was remarked by all observers as a sparkling or quivering movement running through its entire length. A little later a jet of luminous matter shot out towards the Sun, then, apparently meeting with some resistance, it fell backwards on all sides and mingled with the tail. Hevelius, at Dantzic, thought the phenomenon so peculiar that he represented it in a drawing. We now know that this kind of eruption, so suggestive of internal agitation, is common to almost all comets when in the neighbourhood of the Sun. Indeed, as regards size, form, or any of the marvellous characteristics which mark the flight of comets through space, Halley's is of the average type. It suffices for us that it was the one which Halley fixed upon for his investigation into the mystery and movements of these hirsute visitants to our domain. Interest therefore centres in his labours, labours which he himself says were 'prodigious'; and this may well be so, considering the state of analytical science at that time. Save Newton alone, there was no other man living who could have successfully dealt with the difficulties of the problem.

It was Halley's good fortune to be closely associated in astronomical work with Sir Isaac Newton. He followed his advice implicitly, and adopted, on Newton's suggestion, Flamsteed's observations of the comet for the basis of his calculations. He assumed parabolic elements, though he thought it likely that it revolved in an orbit of extreme eccentricity, reaching far out into the heavens. And again acting on the advice of Newton, Halley made diligent search among ancient and modern historical records for the purpose of seeing whether mention was made of any comet the date of whose appearance, position, and movement agreed with the results his calculations had given. Casting his eyes over the table of cometary apparitions he had prepared for comparison, he was particularly struck with the similarity which existed between the comets of 1531, 1607, and 1682, in their having the like situation of their planes and perihelions. All the elements were so near alike that, after a reinvestigation, he felt little hesitation in concluding that they represented one and the same comet that had made three revolutions in its elliptical orbit.

Halley in 1704 presented the results of his investigations to the Royal Society in a memoir entitled *Astronomiæ Cometices Synopsis*. It includes a table of twenty-four comets, beginning with the year 1337 and ending with the year 1698. He explains its use, thus:—

The principal use of the tables of the elements of their motion, and, indeed that which induced me to construct it, is that whenever a new comet shall appear

we may be able to know by comparing together the elements whether it be any of those which had appeared before, and consequently to determine its period and the axis of its orbit, and to foretell its return. And, indeed, there are many things which make me believe that the comet which Apian observed in the year 1531 was the same with that which Kepler and Longomontanus more accurately observed in the year 1607, and which I myself have seen return in the year 1682. All the elements agree, and nothing seems to contradict this my opinion, except that there is an inequality in the times of revolution, but this is not so great that it cannot be attributed to physical causes. For example, the motion of Saturn is so disturbed by the other planets, and especially by Jupiter, that his periodic time is uncertain to the extent of several days. How much more liable to such perturbations is a comet which recedes to a distance nearly four times greater than Saturn, and a slight increase in whose velocity would change its orbit from an ellipse to a parabola? The identity of these comets seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the summer of the year 1456 a comet was seen passing retrograde between the Earth and the Sun in nearly the same manner, and although it was not observed astronomically, yet, from its period and path, I cannot think different from those I have just mentioned. . . . Hence [he concludes] I may venture to foretell that it will return again in the year 1758.

These explorations into the domain of the comet-world had a higher significance than the question of periodicity. The two illustrious astronomers had seen that these apparently erratic bodies are confined to no region of space; that they enter the planetary spaces at all angles with the plane of the ecliptic, coming no one could tell whence, or whither bound; nor at the outset could it be known whether the object whose characteristics declared it to be a comet would fall into the Sun, strike against one of the planets, or, indeed, collide with the Earth. It was recognised that inquiry into the nature and movement of Halley's comet had deprived these bodies for ever of their portentous character. But while relieving mankind from dread of cometary supernatural influence the new astronomy had brought to light a material danger, one which had never before been suspected. Here was work for the geometer of a kind to call forth his keenest scrutiny. Following up the inquiry, it was found that three or more exact observations, made on different dates, of the comet's position in relation to any fixed star near to which it might be situated, would show how far its course diverged from a straight line, and would thus afford the mathematician data from which he could construct a curve showing its exact path to and from the Sun. His ephemeris, indeed, may show whether the Earth, or any other of the planets, would be in its way, and tell the date and hour of its transit at every important point along its track. The chance of a collision, however, is so small—one in many millions—that the risk is hardly worth a moment's serious thought. Yet 'the Chariot of Fire' which the year before careered through our neighbourhood had left a vivid impression on the public mind. It had inspired Whiston with visions of dismay and destruction, and caused Halley to look closely into its movements. Halley's investigation led to the startling result that the comet had, on the 11th of November, when passing through the descending node,

approached the Earth's *path* within a semi-diameter of the Earth. The discovery caused Halley to reflect upon the question as to what would have happened had the Earth and the comet arrived at the same time at the place where the two orbits intersect. Assuming the comet's mass to be comparable to that of the Earth, he concluded that their mutual gravitation would have caused a change in the position of the Earth's orbit and consequently in the length of the year. This train of thought led him on to consider what the result of an actual encounter would be, and he says, 'If so large a body with so rapid a motion were to strike the Earth—a thing by no means impossible—the shock might reduce this beautiful world to its original chaos.'

A vivid light was thus cast upon a fascinating chapter in the history of our planet. To Dr. Whiston—he who succeeded Newton in the Lucasian chair of Mathematics at Cambridge—it opened a vista exhibiting the comet as the physical cause of the Deluge; and in the fulness of his prophetic vision he declared it to be the divinely appointed agent that would bring about the General Conflagration by involving the world in flames as it passed the Earth on its outward course from the Sun. Halley, too, though he could not join Whiston in his wonderful flight of fancy, was deeply impressed with the idea of a possible encounter between the Earth and a comet, and the consequences which must ensue therefrom. It seemed to him not improbable that the Earth had at some remote period been struck by a comet, which coming upon it obliquely had changed the position of its axis of rotation, the North Pole having originally, he thought, been at a point near to Hudson's Bay. To this cause he referred the rigour of the climate of North America; and the wide distribution of marine substances over the Earth's surface he considered lent support to his conjecture. Laplace a century later gave the sanction of his analytical reasoning to this view, and depicted in dismal colours the effect which would result to our globe were a comet at all comparable to the Earth in mass to strike against it. He says :

The seas would abandon their ancient beds and rush towards the new equator, drowning in one universal deluge the greater part of the human race. . . . We see, then, in effect why the ocean has receded from the high lands upon which we find incontestable marks of its sojourn; we see how the animals and plants of the south have been able to exist in the climate of the north where their remains and imprints have been discovered.

Physicists of the present day, however, do not favour this view. Lord Kelvin and Sir George Darwin assure us that not only is the possible amount of deviation of the pole from a given position too small to have produced the observed climatic effects, but even this small dislocation would involve geographical revolutions stupendous in amount, improbable in their distribution, and completely at variance with the geological evidence.

Halley was fifty years old when he made the famous prediction

that the comet of 1682 would reappear, and knowing that he could not live to see its fulfilment he advised the younger generation of astronomers to keep a careful look-out for it as the time drew near. In the Astronomical Tables which were published four years after his death Halley shows that he had reassured himself of the accuracy of his calculations, and he concludes with the following appeal: 'Wherefore, if according to what we have already said, it should return again about the year 1758, candid posterity will not refuse to acknowledge that this was first discovered by an Englishman. Englishmen have with just pride acknowledged Halley's claim, and science has honoured his memory by giving his name to the comet which, in universal interest, ranks first among the celestial wanderers that pay us periodical visits.

Out of the new and more accurate views respecting the nature of comets, which arose from the discovery that they are material bodies controlled by physical laws, there sprang a host of visionaries who, haunting the borderland lying between fact and fiction, saw a way leading by natural sequence to other worlds peopled by intelligent beings. They argued that since comets are material bodies governed by the law of gravitation they must needs be like the Earth and the other planets, and, therefore, inhabited by beings similar to ourselves. Perhaps the most interesting creation the dreamers placed in the comets was a race of astronomers gifted with ocular powers capable of penetrating to the surface of the Earth, and maybe of taking note of our works and ways. Fontenelle, secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Paris, was a believer in Descartes' vortex theory, and in his rare work on the *Pluralité des Mondes* (1686) he says:

Comets are planets which belong to a neighbouring vortex; they move near the boundaries of it; but this vortex being unequally pressed upon by those that are adjacent to it, is rounder above and flatter below, and it is the part below that concerns us. . . . Our comet is forced to enter the neighbouring vortex, and this it cannot do without a shock. . . . I have already told you of the shock which takes place when two vortices meet and repel each other. I believe that in this case the poor comet is rudely enough shaken, and its inhabitants not less so. We deem ourselves very unfortunate when a comet appears in sight, but it is the comet itself that is very unfortunate.

The Marquise listening to these words does not agree with them. On the contrary she maintains that the comet brings to us all its inhabitants in *good health*.

Nothing [she adds] is so delightful as thus to change vortices. We who never quit ours lead a life wearisome enough. If the inhabitants have sufficient knowledge to predict the time of their entrance into our world, those who have already made the voyage announce beforehand to others what they will see. 'You will soon discover a planet which has a great ring about it,' they will say perhaps, speaking of Saturn. 'You will see another which will be followed by four little ones.' Perhaps there are people appointed to look out for new worlds as they appear in sight, and who cry immediately, *A new Sun / a new Sun / as sailors cry, Land / Land /* Believe me, we have no need to pity the inhabitants of a comet.

Johann Lambert, of Mühlhausen, whose mind seems to have been dominated by narrow notions on the subject of final causes, insists on the habitability of comets with an insight peculiar to his idiosyncrasy. Seeing that difficulty might result from the comet's near approach to the solar flames, he examines the question, and asks, 'Are we sure that fire has not its invisible inhabitants, whose bodies made of *asbestos* are impenetrable to fire?' Having settled the cosmogony of comets, he surveys his work with serene complacency, saying :

I like to picture to myself these globes voyaging in space and peopled with astronomers, who are there on purpose to contemplate nature on a grand scale as we do on a small scale. From their moving observatory as it is wafted from Sun to Sun they see all things pass successively before their view, and can determine the positions and motions of all the stars. . . . In truth, I picture to myself that astronomy must be for the inhabitants of a comet a terribly complicated science.

To the theological vision of Agostino Macarri, Vicar of the Holy Inquisition, comets had an entirely different significance. His reflections on these celestial visitants and their mission are given in a curious work published in 1681, entitled, *Secreti Astrologici Celesti et Terrestri motivali dalle Comete*. The chief purpose comets are designed to serve is to communicate to the initiated in things astral the origin, coming, and death of Antichrist; also the month and day on which the world is to end. In all seriousness the author says that our earthly dwelling-place will be destroyed on the 25th of March when that date happens to fall on a Sunday, but the year cannot be foretold with equal certainty. The colossal comet that startled the world the previous year (1680) had deeply impressed the mind of the good man, and led him into the only train of thought his priestly office permitted. In this respect he was not alone; our own leader of religio-scientific thought, Dr. Whiston, in the glow of an upwhirled imagination, did more than enough to satisfy public curiosity in relation to the 'Conquering Comet' (Lambert). He pointed to the 'Blazing Starre' as the abode of lost souls undergoing the penalty due to vice, and described how they were alternately exposed to the devouring heat of the solar fires and to the frigid regions of outer darkness.

Such are among the shadowy fantasies that, like the fleeting forms imaged by the dawning of a new day, crossed men's minds at the time when new light was breaking upon the astronomical world.

As the time drew near for the fulfilment of Halley's prediction, efforts were made to reach a greater degree of accuracy than the state of analytical science permitted in his day. The undertaking would involve computations of a very intricate character; it would be necessary to ascertain the amount and kind of effect the attraction of the large planets would have upon the comet in either hastening

or delaying its movement. Astronomy was fortunate in having in its ranks two very able and enthusiastic mathematicians, whose perfect faith in the Newtonian law of gravity led them to enter with zeal upon the arduous task. The result of the joint labours of MM. Clairaut and Lalande, assisted by Mlle. Lepaute, are known to the world.

Their computations were brought to a close early in November 1758. On the 14th of that month M. Clairaut presented a memoir on the subject to the Academy of Sciences, Paris, in the course of which he remarks upon the lively interest the public generally were taking in the matter : an interest and curiosity seldom bestowed in those days on questions of astronomy. He is sure all true lovers of science desire the return of the comet, because it would afford striking confirmation of a system in favour of which nearly all phenomena furnish conclusive evidence. But he points to others who are hopeful that it may not return, and so prove the reasoning of astronomers to be on a level with the fanciful theories put forward by the imaginative, and which are destitute of all foundation in fact. Against these opponents of the revelations of science Clairaut waxes warm, and declares himself wholly in favour of the universality of the law of gravitation. Briefly, he found that the comet's return to perihelion would be retarded 618 days more than in the preceding return—namely, 518 days by the attraction of Jupiter and 100 days by that of Saturn. Hence he concluded that the comet would arrive at its nearest point from the Sun on the 13th of April 1759. Being pressed for time, Clairaut says that he had neglected to take into account some minor quantities which might possibly exercise an influence one way or the other to the extent of thirty days. The comet arrived at perihelion on the 12th of March 1759, just within the assigned limit of possible error. The weight of the two great disturbers of the comet, Jupiter and Saturn, was not so exactly known then as now. Laplace has said that had the true mass of Saturn alone been known the error would have been reduced to thirteen days.

Strange to relate, the first person to catch sight of the returning wanderer was a Saxon farmer named George Palitzch, living at Problis, near Dresden. An amateur astronomer possessed of a keen eye and an 8-foot telescope, he was a diligent observer of the heavens, and on the Christmas night of 1758, when scanning the quarter of the sky where the comet was expected to appear, he noticed a white speck on the blue canopy. This roused his suspicion. He kept watch, and to his great joy saw that it enlarged into a hazy, nebulous body. Onward it came, increasing in size night by night, and soon proclaimed itself to be none other than Halley's comet, bearing testimony to the prescient eye of the mathematician. That a Saxon peasant, as Arago somewhat scornfully calls Palitzch, should have been the first to detect the comet when all the astronomers of Europe were looking for it without success, could not be tolerated ;

it was ridiculed, doubted, and at last admitted. Baron von Zach, an astronomer of repute, knew Palitzsch well, and spoke favourably of him as a careful and constant observer of the heavens. But Messier, whom Louis the Fifteenth had nicknamed 'Le furet des Comètes,' was sorely put out that his nightly vigils all through the year 1758 should end in failure; that a mere outsider should win the palm he rightly should have borne. In fairness to this diligent comet-hunter it should be added that he was much interrupted in his search by cloudy weather; not until the 21st of January following did he succeed in finding the comet. Thenceforward he continued to observe it, carefully noting its places night by night until the 4th of February. But the comet did not exhibit the grand appearance which had marked some of its earlier returns. This was due in great part to its low situation in the southern heavens, which involved it in the vapours of the horizon. And by the end of February it was in inferior conjunction with the Sun, consequently too near him to be visible in these latitudes before the last week in April. In the southern hemisphere it would be seen to greater advantage; but unfortunately the records of its appearance there are few and scanty. Father Cœurdoux, at Pondicherry, observed it, and says that on the 30th of April it had the aspect of a large star shrouded in haze, and that it had a tail measuring about 30° long. And M. le Nux, observing the comet at the Isle of Bourbon, says the tail was very slender, and varied in length from 3° on the 29th of March to 47° on the 5th of May.

A little later it was attentively observed in European skies, first at Lisbon, then at Paris, Toulouse, and at nearly all the observatories in Europe. Again its low position, near the horizon, interfered greatly with attempts at a critical examination of the nucleus. Anxiously as had its reappearance been awaited, little astronomical work could under the circumstances be done. But astronomers, and all who took an interest in the epoch-making event, thought themselves well rewarded for their midnight vigils in being privileged to witness the fulfilment of a prediction which shed lustre on the age. Messier, though denied the honour of being the first to welcome the wanderer, had the satisfaction, on the 3rd of June, of being the last to see it off on its long, solitary journey to a region far beyond the boundary of our system.

The comet's periodicity being now established, curiosity prompted inquiry into its past career. Halley had with more or less of probability traced it back to the year 1456, and Pingré, whose *Cométo-graphie*² is a lasting monument to his historical genius, found in Chinese astronomical annals evidence converting the conjecture into a certainty.

With the aid of their trustworthy records Mr. J. Russell Hind has traced it back to an earlier date still, and identified it with the

² Pingré says that he consulted 616 authors. First edition, Paris, 1788.

comet of 837 A.D. It appeared in the spring of that year and so disturbed Louis le Débonnaire that he summoned a council of wise men to consider its aspect and enlighten him as to its significance. The Court Astronomer indeed found it more than he could well do to keep pace with his Majesty's eager inquiries. He says :

During the celebration of the holy days of Easter an apparition, always of gloomy import, presented itself in the sky, and as soon as the Emperor heard of it he gave himself neither peace nor rest, until he had called certain learned men and myself before him. As soon as I arrived he anxiously asked me what I thought of such a sign—what it imported. 'Let me have but a little time,' I asked of him, 'that I may consider its aspect and gather from the stars the true meaning of the portent,' promising him that I would acquaint him on the morrow. Suspecting that I only wished to gain time (which was true, in the hope I might not be obliged to say anything fatal to him) his Majesty said, 'Go on the terrace of the palace and return at once and let me know what you have seen, for I did not see this star last evening, and you did not point it out to me ; but I know it is a comet. Tell me what you think it announces to me.' Then, scarcely allowing me time to say a word, he added, 'There is still another thing you keep back : it is that a change of reign and the death of a prince are announced by this sign.'

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The assembled astrologers hearing these words, and being prudent men, readily yielded to his Majesty's superior wisdom, and with the gravity becoming their office declared that the comet was indeed a messenger from on high telling of evil days at hand, on account of the nation's manifold transgressions. Whereupon Louis, deeply touched with his own infirmities, hastened to reform his ways, to build churches and found monastic establishments throughout his dominions, in the hope that by these meritorious deeds he might appease the wrath of Heaven.

The French geometer, Dionys du Séjour, has made a thorough investigation of the various notices of the comet found scattered in the pages of history, particularly the precise account given of its position and movement in the Chinese annals already mentioned. His collected data left little room for doubt that the comet was a very fine one. It had passed the perihelion point on the 28th of February 837, and during four days in March it had approached the Earth within a mean distance of two millions of miles. Its train, sparkling and fiery, had spread over the azure vault far past the mid-heaven in a graceful curve, opening out towards the end into two divergent streams. Indeed, the description the historians give of the wonderful star lead the mind unfettered by fears of the supernatural to picture a beautifully winged object, lending charm and diversity to the calm, solemn grandeur of the midnight sky. How it came about that the presence of a comet always inspired our ancestors with apprehension of calamitous consequences is hard to understand. The fact seems to point to a deeply seated feeling of danger, the origin of which is lost.

A still more striking instance of this inborn dread of comets is found in the story of the famous one which appeared in the memorable year of the Norman Conquest. It broke upon the gaze of the inhabitants of these islands in the spring of the year 1066, and shone brightly all through the disastrous days which followed. Naturally, men were keenly alive to outer influences at a time when every wind was wafting to these shores tidings of the doings of Duke William of Normandy ; of his sainted reliques, and preparations for the invasion of England ; of Hardrada, King of Norway, and his swarming hordes in the north threatening to wrest the English crown from Harold. The chroniclers of the period tell the story in sorrowful words, and associate the comet with the events which were then growing into portentous shape. In size and brightness the comet equalled the full Moon, and its tail, gradually lengthening as it gained the neighbourhood of the Sun, arched over the heavens in the form of a 'dragon's tail.' Sigebert says of it that, 'Over the island of Britain was seen a star of a wonderful bigness, to the train of which hung a fiery sword not unlike a dragon's tail ; and out of the dragon's mouth issued two vast rays, whereof one reached as far as France, and the other, divided into seven lesser rays, stretched away towards Ireland.'

And William of Malmesbury tells how the apparition affected the mind of a fellow monk of his monastery. His words are :

Soon after the death of Henry, King of France, by poison, a wonderful star appeared trailing its long tail over the sky. Wherefore, a certain monk of our monastery, by name Elmir, bowed down with terror at the sight of the strange star, wisely exclaimed, 'Thou art come back at last, thou that will cause so many mothers to weep ; many years have I seen thee shine, but thou seemest to me more terrible now that thou foretellest the ruin of my country.'

Elmir's tone is gloomy, but is in keeping with the feeling which finds utterance in the pages of the chroniclers of those troubled times. Though nerved to face undaunted every earthly danger, our Saxon forefathers quailed before the Bode from out the darkness lying beyond their ken. How largely the comet loomed in the public eye is shown in the Bayeux tapestry. In the thirty-fifth compartment of this priceless embroidery, immediately after the one representing the coronation of Harold, a figure of the comet is worked in the upper right-hand corner. Several persons with uplifted finger are gazing upon it, and above their heads are the words *ISTI MIRANT STELLAM*.

In this instance, also, the Chinese observed and noted with care the position and path of the comet of 1066. Happily a French Jesuit, named Gaubil, had the good fortune while a missionary in China to unearth some of their astronomical records. He sent a translated copy to France, and the information thus furnished to Europe enabled Mr. Hind to identify the comet of the Conquest with Halley's.

Passing on to the middle of the fifteenth century—to the year 1456—we again find Halley's comet occupying a conspicuous place

in European affairs. At the moment of its first appearance the conquering Turks, under Mahomet the Second, were threatening to lay waste Christendom. Already Constantinople had fallen into their hands, and from the summits of her stately edifices gleamed the Ottoman crescent. The cities of the Danube were rapidly giving way before their irresistible march, and now Belgrade was invested. In the midst of the consternation, faction raged in the Courts of Europe and conflicting counsels distracted the Latin Church.

The comet came into view on the 29th of May, and was seen gliding over the sky towards the Moon. Writers of the eventful period say that it shone with sparkling lustre and spread out a fan-shaped golden train; others describe its form as that of a Turkish scimitar, which, glinting in the moonlight, was regarded as a sign from Heaven of the conflict raging between the Christian and the Pagan hosts. Onward it came with sweeping glories, speeding its way towards the Sun; it reached perihelion on the 9th of June, then, turning its course, it gradually passed away into the depths of space. A circumstantial account of the comet's appearance has been left us by a Bavarian Jesuit named Pontanus. He relates his story on the authority of George Phranza, Grand Master of the Wardrobes to the Emperor of Constantinople. He speaks of the comet rising in the west, moving towards the east, and approaching the Moon. Subsequent writers, stirred by a love of the marvellous, have made out that the comet actually eclipsed the Moon. A lunar eclipse certainly took place while the comet was in the sky, caused as always by the Earth's shadow falling on the Moon; nothing Pontanus had said, however, warranted the inference that the comet had occasioned the obscuration. But this lapse has left no trace in astronomical history at all comparable with the myth woven about the Pope's action in regard to the comet. Leading writers one after another declare in slightly varying terms that the reigning Pontiff, Calixtus the Third, was so alarmed by the apparition in the heavens that he issued a Bull exorcising the evil thing, and that to the *Ave Maria* he added the words, 'From the Turk and the Comet, good Lord deliver us.' Arago, Babinet, Guillemin, Hind, Draper, and others all repeat the story; and the *Angelus de Midi*, we are told, owes its origin to the fears of the aged Pope (then in his eightieth year). The Rev. J. Gerard, S.J., has given a careful sifting to all the documents bearing upon the subject, and in his accustomed calm and dispassionate manner he reduces the story to a figment hardly bearing the semblance of a grain of truth. He shows that the myth may possibly have sprung from the historian Platina's reference to the comet given in his *Vitæ Pontificum*, published in Venice in 1479. He was living in Rome at the time, and could not help but be alive to the events which were then passing before his eyes, and in respect to the comet he writes :

A hairy and fiery star having then made its appearance for several days, the mathematicians declared that there would follow grievous pestilence, dearth and some great calamity. Calixtus, to avert the wrath of God, ordered supplications that if evils were impending for the human race He would turn all upon the Turks, the enemies of the Christian name. He likewise ordered, to move God by continual entreaty, that notice should be given by the bells to call the faithful at midday to aid by their prayers *those engaged in battle with the Turk*.

No mention is made of a Bull or an exorcism against the comet and the Turks, either singly or conjointly.

Between the epochs of 1759 and the ensuing return new methods of computation had greatly lessened the labour of mathematical investigation, and the more accurate measures of the planets, the discovery of Uranus and his moons, the wonderfully increased power of telescopes, all contributed to swell the interest with which the comet's next arrival was anticipated. For with these advantages it was justly inferred that the time of the next appearance would be foretold with a degree of accuracy which had been impossible in the previous case.

The Academy of Sciences at Turin called attention to the approaching epoch so early as the year 1817, and stimulated inquiry by offering their prize to competitors of all nations for the best theory of the comet's movements during its outward and inward journey. French astronomers again were first in the field—namely, Count Pontécoulant and Baron Damoiseau. The former fixed upon the 7th of November 1835 for the comet's arrival at perihelion; the latter, the 4th of that month. Some time afterwards Pontécoulant finally assigned the 12th of November. Meanwhile, two German mathematicians—Dr. Lehmann and Professor Rosenberger—took up the task, and in their results came very near to those of the French computists, Rosenberger giving the 11th of November and Lehmann the 26th. Observers were told to direct their telescopes towards the space between the constellations Auriga and Taurus; and diligent watch was kept over this region throughout the winter months of 1834-5; but this was too early, and nothing came of it. Among the numerous observers who all through the summer nights of 1835 patiently awaited the comet's return, Father Dumouchel was the first to get a glimpse of it. Favoured with the pure skies of Rome and a powerful telescope, he, and the astronomers of the Collegio Romano, caught sight of the comet on the 6th of August, close to the place Rosenberger had indicated for that day. It was then a faint, misty object, barely discernible with the aid of the telescope. The presence of moonlight and cloudy evenings delayed the discovery in this country until the 26th. Pursuing the course Rosenberger had foretold, it arrived at perihelion on the 16th of November, five days behind his computed time, and only four days later than that of Pontécoulant. Rosenberger's careful analysis furnished the interesting information that the attraction of our own planet hastened the comet's return by no fewer

than 15½ days ; and that Venus, Mercury, and Mars together shortened its period by six days more. He also took into account the probable effects of a resisting medium of cosmical ether on its motion, and this he estimated might bring it a week earlier. This at first sight seems paradoxical, until we remember that the effect of such a resistance would be to contract the comet's orbit by reducing its projectile force. So full and complete were Rosenberger's computations that astronomers generally accorded him the merit of having wrought out the best and most elaborate investigation. The Royal Astronomical Society of Great Britain awarded him their gold medal. M. Pontécoulant was adjudged a similar distinction by the Paris Academy of Sciences. But the Turin Academy conferred their prize upon Baron Damoiseau.

In this country almost continuous bad weather obscured the comet from view until the middle of September, and then only transient glimpses could be got of it. But during October it shone out brightly, and put forth a train twenty degrees long, its course taking it over the constellations Ursa Major, Hercules, and Ophiuchus. The records of this return afford abundant evidence of a general agreement among astronomers to subject the nucleus to a rigorous scrutiny, in order to get a better knowledge than they had of the composition and character of these still mysterious bodies. The names of Herschel, Struve, Arago, Bessel, and Maclear are among the foremost of the investigators.

No sooner had the comet become generally visible than phenomena of an interesting description were noticed, such as completely altered its form, and which seemed to be connected with the production of a stream of nebulous matter flowing from the head and repelled with great force away from the Sun, in whatever direction the comet was moving. On the 2nd of October a luminous jet, resembling in shape a partially opened fan, was seen issuing from the nucleus towards the Sun ; then, apparently meeting with some extraordinary repulsion, was vehemently swept backward, and, passing down either side of the body, blended into one stream and so formed a prolonged train. Bessel, observing the comet at Königsberg, was perfectly sure that he had now discovered the true source of supply for the tail. He declared that this appendage is a purely electrical phenomenon, produced by a repulsive force residing in the Sun, and about twice as powerful as the Sun's attractive or gravitational force. He noticed that this stream of matter oscillated like a pendulum to and fro, across a line joining the Sun and nucleus, in a period of 4½ days.

On the 6th, the comet having got much nearer to the Sun, the beautiful spray-like ejection disappeared, the efflux having entirely ceased ; then the nucleus, as if cleared of much of its grosser matter, shone out brilliantly, exhibiting a sharp, well-defined round body.

Two days later the efflux was resumed with an energy likened to a volcanic eruption, and showing signs of excessive agitation running through the whole body of the comet, giving it a quivering motion like that of a compass needle, or the oscillation of a railway train in transit when viewed from an eminence. As it gained the vicinity of the Sun, flame-like jets were seen, and the head of the comet (according to Professor Struve, of Dorpat) glowed 'like a red-hot coal of oblong form.' Bessel described the appearance as that of a 'blazing rocket,' the flame from which was driven aside as by a strong wind, or as the stream of fire from the discharge of a cannon when the sparks and smoke are carried backwards by the surrounding air. Three independent ejections burst forth from the body of the comet and streamed off in different directions, changing their course while under the gaze of the observer.

Passing over to the southern hemisphere, the comet became visible at the Cape of Good Hope on the 24th of January 1836, and was observed by Sir John Herschel and Sir Thomas Maclear under very favourable conditions until the middle of May. To the unaided eye it appeared to be a round, moderately well-formed star with a planetary-looking disc, enveloped in a semi-transparent atmosphere. Viewed through the telescope, a most surprising change was seen to have taken place in it. Divested of train, of the brilliant emanations and ever-varying phenomena which had signalled its approach to the Sun, it emerged from his rays an almost naked body, betraying evidence of the operation of some powerful physical agency which had wrought an entire transformation of its whole structure. In the body of the comet was seen a miniature comet possessed of a vivid nucleus, having a head and tail of its own, considerably more distinct in outline than the outer comet; and in the head of the smaller one was a point of a brightness so intense as to resemble a small star shining amidst a dense *chevelure*. Sir John Herschel, always doubtful as to the solidity of comets, did not see in this case sufficient evidence to warrant positive assurance to the contrary. As the comet receded farther from the Sun it gradually became larger, the nebulosity expanding and becoming denser as it sped on its dark, mysterious way. At last, shrouded in a dense coma, it faded from terrestrial view.

Sir John Herschel directed his attention chiefly to a consideration of the cause which operated to produce the immense stream of matter we call the tail, though on its outward journey this offshoot precedes the comet. He asks, 'What is the secret of its development within view of the observer; of its outward direction, always pointing from the Sun, in its approach, in its perihelion passage and outward flight?' After a careful examination of all the conditions, he finds himself driven to the conclusion that an energy of an entirely different kind from gravity, and far more powerful, must exist in the Sun to produce

such effects. In his *Results of Astronomical Observations* (1847) he says :

Nor let anyone be startled in the assumption of such a repulsive force as is here supposed. Let it be borne in mind that we are dealing . . . with phenomena utterly incompatible with ordinary notions of gravitating matter. If they be material in that ordinarily received sense which assigns to them only inertia and attractive gravitation, where, I would ask, is the force which can carry them round in the perihelion passage of the nucleus, in a direction continually pointing from the Sun in the manner of a rigid rod swept round by some strong directive force, and in contravention of all the laws of planetary motion, which would require a slower angular movement of the more remote particles, such as no attraction to the nucleus would give them, supposing it ever so intense ?

The mystery grows upon him when he considers the immense stream of matter which issued from the body of the great comet of 1680, and which in five days after passing the perihelion stretched out far past the Earth's orbit ; in that brief interval it had shifted its angular direction nearly 150 degrees. Continuing his argument, Sir John asks, ' Where are we to look if only gravity be admitted for any reasonable account of its projection outward from the Sun, putting its angular motion out of the question ? '

Professor Encke's computation, showing the comet of 1680 to have had a velocity at perihelion of a million miles an hour, is conclusive evidence against an angular motion of the tail. A continuous repulsion of new matter alone can explain the phenomenon.

Astronomers of to-day identify the production of the tail with electrical action exerted by the Sun on the lighter or volatile particles of cometary matter raised by the solar heat. The German physicist, J. Karl Zöllner, shows that, owing to evaporation and other changes produced by rapid approach to the Sun, electrical processes of considerable intensity must take place in comets ; also that their original light is immediately connected with these, and depends upon solar radiation, rather through its electrifying effects than through its seemingly thermal power. Comets are not bodies incandescent through heat, but glowing by electricity ; and this is compatible with a relatively low temperature. It is perfectly well ascertained that the energy of the push backwards produced by electricity depends upon the *surface* of the body acted upon ; that the energy of gravity depends upon its *mass*. Solar electrical repulsion increases as the size of the body diminishes. Therefore very small cometary bodies—particles of matter indeed—will virtually cease to gravitate, and will be wholly under the repellent solar force. These discoveries in the physical domain of the comet-world afford a complete explanation of the origin and formation of the long stream of almost ethereal matter projected from the body of the comet, and we see how it happens that it is always directed away from the Sun.

A comparison of old recorded appearances of Halley's comet with the appearance it presented in 1835 leads to the conclusion that

it is gradually wasting away. In a long, interesting letter to the *Times*, dated the 30th of September 1881, Mr. Hind, under the heading 'The Comet of the Bayeux Tapestry,' remarks that its magnitude and intensity of light in 1066 would be half as great again as it exhibited in 1835. It is not difficult to believe that the matter surging from the head of the comet, when in the vicinity of the Sun and transported millions of miles distant, must be permanently separated from the body, and remain dissipated in the planetary spaces, to offer there a resistance to the movements of the planets, or else to form the elements of some new combinations. Considerations such as these awaken a new and profound interest in the comets, particularly now that it is known they are so frequently sweeping through the solar system. They lead directly to Encke's startling doctrine of a Resisting Medium, which inevitably involves the ultimate destruction of the solar system—though millions of years may elapse, yet still within a definite period. It seems not improbable that in course of time the influence of this ethereal medium upon the comet's rate of motion will be known; and that future astronomers will learn by the accuracy of its returns whether it has met with any unknown cause of disturbance on its journey outwards of 3,370,000,000 miles. Or it may be the means of revealing to the inward eye of the mathematician the existence of an unknown planet lying beyond the visible boundary of our system, even as the perturbations of Uranus revealed to Adams and Leverrier the existence of Neptune.

Again the veteran computist, M. de Pontécoulant, entered upon an investigation of the comet's movement, with the view of determining the date when it would reach its perihelion. So early as 1864 he announced, in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, that the next arrival at perihelion would be on the 24th of May 1910. An examination of his work led to doubt as to strict accuracy: it was noticed that he had only considered the disturbing action of Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus; it was obvious, too, that he had made some numerical errors. Two able computists of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich—Messrs. Cowell and Crommelin—have gone further into the abstruse calculations, taking into account the effect on the comet's movement of all the planets except Mercury and Mars. They do not claim absolute rigour. The task of taking into account every element of computation is simply appalling. At first they reached the conclusion that the comet would arrive at perihelion eleven days earlier than Pontécoulant had assigned. * Further investigation has enabled Mr. Crommelin to announce the most probable date to be the 16th of April 1910. It will pass round the Sun with a speed of about 1800 miles a minute, and with extremely rapid geocentric motion will approach the Earth's orbit within the comfortable distance of about 12 millions of miles. If it would deign while passing outwards to give the Earth a tilt, doubtless it would settle many international difficulties,

and confound our own and other people's politics. It will be an evening star in Pisces at the beginning of the year—in March and again in May. At the time of greatest brightness the conditions of observation will be much more favourable in the southern hemisphere than in the northern. It may be added that the comet will probably be near enough to the Sun to be seen at the time of the solar eclipse of the 8th of May 1910.

ED. VINCENT HEWARD.

THE EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

I.

It is generally admitted that the last three or four years have witnessed the birth of a new spirit in India. Whether it should be styled the spirit of unrest and sedition, or the spirit of a legitimate national aspiration, largely depends upon the point of view taken by the observer. It is not proposed in the present article to discuss that question, nor to endeavour to trace the causes which have led to these new developments; still less to dictate to British politicians the steps which should now be taken, in the interests of all concerned, to meet the situation.

But it appears to the present writer to be of the utmost importance that the issue to be determined should be presented in its true aspect. Unfortunately, the essays of those who sympathise with national aspirations are worse than partisan; they traduce without scruple or hesitation the methods of the existing Government in India, and they bristle with misrepresentations of the aims and objects of British policy in that country. For proof of this it is only necessary to point in India to the literature of the Nationalist press *passim*, in England to books such as *Prosperous British India*, published by the late Mr. William Digby, and in America to articles such as that by Mr. Sunderland entitled 'The Nationalist Movement in India,' in the *Atlantic Monthly* for last October. The licence of the Indian native press in this matter has become notorious and need not now be dwelt on, but the repetition of false arguments by Englishmen and Americans is likely to cause infinite harm. To those acquainted with India it may scarcely seem worth while to be at the pains of contradicting the obvious exaggerations and distortions to which currency is given in the English and American publications alluded to; but there is no doubt whatever that exaggerations and distortions of exactly the same nature may lead to practical disaster, and are in fact responsible for the extravagant crudities fermenting in the brain of the assassin Dhingra; while there is plenty of evidence to show that they command a large audience in both countries, and, being unchecked, are likely to gain an unduly wide credence. This is especially the case in America, where a natural tendency to sympathise with autonomous institutions, and a somewhat imperfect grasp of the conditions prevailing in India, predispose the less thoughtful to accept calumnious versions of the

proceedings of the Indian authorities. Mr. Roosevelt, it is true, made a forceful protest against this attitude shortly before he relinquished the post of President of the United States. He appears to have been moved by no impulse except that of a generous sympathy when he went out of his way to extol the work of the British in India, but naturally it was not possible for him to support the honest expression of his belief by a mass of detailed fact and argument. The purpose of the present article can perhaps best be served by adopting his words to represent one side of the case, by making a concise *résumé* of such writers as Mr. Digby to represent the other side, and by then applying to each the touchstone of authoritative facts, so far as such facts can be ascertained. It is curious, but true, that the American speaker must be briefed for the Indian Government against the English writer ; because the Englishmen who are best qualified to speak are generally silent.

Here then are Mr. Roosevelt's words,—

The successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the last two centuries. On the whole, it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves. The mass of the people have been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would be now if the English control were overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if the English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence ; all the weaker peoples and the most industrious and law-abiding would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression ; and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, the violent, and the blood-thirsty.

Now, for the concise *résumé* on the other side, the following statements, taken directly from its literature, may be regarded as fairly representative :—

India was a full land when England first went there, not a comparatively empty one, as America was when it was discovered. It possessed highly-organised governments far older than that of Great Britain, and a civilisation that had risen to a splendid height before England's was born. England does not colonise India. Why did she go there at first, and why does she remain ? What has been the result ? Only that India is now racked by appalling famines of increasing severity, due entirely to the growing impoverishment of the people. This impoverishment is caused by—

1. Heavy taxation.
2. The deliberate destruction by Britain of India's manufactures.
3. The enormous and wholly unnecessary cost of her Government.
4. The heavy military expenditure.
5. The steady and enormous drain of wealth from India to England.

All these troubles and miseries are due to the fundamental crime committed by England in her dealings with India, viz. that she does not permit the Indian people to have any voice in their own government, but treats them as slaves through the medium of an unsympathetic and unfeeling bureaucracy. Let them have self-rule, and all these evils would at once be righted. India was not incapable of ruling herself before England came. Why should she be regarded as incapable now ?

These, then, are the two pictures. It is quite clear that they are essentially incompatible, and that no perversion of words nor ingenuity of argument can make them harmonise.

Let us now apply the touchstone of fact. And first we will deal, as briefly as possible, with the historical aspect of this question. The delineation given in the second picture above is the result of a confusion of thought between the ancient and the modern history of the peninsula. It is true that 2000 or 3000 years ago there existed in India a civilisation higher than that which was to be found in England at the same time. But England came to India 250 years ago; and if it is true that India at that period of history was not incapable of ruling herself, if she possessed at that time, or at any date within one hundred years of that time, a highly organised government of her own, how is it that she came to allow small bodies of Europeans, a few hundreds strong, to impose themselves upon different parts of the country and to divide up its territories among them? The facts are surely too well known and too well authenticated to need repetition in detail. The English first appeared on Indian soil as traders—the expansion of their business among a crowd of petty, weak, ill-governed principalities, combined with competition against traders from other European countries, forced upon them measures for self-protection; the collapse of their opponents obliged them to take steps for the management of the territories which fell into their hands; thus they found themselves the repositories of a political power which was no doubt more than they could safely wield—and eventually the Crown had to intervene to relieve the East India Company of the enormous and extensive responsibilities which the weakness and want of cohesion of the different peoples of India had left to it as a heritage. India was just a congeries of small principalities, all warring with one another, and it is obvious from the briefest perusal of the history of that period that there was no central Government at all, no government of India. It would be premature at present to speculate whether, if English control were now withdrawn, India would at once relapse to the condition of anarchy and misrule in which England found her, though Mr. Roosevelt, whose imaginative faculties were not likely to be blind to its importance, has clearly stated his opinion on this point; but, apart from that question, it is clear that British rule has during the last two hundred years given to the nations of India a peace and a freedom from war and bloodshed which they had not enjoyed for centuries before. This point is generally passed by without notice in the Nationalist literature; but it is surely one which the British administration may claim as counting for much on the credit side of their account.

Leaving now the historical side of the picture, let us follow these writers into regions where they appear to be more cogent, the malevolent methods actually employed by their British rulers towards the

dumb millions of India. It is strange how the transition from a western to an oriental latitude must alter a man's nature! It is generally admitted by these writers, as for instance in the *Atlantic Monthly* article already referred to, that Britain treats her Colonies well, and allows them an extraordinary degree of freedom, and that British institutions generally stand for liberty. How is that the men who go out to help in the administration of India follow such a different line of development? They come of the same stock as the rest of the British race. Is it to be supposed that the young Indian civilian on his first voyage to the East drops, as he crosses the Equator, his proud inherited traditions of freedom, and as soon as he touches Indian soil puts on with his sun helmet the garb of the tyrant and slave-master? The supposition seems too forced. In fact, Englishmen in India are much the same as Englishmen elsewhere. Though they learn, as a rule, that the country cannot be left to itself, they seek, not without marked success, to be just and fair, and they really do not feel the smallest satisfaction in seeing people dying of famine around them.

In speaking of famine, and turning once more to our second picture, it is in the first place necessary to understand the composition of the Indian population. It must never be forgotten, in considering Indian problems, that the Indian Empire is a peasant empire, and that roughly eighty out of every hundred persons in that continent live by the land. A failure of the crops all over India would therefore have a more or less direct effect on 80 per cent. of the population—that is to say, on some two hundred and forty millions of people. But famine has never been known to occur over all the different provinces of India simultaneously, and since the incidence of the population varies from district to district, and famine naturally occurs most readily where the incidence of the agricultural population is heaviest, it follows that the number directly affected in any famine-stricken area must be considerably more than 80 per cent. of the population of that area. This is no new development, due to the effects of British rule. Every Indian will readily admit that agriculture has been the mainstay of the people throughout the ages—and for that reason a fairly widespread failure of the crops has from time immemorial spelt famine. The annals of the country contain numerous references to these recurring calamities. But, it is said, the famines are of increasing frequency and severity. This is a statement which requires the most careful examination. The spoliation of India by the British has been proceeding; according to these writers, at any rate throughout the nineteenth century, if not longer. But, the mortality from famine in the first quarter of the century was twice as heavy as in the twenty-five years which followed. Why was this, if British rapacity maintained its vigour? The whole argument as to the increasing frequency and severity of famines is based on the fact that

several famines of great severity have occurred during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. That this period was one of agricultural distress in India is undisputed ; it was a time during which, and especially during the last ten years of which, the seasons were extraordinarily unfavourable. It is unproved that a similar succession of lean years in an earlier stage of the century would not have been followed by similar conditions of distress. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that in that case the distress occasioned would have been far greater, the machinery for combating it being then far less efficient. The war which is constantly waged by the Government of India against the ghastly forces of famine is seldom alluded to in the literature now under notice ; and it is therefore worth while to dwell for a moment on this point. The signs of impending distress in any area threatened with a failure of the crops are watched by the Government with the closest scrutiny ; when it is clear that a scarcity is no longer avoidable, preparations to meet it and to save human life throughout the area of distress are promptly and energetically taken in hand ; when distress actually begins, famine or scarcity, as the case may be, is declared to exist, and from that moment a regular campaign opens. All other official work is relegated to a second place ; every officer is expected to gird up his loins for the fight ; relief camps are opened ; hundreds of officials, military as well as civil, are deputed to special duty : and the Government proceeds to pour forth blood and treasure without stint to meet the crisis ; the word ' blood ' is used advisedly, for no famine occurs which does not take its toll of officers and helpers, whose lives are sacrificed in the struggle through hard work, exposure, or disease. The very watchfulness of the Government for the first approaching symptoms of disaster is in itself an explanation of the alleged increasing frequency of famines. History only records those of which the extent and severity have left a lasting mark—local calamities or those which caused comparatively slight distress are not likely to find mention in the annals—but in modern days the full light of publicity plays upon every part of the continent, and so long as a single relief work is open, although in old days there would have been neither relief measures nor talk of famine, it is now accounted a famine in India. That this statement is well founded can be proved by an examination of the eighteen famines which Mr. Digby tells us have occurred in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. Mr. Digby's list of famines shows that no increase of mortality occurred in ten out of the eighteen occasions, so that in these ten cases either there was only scarcity not amounting to famine, or the measures taken by the Government to meet distress were adequate to prevent any loss of life. Two of the entries on his list may be quoted in full :

1886-87. Central Provinces. Earthworks prepared, but late autumn rains secured ripening of winter crops.

1890. Kumaon and Garhwal. Comparatively small help sufficed.

These are two instances where it is quite clear that there was no famine at all—only the apprehension of it. But some apprehension is felt every year in some part of India, and if it were permissible to everyone to compile statistics in this way it would be easy to show that there were more than eighteen famines in every quarter of each century.

It is not desired, however, to belittle the very serious loss of life which has occurred through famine in India during the term in question. The mortality was no doubt very heavy; but this was due to a series of unfavourable seasons. In British India, especially during the last four famines, every nerve was strained to meet the situation, but at present nothing that human aid can do can avail, in the conditions of the country, to avert dire distress when such seasons come. There is a vernacular word current in Rajputana—a word of very ancient origin, dating back, I believe, to centuries before the British occupation—which means ‘a triple famine,’ i.e. a famine of grain, grass, and water. The later famines, especially those of 1876 and 1899, have been of this nature. The people have known the quality of these calamities for a thousand years, and they attribute them to the correct and obvious cause. Were it not so there must have been a mutiny against British rule on this ground long ago, but it is only our modern pamphleteers who have thought of making the constant liability to famine a grievance against the rulers. If it were true that famines of increasing frequency and severity are the result of British methods of government, and of unduly heavy taxation, how can the occurrence of famine be explained in those parts of the country which are under native rule? In the native States of Haiderabad, Mysore, and Central India the worst famines have occurred, but from these tracts not one penny of the land tax goes into British coffers. If, as our critics say, the remedy for this grievous affliction is to grant independence to the natives, why is the affliction felt so severely in regions where complete power over the agriculturist is already in native hands? The fact is that till lately the distress felt by the agricultural classes in the native States in time of famine has been far greater than in British India, owing to the less effective measures taken by the administrative authorities to cope with it. And this fact is one of the explanations of the high mortality which has occurred during the numerous rainless seasons of the past quarter of the nineteenth century. Mr. Digby, judging largely from the check on the normal growth of the population—a very unsafe foundation for logical argument—puts the figure at 19,000,000 persons. Now in dealing with these large figures it is well to bear in mind that the entire population is some three hundred millions. And it is a matter for congratulation, and indeed for marvel, that in spite of these devastating calamities, affecting hundreds of millions of the agricultural classes, in spite of inadequate protective arrangements in the native States, in spite of the enormously heavy financial drain occasioned by the relief expenditure, the population has not

only escaped decrease, but has actually increased by 7,000,000.¹ Even if, for the purposes of argument only, Mr. Digby's figure for the mortality of 19,000,000 be accepted as an outside estimate, it means that the annual loss from famine causes during the last quarter of the century was less than 1 per cent. of the people. When one considers the difficulties to be surmounted, the very extensive areas affected, the absolute necessity of reducing the daily consumption of food to the lowest reasonable point, the consequent inevitable weakening of the stamina of the sufferers, the liability to illness and disease which, with the best protective arrangements, famine must bring in its train, and, last but not least, the impossibility of ensuring that adequate relief measures shall always be taken in the native States areas, it is to the greatest credit of the Government of India that they have succeeded in bringing the people through these dreadful years of storm and stress with so little actual loss of life. As regards the last point mentioned above, it is far from the wishes of the present writer to convey any unjust impression. He has known many native States where the protective arrangements against famine have been of the most efficient nature; but this is not always the case, and the general standard of efficiency is lower than in British India.

Now as to the impoverishment of the people, it has been stated by Mr. Digby, and by others who have followed in his wake, that the average daily income of the people in India decreased from 2*d.* per head in 1850 to 1½*d.* per head in 1882, and again to ¾*d.* per head in 1900. To reduce the wealth of the country by one-quarter in thirty-two years (1850-1882) would be a considerable feat for British avarice to accomplish, but to reduce it again by 50 per cent. in little more than half of the same period would involve a practical impossibility, which even the most unlimited credulity could scarcely be expected to swallow. I am therefore not surprised to find that the writer in the *Atlantic Monthly* has refrained from adopting the last figure. The fact is that the data on which Mr. Digby bases his estimates are absolutely untrustworthy. He arrives at his conclusions by making separate estimates for the agricultural and the non-agricultural wealth of the nation, adding these together and dividing the sum total by the figure of population. The result so obtained he compares with an official estimate made in 1882, which, however, he describes as pure 'guess-work.' His own estimate for 1900 is equally guess-work, and there does not seem to be much point, apart from the impressionist effect, in comparing two guesses with one another. It is, however, worth while to go a little deeper into these two estimates. Mr. Digby places the annual total wealth of British India in 1900 at 264,000,000*l.*, to be divided among two hundred and twenty-six million people—i.e. between twenty-three

¹ The increase in British India only during the decade ended 1901 was 10,660,000, so that there must have been a decrease of over three and a-half millions in native States in that period.

and twenty-four shillings (a little less than eighteen rupees) per head per annum. The estimate of 1882 was twenty-seven rupees, so even by his own figures Mr. Digby's estimate of a 50 per cent. diminution is belied. But what we have to consider is whether the wealth of the agricultural classes has in fact diminished. Broad facts must be regarded. Here are some that may be of use for the purposes of this discussion. In spite of bad seasons and famine between 1890 and 1900, the area under cultivation in British India increased during that period by nearly four million acres, and the irrigated area by more than one and three-quarter million acres. It is difficult to make a similar comparison for the period between 1882 and 1890, as statistics for the provinces of Bengal are not available until the latter date; but omitting Bengal altogether, comparison is possible with the results established by an official inquiry made in 1885. The cultivated area in British India, exclusive of Bengal, increased between 1884 and 1890 by over sixteen million acres, and the irrigated area by over six million acres. Adding these two sets of figures together, we find that in the sixteen years between 1884 and 1900 the area cropped was extended by twenty million acres, of which nearly eight million acres were irrigated, without making any allowance for the increase which must undoubtedly have occurred in Bengal during the first six years of the period. One more correction is necessary. Upper Burma and Ajmer only came into the reckoning between 1886 and 1888, but deducting even as much as four million acres on this account, and assuming only one quarter of that acreage to be irrigated, we get a total increase of sixteen million acres of cultivation, seven millions of it irrigated, in a period of sixteen years—that period being admittedly one of extraordinary agricultural strain and difficulty. This increase, large as it is, may not perhaps be sufficient to keep pace with the growth of the agricultural population. But that is not the point. Mr. Digby and his followers state clearly that the impoverishment of the agricultural classes is not due to their increasing numbers, and the point at issue is whether that impoverishment is or is not occasioned directly by the brutal methods of the Government. The reply is that a country which can show such an extraordinary development of its agricultural resources as is shown in the figures given above, cannot be the subject of a cruel and grasping rule.

The problem presented by the rapid increase in the numbers of people dependent on the land is one that has long occupied the attention of those responsible for the administration of the country. It is easy for Mr. Digby and others to say that the country is not over-populated. Not, perhaps, if you include in the area all the deserts and mountains. The fact remains that something like 200,000,000 persons in British India at present depend for their sustenance on about the same number of cultivated acres; and there are not many countries where, apart from the artisan and non-agricultural popula-

tion, there are 640 people who have to get their living from each square mile of cultivation. Behind the obvious remedy so sedulously fostered by the Government—viz. an extension of cultivation and irrigation—there is a further means of relief for which the best minds and brains in India have long been striving, viz. the absorption of the surplus agricultural population in non-agricultural pursuits. Scant justice has been done by Mr. Digby and his friends to the enormous expansion of railways, mills, workshops, and industries of all sorts, which has taken place in India during the last thirty years. The picture now under criticism deliberately gives the impression that England has ruined all the old industries of the country, and established a few in their place entirely for her own benefit, while the marvellous growth of trade which the figures do not fail to betray is brushed aside with the remark that it is all part and parcel of the drain on India established, with Machiavellian cunning, by England for her own enrichment and for the impoverishment of the natives. Now over this question of the non-agricultural wealth of India it is easy to refute Mr. Digby's conclusion even more disastrously than over his agricultural statistics. He puts the annual non-agricultural income of British India at 84,751,905*l*. Let us take some of the items at random.

Jute and Hemp (less raw material)	. . . . .	1,937,841 <i>l</i> .
Hides and Skins	. . . . .	4,967,089 <i>l</i> .
Village Potteries	. . . . .	375,000 <i>l</i> .

These are Mr. Digby's estimates. Their statistical value may be gauged by the following statements which, being based on the official trade returns for 1899–1900, represent the closest approximation to truth that can be got for the year in question. The exports from India of jute manufactures, exclusive of the raw material, in the year in question were worth 4,176,233*l*., or considerably more than twice the value which Mr. Digby assumes for this article, plus hemp, not merely exported but *produced* in the whole of British India. Since 1900 this export trade has increased by leaps and bounds, and in 1906–07 it amounted to nearly ten and a-half million pounds sterling. The value of the hides and skins exported in the same year fell only a little short of 7,000,000*l*., and this leaves out of sight the enormous internal trade done all over India by the 'chamárs' or petty tanners, some of whom exist in every village in the peninsula. Again Mr. Digby's estimate must be very much less than half the truth. His estimate for village potteries allows for each person in India spending about one-third of a penny during the year on the 'chatties' or earthen pots which are seen in daily use in every native household. Nearly all his figures are open to similar criticism, and it is hardly too much to say that his estimate of the non-agricultural wealth of the country is not worth the paper on which it was written.

Mr. Digby and his supporters will doubtless argue that the exports are not to be considered part of the people's wealth in India. They allege that the undeniable prosperity of India, as evidenced by its trade returns, is not that of the Indian people, but of their English masters. Perhaps the most complete answer to this allegation is to be found in the fact that out of the total exports from India of private merchandise, valued at 70,455,797*l*. (these are the figures of 1899-1900), the exports to the United Kingdom were worth only 20,589,258*l*. As to the growth of trade, it is sufficient to say that its volume has grown from 1434 lakhs in 1834-35 to 34,421 lakhs in 1906-07—i.e. it has multiplied twenty-five fold in seventy years. It is absurd to say that this enormous expansion of trade has done the people of the country no good. The widening limits of the cultivated area, the increase in the price of agricultural produce, the extension of the markets, the employment of millions of people in a thousand industries, previously unknown, must have added vastly to the wealth of the people of India themselves. Mr. Digby seems to think that British capitalists are to blame for having helped to develop the country. That a large amount of British capital is sunk in the country is undeniable; but if it had not been forthcoming, many valuable schemes, providing labour and wages for the natives of India, would never have been started at all. To refuse an opening to this British capital would be utterly impolitic, and to deny to it, when once admitted, a just return in interest would be utterly immoral. Moreover, large openings have been given to native capitalists, and many of them have in consequence become immensely rich. The talk about the 'drain to England' is idle and baseless. It rests on the fact that the exports from India exceed the imports by about 15,000,000*l*., and since the bills drawn by the Secretary of State annually (previous to 1900) amounted to about the same sum, it is said that this money constitutes the 'tribute' paid by India to England. The statement is ridiculous. There is *no* tribute paid by India to England. The 'Home Charges,' as they are generally called, e.g. the sums disbursed by the Secretary of State for India in England, are roughly made up as follows :

HOME CHARGES FOR 1898-99.

(1) Interest on capital furnished by Englishmen for the development of the country	9,000,000 <i>l</i> .
(2) Pensions and allowances to retired officers and pay to officers on furlough	4,900,000
(3) Charges on account of Departments in India	236,000
(4) Stores for India	1,000,000
(5) Military Charges	1,000,000
(6) India Office Establishment	170,000

No honest man will surely say that the first four of these are other than legitimate charges against the Indian Government. They are merely payments due for value received, such as every civilised

administration regularly incurs and acknowledges and pays without question. The last two items may possibly be more open to question, but at any rate the debit of these charges to India is a matter which has been decided after full consideration of the pros and cons. by some of the fairest and most impartial men in both countries, and in any case the amount involved, as will be seen, is but a small fraction of the whole. As regards the argument that the payment of this alleged tribute is proved by the corresponding balance of trade against India, it is hoped that the following figures, taken from official documents, will finally dissipate this ridiculous fallacy. They are for the year 1899-1900, but the statistics of any year will give a similar result.

PRIVATE MERCHANDISE AND TREASURE.

Total Exports from India to other countries . . .	75,760,082 <i>l</i> .
Total Imports into India from other countries . . .	61,123,700 <i>l</i> .
Exports to the United Kingdom	21,919,372 <i>l</i> .
Imports from the United Kingdom	35,212,565 <i>l</i> .

These figures show that India takes from England, in the way of merchandise and treasure, an amount which exceeds by 60 per cent. that which she gives, and that the unfavourable balance of trade is not with the United Kingdom but with other countries. Also that the 'tribute,' if it exists at all and if its existence is to be inferred from the unfavourable balance of the total trade, is paid not to England but to other countries! It will be seen that even if the 9,000,000*l*. paid annually in interest to English capitalists be added to the exports to the United Kingdom the balance of trade as between the two countries would still be largely in India's favour.

The only speck of solid ground for this allegation about the drain from India is that the British administration is undoubtedly and inevitably costly. But who shall say that it was a mistaken policy to send out to India the best material that could be found in England? Good quality cannot be obtained without a price, and to pay that price is in the end the best economy. The quantity is marvellously small, and there has probably never been a country of equal extent in which the central governing body was composed of so small a band of foreigners. Moreover, the increasing cost of living obliges these foreigners to spend more and more of their incomes in the country, while as to the pensions drawn in England more than half of these is generally subscribed by the recipients themselves. Leaving out of account the fractions of their pay and Government pensions spent outside India by Englishmen employed in that country, there is no justification for the alleged 'drain' on India. The wealth of India, thanks chiefly to the enterprise and capital of Englishmen, has multiplied exceedingly during the last century, while during the same period the incidence of taxation—apart from the income tax, which does not touch the poorer classes—has been lowered,

especially the incidence of taxation on land. And all the measures of the Executive tend in the same direction. The latest proofs of this lie in the heavy reductions of the salt duties, and in the lightening of the cesses, collected with the land revenue.

Among all the misrepresentations which are current in the literature under notice there are none more glaring or more daring than those connected with this subject of the land tax. Mr. Digby in *Prosperous British India* quotes case after case where, according to his calculations, the land revenue on a holding amounts to over 80, and even 90, per cent. of the total produce of the fields on which it is assessed; and he certainly leaves it to be inferred that this is the normal incidence of the land tax. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.—the latest publicist of this school—after a two months' visit to India during which he really cannot have had time to study the land system of the country, whatever else he may have studied—has published a book entitled *India*, in which, among other amazing statements, he asserts that direct taxes on the land absorb from 50 to 65 per cent. of the total yield, and that with local taxes and other small items probably not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest goes in taxes. To those who have the smallest acquaintance with the conditions of land revenue settlement in India such assertions are positively pitiful in their blind ignorance. In assessing revenue every allowance is made on the most generous scale for all expenses of cultivation, and the balance remaining—that is to say, the *profits*—are occasionally, but not often, assessed at 50 per cent. In other words, it is not 75 per cent. of the total yield, as Mr. Keir Hardie asserts, but 50 per cent. of the net profits that is taken. This, too, is exceptional.

A careful inquiry has been made under the direction of the Government of India into this subject, and it has been ascertained that the incidence of the land tax varies from about 6 per cent. of the total yield in one province to about 10 per cent. in others, except in parts of Madras and in the rich province of Gujarat, where it rises to about 20 per cent. These figures are obtained in each case on a consideration of the entire facts of the whole province, so far as they can be ascertained; whereas Mr. Digby gives his impressions by means of quoting isolated data here and there. To any thinking man the figure of 75 per cent. of the total yield is in fact impossible, and Mr. Keir Hardie goes so far as to admit that to most people it seems incomprehensible. Why then repeat it, without more careful verification? The truth is open to the honest seeker, and he who runs may read.

Turning next to the military forces in India, these are not higher than the circumstances demand. The army is as small and as efficient as it can be, if India is to be defended from external foes. The argument that it is too costly is on a par with those of the small clique who would reduce the strength of the British Navy and who oppose

all measures for the improvement of the British Army. The Government of India have wisely decided not to play into the hands of the Little Englander.

The destruction of India's industries is a purely chimerical idea. That hand weaving and hand moulding have to a great extent vanished is no doubt true, but to ascribe this result to the deliberate machinations of the Government is ridiculous. It would be as reasonable to say that England was to blame for allowing the old Flemish weavers or the coach drivers of ancient days to disappear. Trade must develop in its own way, and according to the requirements of new generations and of new inventions. When steam-driven machinery replaced the ancient hand-loom, the hand weavers lost their special trade; at the present time the cab-drivers in London are disappearing under the invention of the taxi-cab. But these difficulties adjust themselves in every nation. And the enormous expansion of Indian trade, shown by the trade returns already alluded to, is sufficient proof that there has been no real diminution of Indian industries.

If it be argued that the native hand industries should have been protected at all costs, it may not be unreasonable to ask what would the nations think of a Government which prohibited the introduction into its territories of machinery and of capital for the development of the country's resources? Would not its enemies then have some reason in using the word 'slavery' which is employed so lightly and so unjustifiably against the present administration? Were it not that this reproach is seriously brought against the authorities in India, the refutation of it would seem to be idle, so untenable is the position which it involves.

Finally it is said that the great panacea for all the sufferings of the Indian people lies in the grant to them of an autonomous government. One would imagine from the tone of our critics on this subject that the idea of self-government for India was absolutely wanting in the minds of the authorities. The facts are so notoriously at variance with this presentment of them that it scarcely seems worth while to enlarge on the point; but for the benefit of those who are ignorant of the truth, and who may be disposed to accept as gospel the second picture under notice, some leading facts may be stated.

In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, issued at the close of the great Mutiny, it was laid down, that all her subjects, of whatever race or creed, should be freely and impartially admitted to offices for which they were qualified by education, ability, and integrity. This policy has been steadily pursued; and there are at the present time many natives of India holding offices of the highest rank, appointed Justices of High Courts, Commissioners, Members of the Board of Revenue, while in all inferior positions, from that of deputy collector downwards, the natives of India, with a small sprinkling of

Eurasians (*i.e.* descendants of mixed unions), hold a practical monopoly. It has not yet been found possible to appoint to the very powerful and responsible position of Lieutenant-Governor a native of the country, but the latest step in the development of the policy of impartiality has been the appointment of an Indian gentleman to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Before the article in the *Atlantic Monthly* was penned, the Government of India had made public certain proposals which they were contemplating for a further step in the policy of associating Indians in the Government. It is difficult to ascribe the entire silence of the writer on this point to any motive except a desire to mislead. He speaks only of Lord Morley's promised 'improvement,' and contemptuously adds that so far the promise has had no realisation. Since he wrote, full realisation has come. Lord Morley has amply redeemed his word, going even further than the Government of India proposed, and the immediate aspirations of the Indian people appear to have been satisfied. It is to be hoped that the writer feels some regret for his want of faith in British statesmen, both in India and in England. His only real argument in favour of autonomy is that India is already quite capable of governing herself, and he instances the cases of Baroda and Mysore, two States under administration by enlightened native chiefs. There are doubtless many native States in India which are well managed—the present writer speaks with the experience of a lifetime largely spent among them; there are others which are most indifferently managed. But even the most advanced at present depend for their guidance and support—nay, for their very existence—on the British administration in India. And were that to go, they would be left to fight for their lives, while the peace which they enjoy, and the civilisation which they have so laboriously attained, would quickly tumble to pieces.

The truth is that the policy of devolution of power to the natives of the country is set about with a thousand dangers and difficulties, and every dictate of wisdom and prudence requires that *festina lente* should be the guiding principle in its pursuit. There are many competent judges who think that the Government of India, under the spur of Lord Morley's radicalism, are at present going too fast and are yielding almost too much to popular clamour. There are points where the interests of the Indian subject and of the British subject must inevitably clash, and without the most deliberate and careful navigation round these rocks the ship of State must be endangered. It is the duty of the coming race of Englishmen in India, by the exercise of tact and conciliation, coupled with the most rigid impartiality, to bring it through the shoals, and it will be a task requiring the highest qualities, not only among Englishmen in office, but among all Englishmen, as well as the leading natives in that country. Let us hold stoutly to the belief that the common sense

and love of justice of the majority on both sides will ensure success. But the one certain method of inducing a catastrophe which would ruin the work of two centuries would be to follow the advice of Mr. Digby and his friends, and hand the government over to the natives immediately without more ado.

British statesmanship and forethought are not likely to be hurried into a policy of scuttle and disaster by arguments of this nature. And it is to be hoped that the good sense of the English and of the American people will be stirred no more than that of Mr. Roosevelt by the hysterical cries of irresponsible writers. Let the great problem which lies before us in India be approached by all parties with unprejudiced minds, with a clear perception of the truth, and with a full recognition of England's past efforts in India, so that its solution may end in peace and honour.

ELLIOT G. COLVIN.

THE EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

(II.)

IN the year 1748 the Frenchman Dupleix was master of Southern India. At Pondicherry, in the midst of gorgeous ceremonies, Mozuffer Jung, Nizam of the Deccan and representative of the Great Mogul of Delhi, appointed Dupleix Governor of all the countries to the south of the river Krishna. His subjects numbered thirty million souls. Dupleix built a stately column on which inscriptions in four languages set forth the story of his greatness. Around the pillar arose a town bearing the name of Dupleix Fatiabad, 'the city of the victory of Dupleix.' Three years later the Englishman Clive rased to the ground both the town and the column of victory. *Sic volvere Parcas*. The Fates decreed that England and not France was to enter upon the goodly heritage of the moribund Mogul Empire.

It was the might of England alone that drove the French out of India. But for Clive, a French Viceroy and Governor-General would now hold his court at Calcutta and Simla; the tricolour and not the Union Jack would wave proudly over the forts and palaces of Delhi and Agra. Unless indeed a more robust nation in 1871, not content with Alsace and Lorraine, had replaced the tricolour by the eagles of the Fatherland in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Asiatic dominion in India was an impossibility. Not the empire of Delhi, not the courage of the Sikhs, not the ferocity of the Mahrattas, could withstand the disciplined forces of the West. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English were all striving for the mastery of India, and the prize fell to the nation which came latest into the field. As the ancient Hindoo dynasties had gone down before the inroads of the Mahomedans, so both Hindoos and Mahomedans were forced to yield to the irresistible armies of England.

Madar Lal Dhingra, the Hindoe student who recently murdered Sir William Curzon-Wyllie in London, justified his brutal deed on the grounds that it was wrought on behalf of patriotism.

The English people [he insisted] have no right to occupy India; and it is perfectly justifiable on our part to kill an Englishman who is polluting our sacred land. I am surprised at the terrible hypocrisy, farce and mockery of the English people, when they pose as champions of oppressed humanity, such as the people of the Congo and the people of Russia, when there are such terrible oppression

and horrible atrocities committed in India—for example, killing two millions of people every year.

This is a specimen of views commonly held, or at all events professed, by Indians of to-day. The vernacular press in India teems with such sentiments. Hindoo students in London have celebrated the anniversary of the great Mutiny, terming it the first attempt at independence. Indian students at Cirencester have toasted the memory of the infamous Nana Sahib, the murderer of English women and children at Cawnpore. Nor are these opinions confined to natives of India. Mr. Victor Grayson, M.P., speaking at Huddersfield on the 3rd of July, referred to the assassination of Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie. In the papers that day, he said, he had seen photographs of the victim, and also of the murderer, whom they called 'the assassin.' When he saw those photographs, he said to himself, 'Why not put Lord Morley in, and say, "Another assassin"?' When a poor Indian, mad and exasperated by horrors endured by his people, rose and committed a mad act, the community howled, and would tear him limb from limb. He did not condone his act. As a Socialist, he was not in favour of assassination. But, while the world howled against a man demented by wrongs to his country, he extended his sympathy to him, and his hatred of tyranny in his country and in England.

Are the aspersions of Madar Lal Dhingra and Mr. Victor Grayson upon British rule in India capable of justification? I propose to consider briefly the circumstances which immediately preceded the introduction of our rule, and the conditions which now exist.

The great Mogul Empire was in the throes of dissolution. The history of that empire was for the most part a record of incessant wars and rebellions, crimes and catastrophes. Royal princes fought with one another for the succession to the throne. Viceroy of provinces, deputies and generals, were constantly engaged in setting up independent dominions. The Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan, of which the greatest were Ahmednagar and Bijapur, waged bloody wars with the Emperor of Delhi. Invasions by wild tribes from the north were of common occurrence. In 1739, when the French power was approaching its ascendancy in the South of India, Nadir Shah, who had made himself King of Persia, led his army by way of Kandahar to Delhi, and, there meeting with some resistance, gave the order for a general massacre. For six hours, it is recorded, twenty thousand men were employed in the work of slaughter; and the number of the slain was set down as not less than thirty thousand. A great portion of the city was burnt. The imperial jewels and the famous peacock throne were borne away, and even the poorest of the citizens were compelled by cruel tortures to give up their scanty hoards. The Mogul power was broken, and the invaders were suffered

to depart without an effort to oppose them. In the West of India the Mahrattas had made themselves independent of the Mahomedans, Delhi and Bijapur alike. These wild warriors carried their rule from one side of India to the other, robbing and plundering wherever they went. The English merchants of Calcutta were forced in 1751 to dig a ditch round their settlement to protect it from the incursions of these intolerable freebooters. Except during the wonderful reign of the Emperor Akbar, contemporary of our Queen Elizabeth, such a thing as religious toleration was unknown. All Hindoos were forced to pay a capitation tax known as the *jezia*, in return for which Mahomedanism allows conquered populations the sufferance to live. Except in the reign of Akbar, there were heavy taxes on all Hindoos who went on pilgrimage to their sacred shrines. Hindoos who were taken prisoners in war were slain by thousands, and their women and children sold as slaves. The predecessors and successors of Akbar were guilty of deeds of unspeakable cruelty. There was never any security of life and property. Justice was openly bought and sold. The arm of the law, even if willing, was not infrequently powerless to smite down the evil-doers. Emperors and Nawabs might build magnificent palaces and sepulchres, but in the way of public works for the public good, with the one exception of tanks or reservoirs, they did practically nothing. Roads, harbours, canals, and bridges were of scant consideration in comparison with royal parks and mausoleums. Here are two citations of native rulers regarding the mass of their subjects: 'Give the poor a dhotee (loin-cloth), it is enough,' said Shiwaji, the great Mahratta patriot. 'What are the poor to us?' observed Mir Nur Mahomed to Lieutenant Eastwick in Sind, when that country enjoyed independence.

A few specific instances of native misgovernment may be more significant than a series of generalisations. The richest province of India was Bengal. The Nawab or Viceroy of the territory in the year 1735 was Alaverdi Khan. Subject to his rule there were various Hindoo Rajas. One of these was the Raja of Moughyr. By a long-standing agreement this chieftain sent his tribute yearly to a certain spot with an escort of thirty men. Alaverdi Khan on his part was pledged to send thirty men, and no more, to receive the tribute. The Nawab had had certain differences with the Raja, and he resolved to take his revenge. He ostensibly sent his thirty men, but with them there went another force which was to lie in ambush. The Raja came with his men and paid his tribute. All but one, who escaped, were murdered. Two Englishmen, Mr. Holwell and Captain Holcombe, saw a boat going down the river, which contained thirty heads. The man who escaped carried the news of the massacre to the Raja's wife. She set fire to the palace, and with her son died in the flames. The city was sacked and burnt by the troops of Alaverdi Khan. Such was the imaginary golden age which young India would like to restore in

supersession of the *Pax Britannica*. Alaverdi Khan was succeeded by his grandson Suraj-ud-Daola. The new Viceroy was filled with an insane hatred of the English merchants at Calcutta, and an extravagant idea of their wealth. An excuse was easily found, and in 1756 he marched upon Calcutta. The defenders were overpowered and disarmed. Then occurred the memorable tragedy of the Black Hole. In the fiery heat of the Indian summer solstice a hundred and forty-six English people, whether with or without the Nawab's orders, were thrust into a room about twenty feet square, with one window only, and confined there for a night. In the morning sixteen miserable wretches were found surviving. The rest were dead. Suraj-ud-Daola was indifferent as to what had happened. His only inquiries were for the places where the wealth of the victims might be hidden. Native writers who recorded the capture of Calcutta did not make mention of the catastrophe. In fact, it excited no particular attention, except among Europeans. Events of this sort were too ordinary to call for notice.

The Marquis of Wellesley was Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. He went out full of his predecessor Lord Cornwallis's theory of the balance of power between Native States. But the determination of Tippoo of Mysore, and the great Mahratta chiefs, Sindia and Holkar, to inundate the land with war and anarchy forced him to undertake campaign after campaign, and to realise that peace in India was impossible unless one paramount power prevented aggression and tumult. He saw that of all existing powers the British alone could become paramount in India, and he held it to be his duty to work for this consummation. But this idea was to the Directors of the East India Company incomprehensible; and Lord Cornwallis was sent back to reverse Wellesley's policy. Non-intervention followed. Territories which had been reduced to order were restored to chaos. In 1807 a horrible and desolating war took place between the Rajas of Udaipur and Jodhpur. The former in his distress prayed for British protection, using unconsciously the very argument of Lord Wellesley that without a paramount power in India there could be no peace or safety, and that as the English alone could act as such a power it was their duty to do so. His request was refused, and the war raged on.

The Pindharries of Holkar and Sindia were to the Mahrattas what the carrion crow is to the vulture. „ Wherever they went these merciless plunderers swept the land like a flight of devouring locusts. The most fiendish and ingenious tortures were used by them to make their victims disclose their wealth. It fell to the lot of the Marquis of Hastings, in connexion with the third Mahratta war, by which the dominions of the Peshwa were transferred to the British, to deal with these incurable ruffians, who were used as convenient instruments or allies by Holkar, Sindia, and even the Peshwa. They were hunted

down, severely handled in many small encounters, and either killed or completely dispersed.

Some years later (1834) a frightful series of iniquities perpetrated by the Raja of Koorg, a mountain State between Mysore and Malabar, forced the British to interfere. The Raja was banished. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, desired that the people should choose a new ruler. They unanimously declared that the new ruler must be the British Government, stipulating only that their Raja should never be allowed to come back. The same Governor-General put down the abominable practice of Suttee, which compelled a Hindoo widow to be burnt alive on the funeral pyre of her husband ; and he broke up the vast secret society of Thugs, who strangled their victims with a handkerchief, and plied their profession of robbing and murdering as a religious calling.

Aggression, violence, murder, everlasting wars within, frequent invasions from without, tyranny and oppression of all kinds, constitute the history of India for many centuries before we gradually established the *Pax Britannica*. Clive at Arcot in 1751 may be said to have laid the foundations of our supremacy. It was not till 1849, when the Punjab was annexed, that the work of conquest was completed and British power embraced the whole peninsula. Even then Lord Dalhousie's annexations of Nagpur, Oudh, and other States were still to follow.

The contrast between what preceded and what has followed the establishment of our rule can only be described as amazing. Long as the process of conquest took, a great part of the country has been under our sway for more than a hundred and fifty years. During this period once, and once only, has there been war in the territories over which floats the English flag, when, with the completion of a century from Clive's battle of Plassy, the great Mutiny was to tax the strength of British rule to its uttermost. The mind cannot imagine the possibility nowadays of a desolating war between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahratta chiefs of Indore and Gwalior, of the rich plains of Bengal being overrun by hordes of Mahratta horsemen burning and plundering wherever they went, or of a monarch from Persia advancing upon Delhi and causing its streets to run with blood. The stone walls of villages, built to resist Pindharries, are crumbling down, for they are no longer needed. The ploughman has no longer to take a musket with him when he cultivates his field. What a man sows, that he knows that he will be allowed to reap in peace.

We have covered the lands with good roads, while before our time there were no means of communication excepting the great rivers. We have created twenty-five thousand miles of railway over which third-class passengers are carried at a farthing a mile. Steamships ply constantly up and down the coast for the conveyance of passengers at nominal rates. We have instituted a cheap and efficient postal

and telegraphic service throughout the length and breadth of the land. A letter can be sent from Quetta to Mandalay for a halfpenny, a postcard for a farthing, and a telegram for fourpence. We have built schools, colleges, and universities, and diffused education by every means in our power. We have laid out canals for navigation and irrigation, and brought thousands of square miles of desert into culture. We have striven hard to prevent famines, and, if they occur, the utmost efforts are employed for the saving of life. We have provided splendid supplies of pure water for all the great cities and for many of the smaller ones; great bridges for the use of pedestrians and cart traffic, as well as for railway trains, span the Ganges, the Jumna, the Indus, and other rivers. Sanitation, in spite of extraordinary difficulties, has received the utmost attention. Hospitals and dispensaries cover the land. Vaccination has been placed within the reach of all. Experimental farms for the improvement of agriculture have been instituted in every province. The more important cities are lit with electric light, and electric tram-cars run in the streets. The land tax or rent (the thing is one and the same in India) has been assessed at moderate rates, and every landowner knows exactly what he has to pay. Increased assessment on account of improvements is forbidden. Religious intolerance on the part of any in authority is unknown. In no part of the world has a man greater freedom to worship whatsoever gods he will.

We have established one law for rich and poor, for white and black. The only privileges for the European are that he may possess and carry arms without a licence, and may claim in the law courts to be tried by a jury of which the majority are his fellow-countrymen. So long as we are responsible for the integrity and efficiency of the administration the higher appointments must remain for the most part in the hands of Europeans. But those are comparatively very few. Most of the magistrates are natives of India. The whole of the Indian Civil Service recruited in London contains less than a thousand officers, of whom some are Hindoos and Mahomedans. A few facts worth remembering are that India includes a territory equal to all Europe, except Russia and Scandinavia; that nearly a third of this consists of Native States possessing various degrees of independence; that the population of India is three hundred millions; and that Europeans, men, women and children, number less than a quarter of a million. India is defended by an army ludicrously small for the size of the country in comparison with that of any other civilised State, which is as efficient, well-disciplined and well-behaved as any in the world. The police are as capable as European supervision can make them.

What then is the trouble? What was in the minds of Messrs. Dhingra and Victor Grayson? In the case of the latter, nothing at all but the densest ignorance. In the former case one thing only, and

that is that our Government in India is a foreign one. Mr. Dhingra, standing for the present agitators, who, by the way, are practically all Hindoos, considered that we have no right to be in India at all, and that Indians, by which he meant Hindoos, should manage their own affairs—that is, defend the country from foreign invaders, maintain internal peace, secure religious tolerance, and do justice between man and man. These things they have never been able to do. The result of our withdrawal from India would be bloodshed and carnage throughout the land. The country would soon find itself divided, like ancient Gaul, into three parts—one ruled by Germany, one by Russia, and one by Japan. Practical independence such as is enjoyed by Canada and Australia, and which cements our union with those countries, would be used in India, as it would be in Ireland, to break away from us, not because our rule is bad but because it is foreign. The grant of self-government would precipitate our extinction and throw back civilisation and liberty in India by a century. There is no more tyranny in India because the people are ruled by laws which they have not made themselves, than there is in England because the minority (if minority it be) at the present moment has to obey laws against which it has made the most formal and solemn protest, and has to look on almost helplessly at the neglect (to use the least invidious term) of our national defences by Ministers who do not command the public confidence. Before Mr. Victor Grayson again characterises Lord Morley as an assassin he would do well to devote a portion of his time to the study of Indian history.

EDMUND C. COX.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



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*THE LAND, THE LANDLORDS AND
THE PEOPLE*

To the September number of this Review I contributed an article entitled 'The Land, the People and the General Election.' I showed in this article that, by creating numerous freeholds, we can settle at least 5,000,000 people on the land; that Tariff Reform and Land Reform are part of that great constructive national and imperial policy which Mr. Chamberlain has initiated and which the Unionist Party has taken up; and that a Land Settlement Policy on the broadest basis is advocated by the leaders of that party. Since the publication of that article Lord Rosebery has formally seceded from the Liberal-Socialist Party. Although he has not joined the Unionist Party he has proclaimed himself a staunch Unionist and Imperialist by his action. A great many Unionists look upon Lord Rosebery as one of their great intellectual leaders, and his words carry the greatest weight with them. Therefore Lord Rosebery's statement regarding the land problem, made in his great speech at Glasgow, should have a considerable effect upon the Unionist Party. He said :

I don't think the land system is perfect. I would gladly see more people settled on the land, and Parliament has shown ample zeal in assisting the

Government to settle more people on the land. I would even go further, and I should be glad to see the Government use its enormous credit to help to settle a new race of yeomanry on the land. . . . I quite admit that the land system is not perfect. It will develop, and it will develop into something very different from what it is now.

Mr. Balfour said on the 22nd of September at Birmingham :

I have always been one of those who have ardently desired to see, and still hope to see, the ownership of agricultural land distributed in an incomparably greater number of hands than it now is. There is no measure with which I am more proud to have been connected than that which has had the effect of giving peasant ownership on a large scale to Ireland, and I hope to see a great expansion of such ownership in England. Nothing can be more desirable. Nothing can be more important. I therefore look forward with hope and eager expectation to a time when a Government may come in, not hampered, clogged, and bound by these Socialistic crotchets, and adapt to the very different conditions of life in this country what a Unionist Government has already done with such marked success for the sister island.

The official and unofficial leaders of the Unionist Party are agreed that it is desirable and necessary to deal with the land problem in town and country ; that it is desirable and necessary to recreate our agriculture and to re-settle the land ; that it is desirable and necessary to give as many people as possible a stake in the country. Therefore the question arises : How is this great reform to be effected ?

The land problem is a difficult and an intricate one. Great Britain has no surplus lands, as have her Colonies and the United States, and no vast State domains on which numerous freeholders can be settled, as have Germany and Austria-Hungary. Nearly all the land of this country is in the hands of large private owners who, in most cases, are not even absolute holders, but merely life tenants of entailed estates, which are held in trust for their children and their children's children by trustees. The nominal owners, being merely tenants for life, cannot freely dispose of their estates. Moreover, these entailed lands are let under agreements to farmers and other tenants who cannot in justice be expelled by the State so as to make room for small freeholders. The situation is undoubtedly a very complicated and difficult one.

Conditions similar to those which exist at present in Great Britain used to prevail everywhere in Europe. Every European nation, except Great Britain, has progressed with the times, and has transformed its feudal land system, based on huge settled estates owned by a few, into a democratic land system based on an immense number of small freehold properties. A democratic form of government and a feudal land system are incompatible. They cannot co-exist for a long time. The danger of an organised attack of democracy on the handful of big landowners, and the temptation to demagogues to bring about such an attack, is growing from year to year, and from year to year resistance to such an attack will become more difficult

and more hopeless. Ten thousand families could hold the bulk of the land when they held in their hands all political power, but they can no longer do so when political power is in the hands of 7,000,000 voters, the vast majority of whom are landless. We cannot afford to delay the reform of our land system any longer.

The task of reforming our land system is undoubtedly very great, but it is not so great as it seems at first sight. Other nations have successfully overcome these difficulties, and the difficulties of Great Britain are very small indeed compared with the difficulties with which Prussia dealt a century ago. A glance at the Prussian land reform will make our difficulties appear small, and will besides furnish us with a precedent of considerable interest and value.

On the 5th of November 1806 Napoleon annihilated at Jena the feudal-professional army, an army of hired soldiers officered by the landed aristocracy, which Frederick the Great had created. The loss of that battle caused Prussia's downfall. It was impossible to organise national resistance against Napoleon because Prussia was a bureaucratic and military State, not a nation. The people had no stake in the country and were not trained to arms. The peasants were the dependents, almost the serfs, of the large landed proprietors. They did not possess the spirit to make them willing defenders of their country. The weakness of the feudal system had been glaringly revealed. If Prussia was to survive, the first step to be taken was to raise the spirit of the people, to settle the people on the land, to give every man a stake in the country and an interest in its defence. On the 9th of July 1807 the Peace of Tilsit ended the disastrous war between Prussia and France. That peace deprived Prussia of exactly one-half of its entire territory and of one-half of its inhabitants. Though peace was concluded, Napoleon retained possession of Prussia by huge garrisons in the principal towns, and proceeded to bleed Prussia white by enormous contributions. Defeated, mutilated, impoverished and lying under the heel of the conqueror, Prussia resolved to abolish the feudal land system without delay. On the 9th of October 1807, exactly three months after the conclusion of the Peace of Tilsit, the policy of converting the cultivating farmers and peasants into proprietors was initiated by the issue of Stein's fundamental Edict which was followed by other edicts. These edicts aimed at facilitating the acquisition of absolute ownership by farmers and peasants. They abolished all public and private restrictions of the rights of property in land. They regulated the relation between landowners and tenants. Their guiding principle was, according to the words of the fundamental decree, 'to abolish the personal dependence of the cultivators of the soil upon the owners of the land, and thus to give the strongest incentive and the fullest scope to the ability, energy and power of every individual.'

These decrees made the purchase of land easy by removing the

existing public and private restrictions, and especially by limiting the obstructive rights and privileges of the landowners. They provided facilities for the division and the cutting up of large estates which hitherto had passed undivided from father to son. They encouraged large landowners to disentail and to break up their estates, by putting a special tax on entailed estates, and by enacting that they might be disentailed, and thus made realisable, by family agreement. They protected the property of the small cultivators against the wealthy and powerful landowners by making the purchase and absorption of peasants' holdings into large estates illegal.

The State aimed, not merely at creating as many freeholders as possible, but it strove also to make these freeholders prosperous. The Edict of 1807 and the edicts following it laid down the maxim that it was the duty of the State to promote agriculture and to increase the prosperity of the cultivators by all the means in its power. With this end in view, provisions were made for applying science to agriculture by the foundation of agricultural colleges and schools, experimental stations and model farms. Under the auspices of the State, agricultural co-operative societies and societies for mutual aid were formed. Arrangements were made to promote the construction of canals, drainage and irrigation works, roads, dykes and bridges, and the reclamation of waste land by local associations and the local authorities with the assistance of the State. Individual enterprise was not to be stifled by Government action.

The farmers and peasants who, toiling on the properties of large landowners, had been unfree hitherto, were enabled to become freeholders in the following way: Landlords and tenants were given two years in which to make arrangements for converting rented land into freehold land by friendly agreement. Carefully constituted local land settlement commissions of at least five members, who were experts in practical agriculture and in law, were created to advise and assist owners and tenants and to act as referees in case of disagreement and dispute. The parties not satisfied with the ruling of these commissions could appeal to the Central Land Settlement Commission. Both landowners and tenants were entitled to call for the conversion of rented land into freehold land. A balance was to be struck between the rent paid by the tenant on the one hand, and the services rendered by the landowner to the tenant in consideration of the rent on the other hand. The balance, the net rent, was to serve in normal circumstances as basis for the amount of the compensation payable to the landowner for ceding his land to the tenant. The compensation was to amount to eighteen years' purchase in cash, or to twenty years' purchase in interest-bearing bonds. In order not to throw too great a strain upon the money market, landlords were offered a substantial premium for accepting payment in paper. In cases of dispute as to the amount of the net rent, the Land Settlement Commission was to

act as mediator and referee. To facilitate the payment of the sum agreed upon in those cases in which the freeholder could not pay the compensation money in cash, rent-charge banks were created. These banks were provincial institutions. Their solvency was guaranteed by the State. They created rent charges upon the holdings which were to be enfranchised equal to the amount of compensation agreed upon, and they compensated the landowners with interest-bearing State guaranteed bonds of their own, which were issued against the collective security of these rent charges. The rent charges were a first charge upon the enfranchised properties of the farmers and peasants, and they were extinguished by yearly payments to the rent charge banks. These yearly payments were spread over a large number of years, and they provided at the same time the interest on the sum advanced by the bank, and a sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the purchase price. These yearly payments were collected by the tax collectors together with the taxes, and they were treated in every way as taxes by the law. Hence they were regularly made by the enfranchised tenants, who rarely fell into arrears.

A century ago the Prussian landlords were truly the lords of the land. They ruled the country districts. They owned the soil, and they almost owned the peasants as well, for these were compelled to work gratuitously for the landowners. Resistance in case of harsh or unjust treatment was difficult, because the civil administration and the administration of justice were in the hands of the landowners. The peasants were serfs. Compared with Prussia's difficulties, our difficulties are small. It is clear that if bankrupt and defeated Prussia could enfranchise the cultivators of the soil, reorganise her feudal land system and re-create her agriculture at a time when the enemy's garrisons were actually in possession of the country, Great Britain is undoubtedly able, and can afford, to do so now.

Whether Great Britain follows Prussia's precedent in every particular, or whether she proceeds on other, and perhaps on better, lines, can be settled only by conferences of the leading experts. The identical proceeding is scarcely possible, because the conditions prevailing in Great Britain are very different from the conditions which prevailed in Prussia in 1807. Different problems require different treatment. Prussia's agriculture was carried on by a large number of small farmers, while our agriculture is carried on by a small number of large farmers. Meanwhile let us ask ourselves :

(1) Is there any serious demand for freehold farms and small holdings in Great Britain ?

(2) From which ranks are the freehold farmers and small holders of the future to be recruited ?

(3) How and where are they to be settled on the land ?

(4) What are the objections to the creation of freeholders, and are these objections valid ?

I shall endeavour to answer these questions one by one.

Those who wish to find out for themselves whether there is a *bona fide* demand for small farms and holdings should study the Report on Small Holdings of 1888-90, the Report on Fruit Growing of 1905, the Report on Small Holdings of 1906, the Report on the Decline of the Agricultural Population of Great Britain of 1906, and the Annual Report on Small Holdings of 1909. I will give a few extracts.

The Report of the Small Holdings Committee of 1906 states : ' A very large body of evidence goes to show that in many places more land of the kind already divided into small holdings would be taken up with avidity, especially if properly equipped and offered for hire with a reasonable security of tenure.' This statement is amply confirmed by the evidence available. Mr. C. A. Fyffe, Estates Bursar of University College, Oxford, stated, for instance, according to the Report of 1888-90 :

The demand for small holdings in convenient places and at moderate rents is almost illimitable, I should say ; and I believe that if facilities for purchase were given, you would find at the present time a very large demand for them, and, as the system took root, a yearly increasing demand for them in this country.

Unfortunately it is not easy to obtain land for small holdings. On this subject Mr. Sampson Morgan, Secretary of the National Fruit Growers' League, stated, before the Committee of 1888-90 :

The real impediment is that the people cannot get the land ; in consequence of this we have been negotiating with Sir Saul Samuel, Governor-General of New South Wales, with Mr. Braddon, Governor-General of Tasmania, and with the Governor-General of New Zealand, finding it impossible for the members of our League to get land, that is, small holdings, in this country.

The objections to small holdings come from both landowners and farmers. The Report of the Committee of 1906 states : ' Some landowners are of opinion that the amenities of their estate are impaired by the erection of a number of houses and buildings thereon, and the facilities for the preservation of game diminished.' From the evidence of Mr. Fyffe, before the Committee of 1888-90, we learn :

. . . I do not know whether I may pause to say how extraordinarily difficult it is to get land from farmers for these small holdings and allotments.

Q. Do you propose to give the local authority compulsory power to acquire land ?

A. I should, myself.

Q. Will you explain why ?

A. My experience is two-fold : that, in the first place, there are some landlords who will not part with their land ; and, secondly, there are many landlords who would be willing to part with their land, but who, under present circumstances, cannot get it from the farmers.

Q. And in your opinion there are many landlords who would welcome compulsory powers ?

A. Yes ; I believe there are landlords who are very anxious to increase these

small holdings, but who cannot do it on account of the farmers. I should say myself that the opposition to giving the labourer a lift comes much more from the farmer than from the landlord. At the same time, I do know cases of landlords who will not part with any land at all, or allow any houses to be erected. In my own county, in Sussex, there is an owner of 15,000 acres, which is, roughly speaking, 20 square miles, who will not part with any of the land at all, or allow any houses to be erected on it. That land might just as well be in Central Africa for any connection it has with England. That means absolute stagnation over an area of 20 square miles.

The foregoing extracts show that there is much opposition to the creation of small freeholders on the part of landowners and farmers. I shall deal with their objections in due course.

The British agricultural labourer leads at present a hand-to-mouth existence. He owns no land. He receives his cottage from the farmer either rent free or at the nominal rent of 1s. a week. He has certainly no cause to complain of the amount of his rent. On the other hand, he has no real home, for the farmer can turn him out of his cottage into the road at any moment. This arrangement was very satisfactory to the farmer in the olden times, when agricultural labourers were abundant, and when surrounding farmers would not take a man dismissed by one of their neighbours. In those times the loss of his work and his cottage meant destitution and starvation to the labourer. The agricultural labourer was tied to the farm by compulsion, by the fear of homelessness and starvation. Times have changed. The agricultural labourer can no longer be tied to the land by these antiquated methods at a time when travelling is cheap, and when a healthy and strong farm hand can always find work at a moment's notice as an unskilled labourer in the nearest town. Besides, he is welcome as an emigrant in the Colonies, and is assisted to get there. Last, but not least, our agricultural labourers hate the system under which they live. They are profoundly dissatisfied with their propertylessness, their hand-to-mouth existence, and their homelessness; and this is one of the principal reasons of our rural exodus. Those labourers who are too old to leave the land stay in the country and grumble, but their sons and daughters go to the towns and the Colonies. Wherever one travels in rural Britain one finds chiefly middle-aged and elderly labourers working in the fields; and the study of the census figures reveals the ominous fact that practically the entire youth leave the country soon after they leave school. That is a phenomenon with which every rural schoolmaster is acquainted. This land flight is not caused by the dulness of our villages. Our villages have plenty of clubs, reading-rooms, institutes, and sports, which are unknown on the Continent, where the men and youths are satisfied to stay on the land. The cause of this flight lies elsewhere, as I shall presently show, but whatever the cause, it is to be feared that our fields will be left without labour when the elder generation of rural labourers has died out, unless something is done speedily.

The terrible shrinkage in the number of our agricultural labourers may be seen from the following figures :

Number of Male Agricultural Labourers

In England and Wales		In Scotland	In Ireland	In the United Kingdom
1851 . . .	1,097,800	140,200	850,100	2,088,100
1861 . . .	1,073,000	125,900	602,200	1,801,100
1871 . . .	902,800	111,000	509,700	1,523,500
1881 . . .	807,600	91,800	293,300	1,192,700
1891 . . .	709,300	85,100	251,700	1,046,100
1901 . . .	583,800	73,800	212,200	869,800

The foregoing figures show that the old agricultural system—the system which was based on the compulsion of the agricultural labourer to work for the farmer in order to get food and shelter—has absolutely broken down, and that the re-creation of our rural industries will be past praying for, unless the problem of rural labour is solved quickly. Already it is extremely difficult to get ploughmen and milkers. Very often the harvest is allowed to rot because there are no labourers to gather it. Agricultural labourers' children refuse to learn milking and ploughing, even if competitions are got up and substantial prizes offered. We may soon have to allow our agricultural land to become a desert through lack of labour.

As the rural labourer can no longer be tied to the land by the fear of homelessness and starvation, he must be tied to the land by interest. He must be given a share in the land—and he would like to be given a share in the land. An agricultural labourer who has a few acres of freehold land and a freehold cottage of his own, who has a few fruit trees, a cow or a pig or two, and a few fowls, will not easily sell up his property and leave the country. He will work for the farmer during the day and look after his own little property in the evening ; he will raise much of his own food, sell a little, and put by a little for a rainy day. His wife and children will help him, and he will become a steady worker. He knows that, when ill or aged, he can always fall back on his few acres, and some of his children will stay in the country. They will have a real home, a little ancestral estate of their own. They will endeavour to make a competence in the country, and thus a surplus of agricultural labourers will be created. In this manner the agricultural labourers in France, Germany, the United States, and other countries are tied to the farms. It is worth noting that in Germany there is a shortage of rural labour only in the purely agricultural east, where large estates prevail, where there are no manufacturing towns, and where the labourers are landless. In the east of Germany imported Russians and Poles do much of the agricultural work. On the other hand, in the densely populated centre and west

of the country, where manufacturing towns are numerous and where agricultural labourers have freehold land and cottages of their own, there is always an abundance of agricultural labourers, and there imported foreign labourers work in the factories and coal mines because these cannot get a sufficient supply of German labour.

Where are our future freeholders to come from ?

Including gardeners, woodmen, shepherds, &c., there are still about one million agricultural labourers in the country. Let us see that we do not lose these men, who are the backbone of the country, and who are irreplaceable. They are dwindling rapidly in numbers. Let us encourage and assist them to acquire freehold land and cottages as speedily as possible, and they and their children will stay on the land.

It is usually believed that there are no, or practically no, small holders in Great Britain who might be converted into freeholders. That opinion is erroneous. According to the Agricultural Statistics of 1909 (Cd. 4533), the agricultural holdings in Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, are as follows :

Agricultural Holdings in Great Britain

	Owned or mainly owned	Rented or mainly rented	
From 1 to 5 acres . . .	15,432 (= 14.3%)	92,662	108,094
From 5 to 50 acres . . .	28,473 (= 12.3%)	203,346	231,819
From 50 to 300 acres . . .	14,591 (= 9.7%)	136,411	151,002
300 acres and more . . .	2,792 (= 15.7%)	14,922	17,714
	61,288	447,341	508,629

The foregoing figures are very interesting. It is significant that, if we except the very largest properties of 300 acres and more, the proportion of freehold properties is by far the largest among the very smallest holders, the men who hold from one to five acres. Of these dwarf holdings 14.3 per cent. are freeholds, and the percentage of freeholds rapidly diminishes with the increase in the size of properties. We may therefore conclude that the possession of freehold land is most strongly desired by the smallest holders, and observation in all parts of Great Britain absolutely confirms this conclusion. The foregoing table shows that 108,094, or more than one-fifth of all the agricultural holdings, are from one to five acres, while 339,913, or exactly two-thirds of all the agricultural holdings, are from one to fifty acres. It should be noted that farms up to fifty acres which are under average cultivation can be worked by a farmer and his family without outside help, and that, in the case of such average farms, about thirty acres suffice to maintain a man and his family. Of these 339,913 small holdings and farms, 296,008 are described as 'rented' or mainly rented.' Making ample allowance for residential

properties included in these holdings, it appears that there are at least 200,000 farming small holders of whom many wish to become the owners of the soil which they farm.

In 1907 the Liberal Government brought out a Small Holdings and Allotments Act, which came into operation on the 1st of January 1908. That Act authorises the county councils to acquire land compulsorily and to lease it in small portions to desirable tenants. This Act is exceedingly unjust to those who wish to settle on the land. Intending tenants are charged a yearly rent which consists of interest on the land rented plus an extra charge to pay off the capital cost of the land. So far the arrangement is identical with the Prussian precedent. But here the similarity ends. When the Prussian peasant had paid off the capital cost of his holding it belonged to him and his family for ever. When, under the Act of 1907, the British small holder has paid off the entire capital cost of his holding it belongs, not to him, but to the county council. The Prussian peasant was encouraged to work for himself. Taking advantage of his land hunger, the British small holder is made to work for the county council. Notwithstanding this cruelly unjust arrangement, which is felt to be cruelly unjust by intending tenants, and notwithstanding the fact that most small holders would much rather own than rent their land, no fewer than 23,285 people applied for 373,601 acres. Of these applicants 13,202 were described as provisionally suitable, and were approved of. Out of these approved applicants 4470, or nearly 34 per cent., were agricultural labourers.

The foregoing facts and figures show that there is a serious and considerable demand for freehold farms and small holdings, and they show us the class of people from whom the freehold farmers and small holders of the future should be recruited in the first instance.

It would, of course, be a wild and hopeless experiment to plant the surplus population of our towns, the wastrels and failures, in large numbers in the country. Agricultural labour is the most skilled of all labour. These town people would not be able to make a living on the land. If we wish to recreate our agriculture and to repopulate the countryside, we must before all strive to preserve the existing country population and encourage it to multiply on the land. We must in the first instance encourage our 200,000 small landless farmers and our 1,000,000 landless agricultural labourers to become freeholders, assist them to become freeholders, and help them to become successful and prosperous. If they should prosper on the land, cultivation will become more intensive than hitherto, more food will be grown, more labour will be wanted. Many steady town workers would like to settle on the land, and there can be no doubt that many country-bred men who at present are working in the towns will gladly return to the land and invest their savings in a few acres

and a cottage, if they see a chance of doing well on the land. Besides, many of our emigrants who have saved some money will be anxious to go back to the old country when they know that they can buy with their savings a small farm which will be theirs and their children's for ever. It may be possible gradually to settle in the country a large number of town-bred men. They would have to be selected with the utmost care, and would require some training. Some should begin their career as labourers with successful farmers. Others may perhaps at once be entrusted with a small plot of ground under suitable supervision in acclimatisation centres. The experiment is worth trying. If the first batches of town settlers should be successful, their success would bring about a great exodus from the towns to the country, which is much to be desired. Their failure would discourage town workers to go back to the country and discredit agriculture in their eyes for a generation.

Although industrial workers do not take easily to agriculture, it is by no means impossible to turn willing industrial workers into good agriculturists, to their great material and moral advantage. From the various successful experiments I choose one reported on by Miss Jebb in her book *The Working of the Small Holdings Act*. She writes :

Belbroughton is a striking instance of the benefit conferred on a poverty-stricken district by the supply of land to small people. Here, as at Catehill, most of the population had been nail makers, and were thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery. The men were rapidly becoming demoralised through extreme poverty, and were continually before the magistrates for poaching and thieving. A very large number were on the rates, and doles of bread and soup were regularly given by the squire of the parish in winter. There were threatenings of organised strikes if something was not done. The men themselves were keen to get land, as, living in the country, they all possessed a knowledge of cultivation.

Since the possession of land by the parish council the men appear to be all reformed characters, and those who were formerly on the rates are now contributing to them. The village schoolmistress testifies to the improved condition of the children, who are now well fed and well clothed and on a higher level of intelligence.

Besides being of benefit to the actual tenants, this undertaking gives an impulse to other trades. A local maker of small carts and lorries used by the men has already retired with a fortune. As an illustration of the demand for these, on one farm of 50 acres, which originally gave employment to two men, I was told that there are now 40 horses and carts in use.

As regards the land itself, on one farm of 35 acres a man had failed to pay any rent for two years, and the land was in a very bad condition. The council have repaired all the hedges, gates, &c., and have taken the land on a yearly tenancy with the understanding that they will not be disturbed during the present owner's lifetime. It is already in a very different state of cultivation, and is being of untold benefit to twenty tenants.

There is such very keen competition for any land to be let in this district that the parish council has a very poor look-in ; and yet more land is very badly needed to enable those men who already have small lots to make the best use of the land itself and of their own time. It struck me that they suffered particularly from having too small an area to work to the best advantage.

If such excellent results could be achieved on hired land, it is quite clear that much better results can be achieved on owned land. A man will, after all, put forth his greatest energy only if he knows that all the fruits of his labour will be his own. Many instances of similarly great success among British small holders might be given.

How are the freeholders of the future to be settled on the land ?

In the first instance, a non-political organisation with branches in every county should be created by the Board of Agriculture, which is trusted throughout the country, and the Board of Agriculture should be given supreme direction over this new organisation. The new organisation should, through its local committees, investigate local conditions, advise both landowners and applicants for freehold land, act as mediator between both parties and as agent in effecting the purchases and sales determined upon. They should make themselves familiar with the agricultural aspect of their district. They should carefully ascertain the requirements of land on the part of intending trustworthy purchasers, on the one hand, and the disposition of landowners to sell land, on the other hand. They should study the agricultural possibilities of their district, and determine the parts which are most suitable for the creation of small and medium-sized freeholds by the character of the soil and by their proximity to towns, railways, roads, water, &c. It is most important that these local committees be well chosen, that they be non-political and sympathetic. Otherwise their action will be directed rather by party-political or personal than by agricultural considerations. Experience has shown that it was a mistake to allow the county council to carry the Small Holdings Act of 1907 into effect. Some Conservative county councils have ignored it and have endeavoured to make it a failure, while some Radical ones have spitefully used it as a means of oppression against landowners, and have encouraged intending small holders to pick the eyes out of valuable estates.

The disentailing of entailed estates might be encouraged and facilitated, and arrangements should be made for the compulsory purchase of agricultural land. Home farms of a reasonable size and parks would of course be excepted. In case of compulsory purchase, the owners should receive for their land the full value, which, in case of disputes, might be determined by referees, plus a small percentage, let us say 10 per cent., for disturbance. The solatium for disturbance should be so small as to induce owners of estates suitable for settlement rather to sell them voluntarily than have them purchased under a compulsory plan. The farmers sitting on a bought-up estate should have a first claim for enfranchisement. They should be given the option of buying either the whole or part of their farms, thus becoming freeholders, or of ceding their farms to intending freeholders. The farmers ceding their farms should receive compensation in full plus a reasonable percentage for disturbance. The purchasing of estates or

large self-contained parts of estates—applicants should not be allowed to apply for the choicest morsels here and there to the damage of entire estates—should proceed in accordance with the demand for land.

The national credit is too precious to be lightly engaged by the public issue of large loans. Therefore it will perhaps be best to finance intending freeholders through private State-guaranteed land banks, empowered to pay landowners with $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. mortgage debentures, and to collect from the freeholders annual interest on the value of their purchase plus $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for sinking fund. The maximum dividend on the shares of these banks should be fixed at 5 or 6 per cent., and the shares should, as far as possible, be reserved to landowners. Being proprietors and managers of these land banks, the landowners would have entire confidence in the mortgage bonds issued to them in payment for their land. The mortgage debentures, being Government guaranteed, would range as trustee stocks, and the savings banks should be directed to invest part of their deposits in these bonds. The savings which the poor man places in the savings banks are used at present for driving up the rich man's Consols. The savings of the people ought to be used for the benefit of the people. They might be used for settling the people on the land. If this were done, every savings bank depositor would be given a direct interest in the land and its welfare. It is scarcely necessary to say that our land nationalists and our Socialists would oppose this use of the savings banks deposits tooth and nail.

By the organisation sketched in the foregoing, estates suitable for cutting up into small freehold farms would be acquired in every county, and, as these estates would become centres from which the freehold system would permeate every county, they ought to be made model establishments. Rome was not built in a day. It is idle to expect that all landowners will be bought out in a year or two. The movement will begin slowly and grow gradually with its success. Therefore the money market would scarcely, if at all, be disturbed by the change in ownership. The amount required for paying off the landowners need not be very large, especially as the original fund set aside for this purpose would constantly be replenished by the yearly repayments of capital made by the small holders.

The cottages, agricultural buildings, tools, live stock, manure, seed, &c., required by the small freeholders could be bought with the assistance of the land settlement banks, but it will probably be wiser to create co-operative banks to deal with these matters. These co-operative banks would receive the savings of freeholders, and thus the freeholders would finance each other. Union is strength. County associations of co-operative banks should be formed, and a central bank should be created which would serve as a general credit reservoir for the county associations and for the individual county banks. The central co-operative banks should be given by the Government 500,000*l.* as a loan free of interest, which would provide, through the

county associations, the working capital immediately needed by the individual co-operative banks throughout the country.

The first, the easiest and the most obvious step in the creation of rural freeholds should be brought about by the amendment of the manifestly unjust Small Holdings Act of 1907. The tenants created by that Act should be converted into freeholders. They should work for themselves, not for the county council.

What are the principal objections to the creation of small freeholders?

Many landowners say that the present system should not be altered because it has worked well in the past. The fact that our land system has worked ill may be seen from this, that our agriculture has decayed while the agriculture of other European countries, where freeholds are the rule, has prospered. If dual ownership, the partnership of landowner and farmer, were a success it would exist outside of Great Britain. If it made for efficiency and economy, it would either have grown up spontaneously in other countries or foreign nations would have introduced the British land system. Free Trade is no doubt largely responsible for the shrinkage of our wheat fields, but though the fact that more than 2,000,000 acres under wheat have gone out of cultivation may be ascribed principally to Free Trade, Free Trade has scarcely caused another 2,000,000 acres, which used to be under vegetables, to go also out of cultivation. The fact cannot be disguised that dual ownership has proved a failure. The landowner owns the land, which is visible. The farmer owns the 'unexhausted improvements,' which are invisible. The claims of the landlord are substantial, while those of the tenant are shadowy. Owing to the complicated relations between landowner and tenants, the British land system in the country, and in the towns as well, is a system encouraging exploitation and mutual besting. It is a system which requires an army of expensive and unproductive middlemen, to prevent undue exploitation and besting on the part of the grasping and the unscrupulous. It encourages wastefulness and trickery, and discourages honest work. The present system of tenancy is a premium on bad farming. A farmer who by heavy manuring, &c., has improved the land very greatly, may either have his rent raised against him by the landowner, or have part of his improvements and of his capital confiscated. Hence many 'travelling' farmers 'skin' farm after farm. No man will plant a tree if he does not know whether he or his successor will reap the fruit. The tenant does not care if the landowner's buildings decay for lack of attention, and he does not care to fix up a tile at a cost of a few minutes' work when he can send for the estate carpenter, who is paid 5s. a day. Economic and thorough cultivation must be based on ownership.

The champions of the present land system say that small holders will fail because they can neither afford the costly labour-saving

machinery which large landowners and farmers can buy, nor sell their produce to the best advantage. These difficulties can be overcome by co-operation. They are overcome by co-operation everywhere on the Continent and in Ireland, and co-operation may be made more potent by the creation of an agricultural post. Opponents of small holdings say that farmers who find it difficult to make a living out of 500 acres will find it impossible to make a living on 50 acres. Our farmers require very large farms because they grow so little per acre, and they grow so little because they have not enough hands to do the work. A few acres of roots and of cultivated fodder plants yield as much nourishment to animals as many acres of rough, stubby grass which requires practically no labour. It is a well-known fact that most farmers could secure a much higher rate of profit by reducing their area from 300 acres to 100 acres and applying to them more labour and manure. Our farms are large, not because large farms are economical, but because intensive agriculture on farms of moderate size has become impossible in this country through lack of labour.

Many agriculturists think that the creation of numerous small freeholds will deprive our farmers of their labourers, who will begin farming on their own, and that the rural labour difficulty will thus be intensified. The fact that small holdings make not for lack of labour but for abundance of labour will be evident by comparing rural labour conditions in Great Britain, where large estates prevail and the labourers are landless, with rural labour conditions in Germany, where small freeholds are very numerous. Such a comparison is most instructive, and it reveals the following surprising facts :

	In Great Britain (exclusive of Ireland)	In Germany
Number of farmers	277,694	2,500,974
Number of individual holdings .	508,629	5,736,082
Number of agricultural labourers of both sexes	724,314	7,283,471

It will be noticed that for every agricultural labourer in Great Britain there are ten agricultural labourers in Germany. With ten times the number of labourers, Germany grows exactly ten times as much bread corn as does this country. In 1908 Germany grew 14,504,700 tons of wheat and rye, whilst the United Kingdom grew only 1,474,200 tons. Although Germany has 7,283,471 agricultural labourers, she possesses only 5,736,082 agricultural holdings. About 1,500,000 male German agricultural labourers are landless, but they will not always be landless. They are the children of small freeholders and they work on the farms of medium and of large freeholders until they come into their paternal property. The creation of small freeholders should not make the rural labour problem worse, but should solve it.

Some landowners object to the creation of small freeholds because they do not wish the country to be converted into a wilderness of unsightly small plots, and they assert that the creation of freeholders would destroy all rural beauty and all rural sport. I think these fears are uncalled for. In France, Germany and other countries the creation of freeholders has neither spoilt the scenery nor has it killed all sport. It has not even led to the disappearance of large estates and of large farms, as I have shown in my article published in the September number of this Review. As small holdings did not destroy sport and natural beauty in other countries, they should not do so in Great Britain. Besides, those landowners who oppose the creation of numerous freeholds because they might diminish their sport should ask themselves whether land exists chiefly to keep foxes and partridges, or to keep men?

The landowners as a body should rather benefit than suffer from the creation of numerous freeholds. Most of our agricultural land is heavily encumbered and mortgaged, and most of our landowners are in embarrassed circumstances. A further fall in the value of land would lead to general bankruptcy among them. A rise in the price of land would save them. The price of agricultural land depends on the value of the produce raised on it. A more intensive cultivation, a cultivation such as that prevalent in France and Germany, a cultivation which substitutes grain and vegetables for the rough grass and weeds growing wildly on our so-called permanent pasture, should double the price of the land. It is highly significant that agricultural land in Germany is on an average twice as valuable as agricultural land in Great Britain. Unless the land problem is solved speedily, it will solve itself through the complete disappearance of the rural labourers. Landowners must either create numerous freeholders, who work during part of their time on their own land, or they must allow most of the remaining agricultural land to go out of cultivation, and to become 'permanent pasture.' If they allow their agricultural land to become a prairie, it will have only prairie value, and the owners of large estates will be ruined. They must choose between a country settled by peasant proprietors and a country covered with ranches similar to the Wild West.

The urban land problem also is urgent, but it is not so urgent as the rural one. In the towns, as in the country, dual ownership prevails, and it has the same result in the towns as it has in the country. Here also it makes for mutual exploitation and besting, for trickery, neglect and waste, and it requires an army of economically useless middlemen. Our town rents are high, not owing to the exactions of the ground landlords, but owing to the leasehold system. Men who take a house or a cottage for a short term—and most working people do so—treat it badly. It is after all not their property. Consequently repairs are heavy, and, to provide for these, owners of house property must charge

10 per cent. on the value of their houses in the form of rent. Working men can reduce their rent commonly by one-third, and sometimes even by one-half, if they own the houses they live in. However, as a lease is a wasting security, few working men care to invest their savings in a house which ultimately becomes the property of the landlord.

Our towns, like the country, consist chiefly of large estates. Their owners do not care to sell part of their holding. Besides, the purchase of a small plot of freehold land or of a freehold cottage is made almost impossible for men of small means through the intricacy and uncertainty of title, and the difficulty, waste of time, and great expense incurred in buying or selling real estate, or in raising a loan thereon. In the case of very small properties the cost of investigating and transferring the title comes often to from 5 to 10 per cent. of the purchase money—a prohibitive amount.

The purchase of freehold properties in town and country ought to be made easy, especially to people of modest means, not only in order to reduce their rent, but also in order to give them a greater inducement to save. Most people of small means like best to put their savings into tangible real property because paper property is speculative, and has something very unreal about it. The working man can put his savings practically only into leasehold property, which is unsatisfactory because it reverts to the landowner, or into the savings banks which give too low an interest, or into stocks and shares, in which he becomes a prey to the company promoter and to the bucket shop. The impossibility of securing a satisfactory investment in real property is, I think, the chief cause of the thriftlessness of the British masses. The workers of all other nations are more thrifty than Englishmen, probably because ownership of cottages and land is usual among them. As the British workers cannot put their money into freehold land and houses, where they have the result of their thrift constantly before their eyes, they commonly spend all they earn.

The enfranchisement of leases should be made easy. Respectable householders should be entitled to purchase the freehold of the house or the cottage they live in at a price approximating its market value; and here, again, the funds of the savings banks might, under proper safeguards, be usefully employed for financing workers desirous of acquiring a house of their own. Besides, the transfer of real estate should be made less costly and cumbrous by the creation of proper land registers, which exist in all civilised countries except Great Britain. The laws and institutions of every country favour either the distribution or the centralisation of wealth. Those of Great Britain have the latter effect. They must be altered.

I advocate the breaking-up of large estates in town and country, not only in the interests of the workers, but in those of the landowners as well. Nobody likes to pay rent, and Great Britain is a nation of rent-payers. The land is for all practical purposes a monopoly of the

few. Landowners as a body are not popular. In a country such as Great Britain, in which millions rule, the ownership of the bulk of the land cannot safely be confined to a few thousands. Our Radical-Socialist Government has proclaimed the nationalisation of the land by easy stages, and it has already begun to 'resume' the land. The time for applying palliatives, such as that contained in Mr. Jesse Collings's Purchase of Land Bill of 1905, is past. Our land system is a great and genuine grievance to the people, and a great and genuine popular grievance requires a great and genuine remedy. Our land system must be reformed root and branch, and landowners will be wise not to oppose a reform which has become inevitable. Unless they allow the Unionists to buy them out of part of their land the Radical-Socialists will tax them out of the whole of their land. Their choice lies between land reform and land confiscation.

Under Mr. Asquith's Government Socialism has advanced with giant strides. It has seized the reins of power. Great Britain is the only country in the world which is ruled by a Socialist Cabinet. The British Government is the only Government in the world which has embarked upon the policy of nationalising the land by gradual confiscation. The process of taxing the landowners out of their land has commenced. So far Socialism has met with but little resistance. Its success has been easy because there are only a few thousand big landowners to oppose its progress. Their single-handed resistance to the nationalisation of the land will probably be as unsuccessful in the long run as was the opposition of their grandfathers to the abolition of the Corn Laws. Our landowners can resist and they can defeat Socialism, but they can do so only if they take the people into partnership.

Property owners are the natural defenders of the State and its institutions. The historic fabric of Great Britain rests on a dangerously narrow basis—a basis which sufficed in the past, but which suffices no longer. The enemy is at the gates. Rome enfranchised her slaves against Hannibal. Prussia enfranchised her people against Napoleon. We must enfranchise our people against the forces of revolution. Great Britain is in the melting-pot. The political enfranchisement of our people should be followed by their economic enfranchisement. Property owners are conservative. A thorough reform of our land system will be the most democratic, and at the same time the most conservative measure of modern times.

The Budget is subversive and unconstitutional. Democratic government means government by the people. A few crafty demagogues are trying to substitute for government by the people government by the Party boss. They have told us that Finance Bills are the privilege of the House of Commons, and that the House of Lords must accept the Budget as it stands. That contention is absurd. Every innovation and every new law costs money—or it can be made to cost money. If every measure which costs money must be passed by the House of Lords as soon as it is included in the Budget, the

House of Commons can pass every measure it likes by simply including it in the Budget. The House of Commons would not only be supreme, but it would be absolute. A chance majority in the House of Commons could then introduce conscription by putting, by means of the Budget, a heavy tax on all able-bodied men except those who have served with the Colours. A Church of England majority could re-establish the Church in Ireland, and tax the Roman Catholic and Nonconformist Churches out of existence. A Nonconformist majority could tax the Church of England out of existence, and use the proceeds for creating and endowing a Nonconformist State Church. A Radical-Socialist majority could tax the monarchy out of existence and establish the Socialist Republic. If the doctrine is accepted that every Bill which involves the spending of money must be passed by the House of Lords, popular government is dead. There will be no check whatever on the will of a temporary majority in the House of Commons, even if that majority absolutely misrepresents the people. Free speech having been abolished in Parliament by the closure, and out of Parliament by hired gangs of ruffians, Great Britain will no longer be ruled by the will of the people, but by the will of the Party boss, and revolutions and counter-revolutions will become as frequent in this country as they are now in Central America.

Through the present Budget Mr. Lloyd George and his fellow-conspirators try to subvert the Constitution and to bring about a revolution. Their Budget is the most gigantic and the most audacious attempt at political corruption known to history. It is not popular, but landowners are unpopular. Many people would like to see the landowners taxed out of their land. Still the people prefer common-sense and solid advantage to Socialism and Utopia. The Liberal cry 'Tax the landowners' may be good as an Election cry, but the Unionist cry 'Every man his own landlord' will be better.

The House of Lords will undoubtedly refer the revolutionary Budget to the people for decision. A General Election will follow. A Unionist programme combining Tariff Reform and Land Reform should give the victory to the cause of Union and Empire. But even in the event that the Radical-Socialist Party should obtain a small majority, all will not be lost. As Ireland and Wales are greatly over-represented at Westminster, a small Radical-Socialist majority in the House of Commons would not represent a majority, but only a minority, of the electors. A minority largely composed of elements hostile to the Union and to the Empire will scarcely be allowed tyrannically to impose its will upon a national majority. A revolution cannot be made by a minority of the people, even if that minority happens to command a majority of votes in the House of Commons. The means of resistance against Socialism and against government by corruption and plunder would not be exhausted.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE VALUATION PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT

THE exigencies of parliamentary time, as well as other features of the political situation that may readily suggest themselves, have been unfortunately responsible for the amended valuation proposals of the Government not receiving that amount of discussion in Committee of the House which the subject unquestionably merits.

Had the land taxes in the Finance Bill been confined to those occasions when increment in land is self-revealed, there would have been no necessity for the establishment in the Bill of a State universal valuation. The duties in that case could have been imposed after a simple calculation, and could have been both estimated and collected without any appreciable addition to the existing machinery and officialdom. The three occasions when increment in land may be said to be self-revealed are (1) on the sale of land which realises a sum over and above its hitherto capitalised rental; (2) on conversion, when agricultural or disused land is developed into a building estate; and (3) on the expiration of a long lease when the reversionary interest falls in to the owner. The inclusion in the Bill of various other occasions, namely death, and in the case of corporate bodies every fifteen years, together with the halfpenny tax on undeveloped land, has barred the possibility of any such simple procedure, and has made universal valuation an indispensable feature in the scheme. Moreover, whatever may be the objections to it in a Finance Bill, the House of Commons has now accepted valuation and the question will shortly stand referred to the House of Lords.

The valuation proposals as they appeared in the Bill when introduced, and as the new clauses present them, differ materially. There has been a general welcome to the abandonment by the Government of their original proposal which would have called upon all owners of land, under penalty, in an inadequate time, to make a dual valuation (site value and total value) of their property for the benefit of the Land Tax Commissioners. Upon these individual data the Government proposed to levy the new duties, reserving to themselves the right to recover excess duty where the individual values so rendered

were shown to be inadequate by the State valuation when it was made, and with a corresponding concession to refund should the owner have over-stated the value of his property.

This proposal has been withdrawn, and beyond the Government being enabled to call for certain necessary particulars from owners which may constitute a useful criterion for the calculations of the Government valuer, the whole duty and expense attached to valuation, both site and total, is to be borne exclusively by the State. From every point of view this is a practical improvement in the scheme, because it removes what would otherwise have been the case in practically every instance, viz. a double valuation, first one by the owner at his own expense and another subsequently by the State. No reliable valuation could have been made until each owner's valuation had been checked and corrected by the valuers employed by the State.

This modification of the scheme must have a potent influence on the return of revenue derivable from these particular taxes. It may confidently be anticipated that several years must elapse before the scheme of land taxation in its entirety can be expected to reach its full revenue-producing capacity.

In moving the resolution to enable funds to be raised for the establishment of this capital valuation of the country by the State, the Prime Minister announced that he was assured, upon a careful estimate with the aid of expert advice, that the original cost of valuation throughout the kingdom would not amount to more than 2,000,000*l.* He stated that the country would be mapped out into 120 districts and that some 500 valuers would, it was estimated, be sufficient to carry out the work.

If these intricate valuations are to be made for such a sum, it is safe to assume that the salaries to be paid to the valuers will have to be on a basis unprecedented in meagreness when compared with the usual scale for such responsible work.

Several estimates have been made by experts of high standing, which show that upon quite moderate data such a valuation of England and Wales could not be made by owners for less than 13,000,000*l.*, and that would be excluding the metropolis. Whilst it can fairly be admitted that State officials upon permanent staff would be able to do the work more cheaply than men remunerated by professional fees, still the remarkable discrepancy between the two estimates induces one to regard with a certain scepticism the possibility of an accurate site and total valuation of the whole kingdom being carried out for the figure mentioned by Mr. Asquith. It will soon be realised that the double valuation required by the Bill of every description of property will involve innumerable difficulties, novel and complicated in their nature, and that men of trained skill in their profession who can command high fees, with legal and statistical staffs working with and under them, will be needed to perform the task in a satisfactory

manner. Therefore a large and expensive additional staff, which will cost much more than the Government anticipates, looms upon the horizon. Doubtless also, in view of the enormous volume of contentions which will be carried before the referees and to the courts, men of eminence will prefer to wait for the golden harvest that will be forthcoming when the proposals of the Bill are attempted to be carried out.

It is to be admitted that the period of four years allowed for the work makes for economy, which will at least have the advantage of enabling the Government with the help of expert advisers to consider the question of the valuation of the country more carefully, and time is afforded for supplementary legislation to follow.

The resolution, which has been embodied in the Finance Bill, does not bind the Government to any specific scheme, nor does it definitely and irrevocably commit them to a purely centralised system.

If the proposals of the Government could have been discussed in the House of Commons, it would have been demonstrated on all sides by members fully qualified by experience to speak on this subject, and conversant with the existing systems of valuation in Scotland and England, that a far better way of tackling this problem was ready to hand.

Grave objections present themselves to setting up a wide and elaborate machinery of State valuation upon a capital basis, side by side with the existing Local Government system of valuation upon an annual basis, which has been with us since the Act of Elizabeth.

The scheme proposes to divide the kingdom into 120 districts for the purposes of the capital valuation. There are, in England and Wales alone, 136 administrative counties and county boroughs (50 administrative counties in England and 12 in Wales, or 62 in all, and 71 county boroughs in England and 3 in Wales, or 74 in all). It will thus be observed that the 120 capital valuation areas for the whole kingdom will cover wider areas than the largest units possible for local government purposes, namely the administrative county and county borough. It must follow that the new capital valuation areas will not be conterminous with the largest local government areas, thus still further importing complications into our system of local taxation.

The psychological moment would appear to have arrived when the Government should take this long-promised reform in hand and frame a comprehensive Valuation Bill for the reconstitution of our local valuation system, combining with it the Government scheme for the capital valuation of the country.

It is admitted on all sides, by those acquainted with the subject, that our existing system of local assessment and valuation is obsolete, complicated, and inadequate for modern needs. Royal Commissions and Select Committees for years past have demonstrated this, and the Report of the Royal Commission on local taxation embodies a mass of

material urging this most necessary reform, which, however, year after year, Parliament after Parliament has shelved.

Mr. Walter Long's Bill of 1904 proposed to make the council of every administrative county and county borough the valuation authority for such areas, but with power to divide the administrative county into valuation districts of at least 50,000 population, every non-county borough or urban district of 50,000 population or more being made a separate valuation district.

There are no fewer than 645 unions in England and Wales, with their assessment committees, and no fewer than 14,803 civil parishes, each with their overseers, or bodies performing the duties of overseers, who are the rating authorities of the parish, which is the unit of rating and valuation.

Thus Mr. Long proposed to entrust the work of valuation to larger and more responsible authorities, thereby removing overlapping and other objections.

Mr. Long in introducing his Bill of 1904 said ¹ :—

Excluding London, which has a law of its own, there are in all counties two assessment authorities which assess for different purposes—the county authority which assesses for the county rate, and the union authority which assesses for the poor rate. In addition there are powers held by the borough councils, so that there might even be a third assessment authority for the same area. Consequently there are several authorities charged with the duty of assessing, they have no means of consultation and joint action, and thus there are the widest possible variations in practice. The assessments themselves vary in a most remarkable degree, and often in the same county they differ greatly, so that in adjoining unions you may have properties precisely similar in their character and in their surroundings contributing to the similar rates on different assessments. The inequities which have thus resulted led to the appointment of the Royal Commission. In addition, perhaps, I ought to say that these inequities also occur in county and other boroughs. The City of Liverpool embraces three or four unions, the City of Birmingham certainly includes more than one, and thus you have this extraordinary injustice that within the same municipal area, where the expenditure is presumably for the same purpose, three or four different valuations are made by different union assessment committees.

In reply Lord Wolverhampton (then Sir Henry Fowler, M.P.) said that 'Nothing was more unsatisfactory in our municipal and local government at present than the contradictions, the anomalies and the inexplicable difficulties which arose with reference to assessment,' and suggested that it was a question which the House could approach without party feeling. Thus both parties are committed to this reform.

A private Member's Bill was introduced in the same year—the Valuation Bill (No. 2) 1904—to enable the council of every county and county borough to be the sole valuation authority of its county or borough for all rateable purposes and for income tax and inhabited house duty. This Bill was introduced by Mr. John Hutton and was backed by Sir John Dorrington and Colonel Stopford Sackville.

¹ *Hansard*, vol. cxxiii., 26th of April 1904, p. 1200.

Mr. Hutton's Bill proposed that the Surveyors of Taxes for the district and county should be *ex-officio* members of the valuation authority.

In view of the time proposed to be taken for the capital valuation of the country, I repeat that the Government now have a unique opportunity, and, indeed, an inevitable duty, if the cost of valuation is to be kept within reasonable limits, to take in hand immediately this long-postponed reform, and to frame a comprehensive Valuation Bill for the reconstitution of our local valuation system, combining with it the Government scheme for the capital valuation of the country and thereby creating one valuation list for all taxation, national and local.

Facilities of locomotion and other modern conditions are altering the whole field of local government by the extinction of the smaller bodies and by investing the powers and duties of local government administration in the hands of the greater administrative authorities, whilst at the same time clothing them with more and wider powers. We see this in the Poor Law, in the proposed abolition of the Guardians. We have seen it in the Small Holdings Act, which has taken the small holdings and allotments out of the hands of the district councils, and has placed them in the hands of the county councils. We have seen it in the London Government Act, 1899, which substituted twenty-eight metropolitan borough councils for an inordinate number of vestries, overseers and other bodies. The Select Committee on Housing of 1907 recommended the transfer of the public health powers from the rural district councils to the county councils. The Government Housing Bill does not go so far as this, but the trend is all in one direction.

It would be obviously undesirable to utilise the existing local rating authorities for the reasons which led up to Mr. Long's Bill. These smaller bodies are quite unsuitable for such novel and responsible work. Moreover, the Government cannot look to their co-operation voluntarily, for corporate bodies cannot go beyond their statutory powers without fear of surcharge, and there is not a word in the Finance Bill which empowers them to aid the Government officials.

As an example of the utter confusion into which our existing valuation system has drifted, it is possible to have five different assessments on a house and two acres of garden of an admitted annual value of 42*l.*, the landlord doing repairs and the tenant paying rates, the property being subject also to tithe (*1*l.**) and the land tax,²

	£	s.	d.
For Land Tax	40	0	0
For Schedule A	32	0	0
For Inhabited House Duty	39	0	0
For poor and other local rates	34	5	0
For Schedule B	1	0	0

² Report of Local Taxation Committee of Central Chamber of Agriculture 20th of February 1907.

whilst the county rate basis or standard outside London differs in totals from all the foregoing units. The numerous abatements and total or partial exemptions that exist under the present law are fully reviewed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation.

Scotland is conspicuously in advance of England as regards assessment and valuation. That country has a machinery in existence which enjoys the general confidence of all classes, and one which—so I am informed by persons well qualified to give an opinion—could, with a slight modification of the law, be made capable of undertaking the work of capital valuation for the purposes of the Bill. The assessors in Scotland in the service of the existing authorities would be far more competent to make an accurate valuation of the land in their locality than any outside valuers the Government could find for the purpose, because the essence of valuation is local knowledge and experience. If this be the case, as I am assured it is, the Government has, so far as Scotland is concerned, a ready and inexpensive means of combining capital valuation for State purposes with the annual value basis for local rating purposes.

Assuming that the Government scheme goes through as the Bill now stands, the picture presents itself of Government officials acting for areas not conterminous with the existing local government areas, ascertaining at great expense the necessary particulars of properties to be capitally valued, much of which information already exists in the offices of the local valuation authorities. The Government officials will have to cope with the difficulties presented by the complexity of boundaries and the overlapping of areas for different purposes of assessment, and yet must proceed with the work independently, ignoring the existence of the locally appointed parish or union officers. Accordingly their units of valuation and capital values, when they are ascertained, will be found to be out of all symmetry with the units of value and annual values existing in the local valuation lists. Thus objections and appeals against one or other will find their best evidence in official figures on one side or the other, and confusion will become worse confounded.

The Liberal party by tradition have always been the upholders of the principles of local government which constitutes so peculiar a feature of our internal administration. Two conspicuous instances in recent legislation immediately suggest themselves. The success of the administration of the Old Age Pensions Act is attributed by the recent Report of the Local Government Board to the co-operation of the State pension officers with the local pension committees. Again, Mr. Haldane's Territorial scheme finds its best feature in the co-operation of the county associations with the War Office organisation. But here in valuation the Government are ignoring local government material and are proposing to set up an expensive and inappropriate officialdom for the purpose of making a separate capital valuation.

Apart from the enormous avoidable expenditure which a centralised capital valuation is going to impose upon the country, it would be an irretrievable blunder to disregard the valuable local knowledge, time, and experience which are given to the work of local government, and especially to that of valuation and rating upon many of the existing valuation authorities. There is in the country, given the proper machinery and a simplified law, a vast amount of voluntary effort which could be utilised for public service; and it would be a wilful waste of power to ignore it.

Surely now is the time for the Government to marry their valuation proposals with a reform of the local government valuation machinery as broadly suggested in Mr. Long's Bill.

London has a system of valuation of its own, which was set up by the late Lord Goschen in 1869. A revaluation is made every five years, when the Government Surveyor of Taxes is associated with the ascertainment of the gross and rateable values. This enables the knowledge possessed by the Surveyor of Taxes and that of the local parish officers to be interchanged, and the valuation list so created is made binding upon the Government for their taxes, as well as upon the local rating authorities, the totals of the valuation lists throughout the county constituting also the county rate basis. This affords a valuable and successful example to guide the Government in framing a comprehensive measure.

If the Government introduced a valuation reform throughout the country, the Opposition could not consistently oppose it in view of Mr. Long's Bill, and the House of Lords would have to think seriously before they blocked a measure which simply provided for a more economical and efficient administration of the new land taxes.

Moreover, the municipalities, who have been the prime movers in demanding the taxation of land values and are to be granted half the proceeds, thereby become partners, and are as such interested in the successful yield of the new taxes as well as in the administrative machinery which will ascertain the values. Thus it may be anticipated that the municipal and local government authorities throughout the country would support any Valuation Bill that had for its object the co-operation of the State and the local authority in valuation for all purposes, national and local.

Probably enough has already been said to suggest the lines upon which the Government could proceed. A Valuation Bill could be introduced upon the lines of Mr. Long's Bill and Goschen's Act of 1869. The administrative county and the county borough should be made the valuation authority, with powers of delegation to valuation districts. The local Surveyor of Taxes and a Government valuer could be made *ex-officio* members of the valuation committee.

It ought not to be necessary to point out the advantages of such a plan. The creation of one valuation list or Domesday Book for all

national and local purposes of taxation would be a work of paramount importance. The co-operation of State officer and local machinery in such an undertaking would be highly desirable on many grounds. It would secure uniformity, create confidence, and so lessen dispute and litigation. Instead of separate officers with their staff of clerks, the whole work of handling the returns and creating the valuation lists, and the whole cost of establishment charges, would be concentrated in the accounts of one valuation authority, with the necessary adjustment of expenditure between State and locality. The consolidation of valuation and assessment and the removal of all existing anomalies should lead to considerable local economy, and thereby enable the new valuation authorities to retain skilled professional men as their official valuers for local rating purposes.

Revision of the valuation list is in many parts of the provinces at present non-existent, and in other parts is carried out in a perfunctory and uneven manner. A decennial revision might be sufficient for the rural districts, a quinquennial revision being adopted for urban districts beyond a certain population. Whether it be decennial or quinquennial, it is to be hoped that the mistake in London will be avoided, where the quinquennial revaluation is made simultaneously in every fifth year. This has the effect of rendering the task too voluminous, entailing a vast amount of work in order to carry through the valuation within the statutory period. It would be sufficient if the statutory provision is so worded as to require the values of all properties within the valuation area to be revised every five years. Then it would be possible to carry out the revision parish by parish, or ward by ward, provided the revision is completed during the period. The valuation authority could then retain a staff which would be uniformly employed throughout.

The main objection that has to be directed against the halfpenny tax on undeveloped land is that it is a partial introduction of the capital basis for taxation to a particular class of property, side by side with the continuance of the annual basis for other descriptions of property. The reason that undeveloped land is not adequately rated arises solely from the annual value principle of our valuation system. If an hereditament, whether it be a piece of land, a house, or a factory, commands no rent or has no beneficial occupation, then its rateable value is *nil*, so that a piece of vacant land, however valuable it may be in capital value, if it is not in beneficial occupation, ought no more to be called upon to pay an extra tax or rate than an empty house.

The present system admittedly displays notorious anomalies, as instanced by the excessive amount railways have to bear, on the one hand, and the low assessment of country demesnes on the other. Once, however, site value and total value, ascertained by the same machinery, were placed side by side in the same valuation book as the gross and

rateable annual values, the glaring discrepancies between the two would become apparent.

It would then be possible to create a rateable basis by percentages upon the capital total values, which percentages could be varied according to the character and other circumstances of the properties. The rate would be charged upon this basis. The objectionable feature of the halfpenny tax in its partial application of the capital valuation system would be removed, and taxation would be levied on an even principle.

The universal application of a capital valuation basis would produce a uniform incidence of taxation. All classes of property, urban and agricultural, would be treated alike, and none would be unduly hit beyond its capacity, whilst land of high value would pay its fair proportion to the public charges.

JOHN DICKSON POYNDER.

BRITISH AND GERMAN ARMAMENTS: OUR INADEQUATE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

THE babel of contention aroused by the financial proposals of the Budget has turned attention away from the political facts which have rendered extraordinary expenditure necessary. While the provision of Old Age Pensions and other schemes of social amelioration at the public expense have involved the nation in expenditure the limit of which cannot yet be foreseen, the increasing armaments of foreign powers, and the efforts which both political parties are pledged to make in order to keep pace with them, constitute an even greater prospective demand on the public purse than any which we may contemplate for ourselves. The votes for Navy and Army have increased from :—

—	Population	Army	Navy	Total
1891	37·7 millions	17·5	14·1	31·6
1909	45 „	27·4	35·1	62·5

If there were any chance of accomplishing our purpose by this enormous annual outlay the prospect would still be serious, and it might still be questioned whether peace were not purchased too dearly at the price; but everyone knows that, as regards naval armaments at any rate, we are only at the beginning of a contest, nor can any man say yet how far this struggle of millions may be carried, nor what likelihood there is of our emerging the victor. The provisions of the present Budget are roundly denounced by the party in Opposition as sequestration of capital, and as a percentage of taxation which is likely to cripple industry; it is also contended that such taxes are quite certain to cut into our reserves of money and credit which should be available in case of a critical war. Making all due allowance for the exaggerations of party, it is undeniable that these criticisms are founded on solid fact, as may be seen by looking back to the financial expedients adopted in the war against the Revolution. We are proposing to levy in time of peace, and for ordinary peace effectives, the rates of taxation which have hitherto been held in reserve for great emergencies. It is true we still have in reserve the imposition

of a tariff, but the present burden is severely felt and sharply resented; our reserves for war are being touched in peace; we are, in fact, being subjected to war taxation with the prospect of its indefinite extension.

There is no prospect that the cost of these armaments will be reduced by any Government in the near future; both parties are agreed on trying to maintain the superiority in ships of the British Navy, and the Opposition have even urged the Admiralty to raise their demands. The agreement of politicians, however, ends with the determination to spend. There is the widest difference of opinion as to how the money should be raised, and the division of interests on the subject is a source of national weakness. Generally speaking, both politicians and their constituents are very ignorant of Continental affairs, nor can either be induced seriously to study them. Had successive Cabinets dealt wisely and vigorously with contingencies as they arose, we should hardly have drifted into the present dilemma. As early as 1895, if not before, the trend of popular will and enthusiasm in Germany towards naval expansion should have been appreciated by any statesman who knew his business. If we had been governed by such a one we should have avoided the aimless quarrel with France in 1898, followed by the expensive adventure in South Africa—both of which events in succession enabled the German Government to take the first decisive steps while we were engaged up to the hilt, and powerfully contributed to enlist the German people in the plan. Not the least of the advantages which our rival enjoys over us is the strength of her national government, resting as it does on the aristocratic principle. The rulers of Germany who exercise authority in the chief offices of State, and who command the Army and Navy, are not successful intriguers, fluent speakers, malapert critics and thrusting lawyers or journalists. They are men who have been trained from boyhood for their task, the whole of their energies have been devoted to public affairs, and they may be reckoned on as the equals, if not the superiors, of the leading men of any European State; moreover, they command the confidence of the masses of their own people and can exercise their prerogatives with the certainty of being supported.

Germany enjoys the immense advantage of being able to begin the war, if war is found to be inevitable, at any time convenient to herself. A British Government would hang on to hopes of peace and await aggression, both from ignorance of strategy and statecraft, and also from doubt of popular support until the actual declaration of war came from the adversary. The Republican leaders of France know that if defeated in war the present régime would be swept away, just like the Second Empire which it supplanted; but if France were victorious, there would also be a very good chance of the successful General establishing himself as Chief of the State. Great changes in either case would be inevitable, and therefore it may be predicted that neither France nor Britain are likely to declare war on Germany,

however threatening her preparations may be. That her naval preparations are a direct menace and challenge to the British Empire can hardly be denied. There is but one other State against which Germany might be involved in a quarrel, namely, the United States of America; but existing circumstances eliminate America from the area of contention for some years to come, and Britain alone remains. In former days there can be no doubt that the British Government would have treated German naval preparations as a direct provocation to war, and acted with decisive effect before those preparations had become too formidable. Instead of this bold policy, however, the last and the present Administrations have made undignified advances to Germany to persuade her to limit her naval armaments. These advances have been rejected without much ceremony. The leaders of both political parties have investigated the alternative of declaring war while our supremacy is still assured, but so far no one has had the courage openly to advocate war, however much the plan may have been discussed in private. The German Government, well knowing what it would do in a like case, naturally regards us with deep suspicion, and finds it difficult to believe that we shall not make a pounce on their High Sea Fleet one day; thus distrust exists on both shores of the North Sea, and the way is prepared for future quarrels.

Owing to the march of mechanical invention, ships become obsolete with increasing rapidity. Every year a class of ship on which our maritime superiority rested in the past becomes too weak to put into line in case of war. As each year's programme replaces a former class it is evident that by competing with the British Navy year by year for the next ten years Germany can overtake it, and assure herself superior forces on the outbreak of war. It may be possible to defeat this project by building more and yet more ships, but, however hard that may be for Germany, it is certain to involve us in an expenditure the scale of which is already beginning to cause grave discontent.

At present we are confronted with these two alternatives: To measure our purse and credit against our rival, or to put a stop to the rivalry by force if remonstrance fails.

It is just possible that the time has not yet gone by when such remonstrance might effect a truce, though it would hardly be more than a truce. Germany has no particular temptation to hazard her fate at the present juncture. She would lose her increasing oversea trade and shipping at a most critical phase of their development, perhaps for good and all. Britain at present would run no great risks of decisive defeat, and, in short, to grasp the nettle might be our wisest course. Unfortunately we are fettered, not only by our democratic and party system, but also by the weakness of our land forces. For this reason Germany, if at war with Britain, would almost certainly seize the occasion to make some alterations in the map of

Europe to suit her purposes. Not only would she be likely to absorb practically, if not nominally, the small countries whose frontiers march with her own, but she might even seek to impose her alliance on France, Italy, and Spain, or at first on France alone. At the present moment the German Army is more numerous than the French, and has the important advantage of retaining the three years' service for the cavalry, while France has reduced her military service all round to two years, for democratic reasons. France also labours under some other military disadvantages incidental to her form of government. In case of an attack by Germany on France, and in case the British Navy prevailed in the struggle for the possession of the North Sea, there can be no doubt that all available British troops would be hurried off to the assistance of the French army. This Expeditionary Force is at present organised in six divisions, and four brigades of cavalry, which means 60,000 infantry with 8000 horsemen, and a very large proportion of artillery. If the Royal Navy continued victorious this contingent would be increased and probably doubled. A twofold doubt besets the French Cabinet in estimating the value of a British alliance. First, would any considerable fraction of the British forces reach the frontier in time for the series of great battles which would probably be decisive? And, secondly, there is always the doubt about what might happen at sea. If the British Navy were defeated, or were only partially successful, so that the British coasts lay open to invasion, would a British Government have the courage and power to act according to strategic requirements, *i.e.* send British troops to the decisive battle-fields, or would these troops be kept to repel a possible invasion or raid of the British Isles? The weakness of the Territorial Army has been exaggerated in the French press, and no French statesman looks upon it as a factor in the first three months of a war.

To sum up these considerations, Britain must now decide whether she will withdraw from the contest and frame her shipbuilding programme without hope of an assured superiority; or she must be prepared for even a far greater expenditure than any yet incurred; or, lastly, she must treat the preparations of Germany as directed against herself and put an end to them while she has the undoubted superiority at sea.

The first of the alternatives stated has hitherto been declared inadmissible by the spokesmen of all parties in this country, and the last of the three has not yet been openly discussed; it may seem paradoxical, but either the first or the last of these solutions might meet the case if our land forces were more formidable. It is constantly repeated, even by those who should know better, that naval defeat would spell destruction for us, even without invasion, because the victorious fleet could cut off our sea-borne trade of food and raw material. This statement is absurd, unless it be also admitted that the foe will estab-

lish himself on our western coasts, seize fresh naval bases, and employ a vast fleet of cruisers. But that is an enterprise far more difficult and dangerous than the defeat, however decisive, of our battleships, nor is any European country at present able to contemplate such action. Conceivably France and Germany in alliance might achieve it, or America in alliance with the Continent against us. Ireland would have to be wrested from us and used as a naval base for the blockading squadrons, and even then the blockade would only be partial and ineffective so long as any great country had a paramount interest in supplying us from oversea.

Our greatest danger, then, lies in such a combination of enemies as to nullify our extraordinary geographical advantages in any dispute with Continental Powers. So long as Britain lies athwart their lines of sea communication, so long as our naval stations divide our possible adversaries, and, above all, so long as we can deny the Straits of Dover to a hostile fleet, victory at sea will continue to be within our reach, even should we begin the war by a disastrous battle in the North Sea. Again, however completely the German fleet may obtain the mastery in the North Sea, the invasion of Britain can only be effected by landing troops in large numbers—not less than 300,000 men, and probably more; but the disembarkment of such large numbers must take several days, and therefore the first week of any campaign on British soil must give great opportunities to the defenders of falling on the first invading forces thrown on the coast, and of destroying them in detail, provided always that an army of at least 200,000 men can be mobilised in three days for the purpose. As the first act of the invader will be to prevent, if possible, the concentration of the defending forces by seizing or destroying the railways, an obvious precaution for us consists in a well thought-out and thoroughly prepared scheme of concentration, so as to be able at once to attack the heads of the invader's forces with unquestionable superiority. Consequently, if the British land forces were on an adequate scale, we should have little to fear from threats of invasion, even if the German fleet were strong enough to clear the North Sea of our battle squadrons; nor would it necessarily follow either that our supplies would be cut off by sea, or communication with our oversea dominions prevented, though, doubtless, any naval defeat or established inferiority in line of battle ships would be a grave disadvantage for us.

The creation of an adequate British Army would not only render invasion impossible far more certainly than any naval defence, but it would also give such security to our friends and potential allies on the Continent that there would cease to be any risk whatever of France being coerced into an alliance against us. It would, on the contrary, become certain that we should have her assistance whenever we drew the sword to limit German aggression. It must be remembered that, in case of war, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and probably

Italy will side with the confederacy which is able to put the most powerful army in the field, regardless of their sympathies in any dispute which may arise. These countries will have little choice—their existence will be at stake. If we wish for their alliance, then, we should be in a position to help to protect them.

If these arguments are sound then our land forces should forthwith be raised to a strength which would unquestionably turn the balance in a conflict between Germany and France. Such a strength would at the same time eliminate all risk of invasion of the British Isles. What military strength would be required for the purpose, and how should it be brought into being? The present so-called Expeditionary Force may be reckoned at 120,000 combatants—numbers which are certainly insufficient for the purpose. While the necessities of the case will vary from time to time, it may be said that to increase the existing Army to 220,000 combatants, in ten infantry divisions, with three cavalry divisions and a somewhat lower proportion of guns, would constitute a sufficient reinforcement to our Continental allies to make us masters of the present situation. We might then regard German shipbuilding with tranquillity, or, if we decided to put a stop to it, we could count on the second most powerful army on the Continent as allies, and probably on other armies as well. Under such circumstances war would probably not be resorted to; the resolution of the British Government to limit naval preparations on the opposite coast would almost certainly be respected. Various proposals have been made to raise the British Army to the required strength. A great deal has been heard of the so-called National Service League, but the proposals of this League have so far been confined to compulsory training for 'Home Defence,' without liability to cross the enemy's frontier. In other words, a permanently defensive attitude is advocated, a strategy which has never yet had other results than the destruction of the timid or unskilful warriors who resorted to it. The National Service League, therefore, does not offer a satisfactory solution of the problem; but by raising discussion and by propagating the idea of military service throughout the country the enthusiasts of the League have done good work. The time has come, however, to put forward more statesmanlike proposals, and it is very regrettable that Lord Kitchener should not be available without further delay to assist the Government in arriving at a sane conclusion. Every month the question is shirked will make it more difficult to answer, and excellent as the results of Lord Kitchener's visits to the Colonies may be, it is certain that incomparably the most pressing of the tasks which await his attention lies in the European situation of the Mother Country. It is to be hoped that he will concentrate his mind on the problem while voyaging from one Colony to another; but it is much more difficult to arrive at the right conclusion in this manner, than by working at the Metropolis of the Empire with every possible information at hand.

The cost of the British Army is far greater in proportion to its fighting power than the expense of any other ; a business-like scrutiny of the appropriation of the vast sum voted annually by Parliament would certainly reveal many opportunities for economy, so that more powerful forces might be maintained at the present cost, though it would not be possible to double the Expeditionary Army without a considerable increase of outlay, and without effecting important changes in its organisation. The present organisation of the infantry, known as the Cardwell system, is extremely costly, and in many ways unsatisfactory. It aims at making the same regiments do the double duty of training Colonial reliefs and guarding our European position ; the result is that the battalions are filled with children under twenty years of age, who can neither go to the tropics until they have been kept for at least two years, nor are they fit for active service in Europe. On the outbreak of war the infantry of the Expeditionary Army has to be replaced by Reservists now in civil employ, and they would have to be summoned to the Colours before our troops could take the field. The Reserves in fact are with the Colours, and the first line is not only in reserve, but has quitted the service at periods varying from one to five years. They would not know their officers, and great delay would occur on mobilisation, which could hardly be effected in less than a fortnight. This delay might prove fatal to the scheme of uniting forces with the French on the Meuse at the outbreak of war. If these troops were always ready to take the field in a week there would be a valid reason for their enormous cost. It is evident to everyone who is able to study the question from an outside point of view that great changes should be made in the existing organisation to secure the greatest possible result for our financial sacrifices. Compulsory enlistment on the German model seems at first blush to supply a simple solution, but, in reality, the difficulties in the way are stupendous, even if Parliament and the country consented to the change. Every year we should have four times as many men to select from as we wanted, and any system of selection yet proposed is open to the most serious objections. The training, equipping, and disciplining of such troops in England, with the present machinery of War Office, regimental and staff officers, would be neither so simple nor so cheap as is too hastily assumed, though the cost would be somewhat less direct than at present. It would have been well for our country if she had adopted conscription fifty years ago, when the hot fit of the first Volunteer movement was in full glow ; but it is more than doubtful whether we shall have time to get any such system into working order now, before serious war overtakes us. Our actual rivals are most unlikely to sit with folded hands while effective preparations are leisurely made for their subjugation.

Although compulsory enlistment does not provide, by a wave of the magician's wand, for our military regeneration, nevertheless there

can be no question but that certain measures for national defence should be adopted without delay. Lists should be prepared of all horses, vehicles, and other stores which might be required on mobilisation, and provision should be made for smoothly and rapidly absorbing them into the service when needed. Lists of all young men fit for the Service should be kept by the recruiting authorities, with particulars of their address and employment. If the Government reserved all its patronage in the Civil Service, and made terms with the railway companies, for the preferential employment of ex-soldiers, and in other ways took responsibility for their employment on leaving the Army, it is quite likely that the recruiting difficulty would be greatly diminished if not altogether got over. A decent lad wants a trade or employment for life, not a job for a few years with plenty of pocket money, and then destitution. It is not possible to deny that the organisation of the system of recruiting, the command and training, as well as the internal economy, of the British Army, offer a great field to the administrative reformer. It is not so certain, however, that we shall have time to inaugurate and get into working order a brand new military system. It is more than likely that 'once again we may be compelled to attempt to make good past neglect by lavish expenditure; but there can be little doubt that the longer certain changes are deferred the more expensive the final solution is likely to be.

If it is decided to have an Expeditionary Army, of the minimum strength which I have indicated as necessary to carry out a straightforward policy, then the separation of this Army from the units detailed for Indian and Colonial Service with their dépôts of recruits, is, in the opinion of the writer, inevitable. The term of service would be reduced to three years for cavalry, and two years for infantry, as in Germany, and we should enrol men aged twenty-one years and upwards instead of children of seventeen. The money we now squander on the latter would then go some way towards attracting the former to the Colours by providing for their employment on leaving the Service.

Many other changes of a technical nature would also be necessary, so that it would be difficult and inconvenient to accomplish this reorganisation. Between what is difficult and what is impossible, however, there is a difference. When a troublesome reform is proposed in England it is always said to be impossible. That only means that the speaker hates the idea of it. No competent judge is unaware of the perilous position into which we are gradually drifting with respect to our Continental neighbours. It is equally certain that, naval armaments apart, the possession by Britain of even 200,000 soldiers of mature age and adequate training would change the whole situation to our advantage. Such an army is a very small one for our population and resources. Our young men still take kindly to soldiering, in spite of the decadent influences of the age. Given this

accumulation of facts, there can be no insuperable difficulty in levying the forces which are capable of ensuring our safety.

The same purpose may be accomplished by naval armaments, though at a far greater cost. Such naval armaments, too, will take longer to prepare than the increasing of an army of six infantry divisions with four cavalry brigades, to an army of ten infantry divisions with nine cavalry brigades. Such an army, too, guarantees the security of our Continental allies, and thus ensures to us the fidelity of these allies. The vicissitudes of the war with Napoleon turned upon the defection of our Continental allies, who were disgusted at being left to bear the brunt of the struggle on land, and at having their territory occupied and their capitals violated. We could hardly hope or expect in the future for more complete naval predominance than we achieved after Trafalgar.

A due proportion between the land and sea forces is essential to the safety of every great State, whether Continental or insular, and the policy of America and of Japan should be compared with our own. In other words, every State which intends to win decisive victory in war must be prepared to assume the offensive on land as well as on sea. The precise measures to be taken to give effect to this axiom of strategy and policy must remain the responsibility of the paid expert advisers of the Government; it is enough here to point out that the thing is both essential and possible. In the existing Regular Army, and in the Territorial divisions and Yeomanry brigades, we have the cadres of an army which might be fashioned and perfected so as to secure peace for a generation; but at the present rate of progress, and given the existing conditions of international rivalry, it is probable that within ten years war will overtake us, and war under very unfavourable circumstances.

CECIL BATTINE.

A PLEA FOR A BRITISH ARCTIC EXPEDITION

ALTHOUGH Dr. Cook or Commander Peary, or both, may have stood on the spot which is known to us as the North Geographical Pole, there still remains in the Polar Sea an area of many thousand square miles of undiscovered region, and it will be many generations or even centuries before this area is properly mapped out. It is, therefore, not out of place to keep before the British public the necessity for once again entering the field with a British Expedition thoroughly equipped for extended Arctic exploration.

At the risk of being told that the grapes are sour, I venture to agree with Dr. H. R. Mill's ¹ opinion that it is an advantage that the Pole has been reached, because there is no longer the inducement to give up genuine exploration work for the sentimental reason of being the first man to reach the northernmost point of the world, the mere location of which has no scientific value, if it is situated, as would appear, on drift ice. I have stated in a previous article that, were I to take part in another Arctic expedition, the primary object would be exploration; although I should not be free from the wish to stand on the site of the North Pole, which has an attraction for every Arctic explorer.

In Commander Peary's full statement, which appears in *The Times* of Saturday the 11th of September 1909, one of the reasons he gives for assigning to Captain Bartlett the position and honour of commanding the fourth and last supporting party is stated as follows: 'It seemed to me appropriate, in view of the magnificent British record of Arctic work covering three centuries, that it should be a British subject who could boast that, next to an American, he had been nearest the Pole.' This is a graceful tribute, which we must all appreciate, and not least because it shows the good feeling between two countries which have shown the keenest rivalry in Arctic exploration, and is a type of the spirit in which one explorer looks on the work of his fellows. It adds a zest to hard work to find it appreciated in this generous way by a keen rival. Such an acknowledgment is an additional incentive to continue 'the magnificent British record of Arctic work.'

¹ *Morning Post*, September 8, 1909.

Before, however, discussing more fully the special reasons why a British expedition should be inaugurated, I will deal with various points, some of which I have referred to in previous articles, but others I introduce in view of actual or probable criticisms.

The Value of Polar Exploration.—The intending Arctic explorer is often met with the pertinent question: 'What is the use of Arctic exploration, and what do you expect to make out of it?' The questioner sees the advantage to be derived from the discovery of a gold mine, and feels that in having a 'flutter' in a mining company he will get a run for his money and may have his *quid pro quo*; but he fails to see any reward to be reaped from money put into an expedition to despatch a few 'cranks,' as he is likely to call them, to a region of ice and snow, from which they may not return.

There seems to be a prevailing impression that Arctic exploration is peculiarly remunerative, but, although a lucky explorer who returns after a successful voyage may, if he is skilfully advertised, make money from the sale of his book, or from lectures, his receipts are probably quite inadequate to cover the expenses of the expedition. The reward, however, lies in the addition he can make to the knowledge of the world, and the assistance, however small, he can give in helping to clear up those problems which our ignorance of the Polar area prevents us from solving, but the solution of which may prove of inestimable benefit to generations to come, if not to ourselves. If it had not been for sacrifices made by our predecessors, we ourselves should not have several of the benefits which we now enjoy—benefits secured to us by the loss of valuable lives and the expenditure of untold gold.

As to whether a more perfect knowledge of the mysteries of the frozen North will prove a material benefit to mankind it is of course impossible to say, but scientific wisdom has reached such a height that it is fair to assume that the greatest advantage would be taken of every new fact learned. While the desire to attain such knowledge has been the predominating influence with the majority of those who have risked their lives in these northern regions, the fact that they have also been spurred on by the love of travel, the desire to be the pioneers of some great discovery, or some similar motive, should not detract from their good names. Those who cannot participate personally in such enterprises should still feel a sense of gratitude that there are men ready to undertake the task.

Had Columbus, Magellan, Livingstone, or Stanley gone solely in search of material wealth their names would not have been handed down as makers of the world's history. Practical results of the highest importance were the outcome of their efforts, but they could not foresee them, nor did they benefit by them. Similarly, we cannot say in what direction a more thorough knowledge of the Arctic Sea may be of use to our descendants. If there be land at the Pole or in the

hitherto unexplored parts of the Polar Sea, its rocks may reveal geological secrets of the highest scientific interest and general benefit. If its unknown area be covered with water, its depths may furnish a clue to the law of the contraction of the Earth's crust. The Aurora Borealis when studied with minute care may reveal its connection with the Earth's magnetism. There is much, too, of deeply scientific interest to be investigated with regard to the ocean currents, the condition of the ice, and the biology of the Polar Sea.

These discoveries may, after all, merely result in a dry scientific knowledge confirming old theories or establishing new ones, of use to no one but a professor of science; but, on the other hand, they may help to perfect the science of meteorology and other practical questions of universal advantage. In fact, Arctic exploration is a 'lucky bag' from which the world at large hopes to draw out many a valuable prize.

A successful explorer is, in fact, an instrument of considerable use to the scientists of the world. The pleasure is mutual, the explorer satisfying his love of adventure and discovery, and the scientist tasting the delights of adding to or correcting existing knowledge in subjects dear to his heart.

Before finishing this part of the subject I cannot do better than quote the following words of Professor James Geikie on Geology :

The tools by which this great work has been done are of the simplest and most every-day order—the air, rain, frosts, springs, brooks, rivers, glaciers, icebergs, and the sea. These tools have been at work from the earliest times of which any geological record has been preserved. Indeed, it is out of the accumulated chips and dust which they have made, afterwards hardened into solid rock and upheaved, that the very framework of our continents have been formed.

This, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to sciences other than geology.

The Best Starting Point for a Sledge Expedition.—In an article entitled 'Sledging as a Method of Exploring the Arctic Ocean,' which I contributed to this Review last April, I explained that my intention was to start my next Arctic expedition by being placed on the ice off Pullen Island on the 135th Meridian; and I now propose to set out more in detail my reason for choosing that starting point in preference to any other of the thousands which might be chosen for such a purpose.

As I endeavoured to prove in that article, the only way effectually to reach the North Pole is to be independent of a ship, and to travel by sledges drawn by dogs and driven by Eskimo; and my arguments are based on this being the most, and only, practical method.

In the first place, the Mackenzie River, which forms a natural waterway between Central Canada and the Arctic Ocean, affords the quickest and least expensive route from England to the Polar Sea. Starting from England not later than the third week in April, one is

landed on the shores of the Arctic Ocean by the end of the following July. During August and September the Eskimo are busy fishing at the delta of the Mackenzie; but in October they are free to accompany the expedition on to the ice off Pullen Island.

Again, it appears from the published reports of Dr. Cook's and Commander Peary's journeys—a point on which they both agree—that their rate of travelling was far in excess of past records, and that the area passed over was a very cold region. It stands to reason that if the surface of the ice was the same as other explorers have found it, the speed could never have been maintained.

Now, what admitted of this unprecedented speed? Surely it was the greater stability and permanence of the ice-fields along their route, resulting in a smoother surface, for old ice will always present a more level surface than that of recent formation, on account of the levelling action of the sun and subsequent filling and refreezing of all depressions.²

The reason for the greater stability of this area I should judge to be that it is only slightly affected by the action of warm currents. In any part of the Polar Sea, if we eliminate the influx of warmer water, the temperature would be sufficiently cold to hold the ice in a state of permanent stability. Dr. Croll, in his *Climate and Time*,³ says:

If as much as 50 per cent. of the sun's rays are cut off by the atmosphere in Arctic regions, the amount of heat received directly from the sun would not be sufficient to maintain a mean annual temperature of -100° F. Consequently the Arctic regions must depend to an enormous extent upon ocean currents for their temperature.

The ice travelled over, therefore, by Cook and Peary, was probably old stationary ice, well suited to a high degree of speed.

By old stationary ice I mean such as has not been influenced by the three disturbing agencies in the Polar Sea, viz. the warm Atlantic drift current, the tides, and the fresh water running into the Arctic Ocean from the Siberian and American rivers. I contend that the influence of these disturbing elements will be felt least along the line of the 135th Meridian, nearer to which Dr. Cook has travelled than any other explorer.

I base my contention on the fact that the warm Atlantic drift current does not affect the Beaufort Sea so much as it does the sea at Spitzbergen and Franz Josef Land, and that between Cape Bathurst and Point Barrow the chief agents which move the ice are the fresh water which flows from the American rivers and the little tide coming through Behring Strait. The effect of the tides is slight, as shown by R. A. Harris⁴ and by the line taken by the drift-wood which comes down the Mackenzie River, the water from that river being carried by

² Nansen's 'Polar Problems,' *Geo. Journal*, vol. xxx. p. 487.

³ 4th edit., p. 48.

⁴ 'Evidences of Land near the North Pole,' *Nat. Geo. Magazine*, June 1904.

the drift along the coast to the west towards Point Barrow. Again, statistics tend to prove that the ice-fields off Point Barrow are subject to a lower temperature than those off Spitzbergen, as I showed in my previous article.

Another reason why a sledge expedition, which starts out with exploration as its primary object, should start from this point is that the land which Dr. Cook reports having seen is probably a land mass, or submarine ridges, connecting the islands north of the American continent with the New Siberian Islands, and there is in this unknown area ample room for an island or an archipelago larger in extent than Greenland. As I have explained in the article above referred to, such exploration could only be effectively carried out by a sledge expedition, as the drift would cause a ship to drift round the Arctic Ocean instead of across it.

One other reason for choosing the ice off Pullen Island as a starting point is that, with due allowance for the drift after crossing the Pole, this is the natural line to Spitzbergen. Spitzbergen forms an ideal destination to steer for, as it can be visited every year. As explained in another part of this article, a sledge expedition which proposes to pass over the North Geographical Pole cannot afford to waste time by unduly extending its route, and therefore it should cross the ocean in as straight a line as possible. Thus, an expedition which starts from Greenland would make, after crossing the Pole, for the New Siberian Islands, but the most northerly of these islands is roughly 500 miles from any settlement, which would present great difficulties in establishing there a base on which to place supplies for the use of the expedition at the end of its journey. Moreover, the difficulty and expense of removing the effects thence to civilisation would be considerable.

Travelling in the Arctic night.—It may be safely assumed that the unknown area round the North Pole is either a frozen ocean or ice-bound land, or partly one and partly the other. Consequently, as the surface of ice varies according to the temperature, one of the chief local considerations for the Arctic traveller is the time of year at which the surface of ice will be most suitable for rapid travel, while another local consideration is whether there is sufficient light to make such travelling possible.

During the winter months, from October to February both inclusive, no moisture rises from the ice or snow, but the air is dry and clear, except when there are storms. On the other hand, in the summer the sun melts the surface so that the latter becomes soft, and water-lanes are continually being formed by the melting ice or snow, as Peary found, so that travelling becomes difficult and for the most part impossible, because either the reflection of the brilliant sun on the dazzling whiteness is apt to cause snowblindness, or, when the sun is obscured, a thick white mist not infrequently prevents one seeing the track.

In several expeditions on the Polar ice which were in the nature of the now fashionable 'dash for the Pole,' the journeys were made during the summer months, with the result that little progress was effected, and an average advance of five miles a day was considered good work; but if the same journeys had been attempted during the winter months it is probable that the rate of advance would have been doubled and the labour infinitely lightened.

Some explorers maintain that the Arctic night, that is to say, the period during which the sun is below the horizon during the whole twenty-four hours, is so dark that nothing can be seen, so that during that period all idea of travel is out of the question, and I have heard one say that during these months the darkness is as dense as at the bottom of a coal mine. Now, most of us have had the experience of going out of a well-lighted house on a moonlight night and have found at first that we could see nothing; but after our eyes become accustomed to the dim light we soon begin to distinguish objects and have then no difficulty in moving rapidly. Probably this explorer had recollections of looking out of the windows of a well-lighted cabin of the ship in which he and his fellow-travellers had settled down for the winter.

Cook and Peary, who were apparently travelling during the months of February and March at a high average of miles per day, must have accomplished many journeys with the sun below the horizon.

It is well known that the Aurora is of daily and almost hourly occurrence in the Arctic winter, and casts a bright light over the ice and snow so that it is quite easy to distinguish objects at an appreciable distance. On these occasions, therefore, there is no difficulty in travelling, and, as the air is dry and still and the going good, it is possible to make excellent progress. Besides, even when the Aurora is not visible there is always a reflection from the white surface which makes travelling possible when a storm is not in progress. There are no trees or hills to obscure the light, and the ice ridges are seldom as high as thirty feet. It is, therefore, absurd to liken the darkness to that of the inside of a coal mine.

When the sun is above the horizon for even a short time only each day, but has not gathered sufficient strength to melt the ice and snow, the travelling is all that can be desired.

Again, the ice does not escape in the winter, but is frozen solid, but when the summer comes, and the ice begins to relax, the travelling is often attended with much danger, and certainly causes great trouble, for it frequently happens, as Peary so often found, that some extra miles out of the course have to be covered before a water-lane can be negotiated, and even if the travellers have boats the latter are apt to be damaged in the journey over the ice ridges. Boats, too, add to the weight of the loads to be drawn, as they must be exceptionally strong to stand the hard usage to which they are subjected, however

much care is taken, and every extra pound of weight means more strain on the dogs and men, so that if the journey is begun in the summer, when the going is heavy, some part of the equipment which cannot well be spared may have to be sacrificed to allow boats to be taken.

When the snow is firm, or the track is over smooth ice, the sledges run lightly, and heavier loads can be drawn, and as the loads are heavier at the commencement of an expedition than later, when they have been reduced by the consumption of food, it is of the greatest importance that the journey should be begun at a time when the going is good. In such circumstances, boats can be carried without sacrificing necessary articles of equipment, as the loads on the sledges will be lighter by the following summer when the going is heavier.

One argument often brought forward against innovations in Arctic travelling is that they have never been tried. We must, however, remember that each year in the history of exploration reveals the possibility of accomplishing what preceding generations considered impossible. To show how progress has been made in ideas since Arctic exploration was in its infancy, one has only to read the accounts of some of the old explorers. Perhaps one of the most amusing is that given by Chancellor, described in *Barrow's Arctic Voyages*, in which he gives the following delightful account of his experience with a whale :

The same day, at a south-west sunne, there was a monstrous whale abroad of us, so neare to our side that we might have thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should have overthrowen our shippe ; and then I called my company together, and all of us shouted, and with the crie that we made he departed from us ; there was as much above water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnesse and at his falling downe he made such a terrible noise in the water, that a man would greatly have marvelled, except he had known the cause of it ; but God be thanked, we were quietly delivered of him.

We can imagine how dangerous it must have appeared to those old explorers to lower a boat, throw harpoons into the whale, and hold on to the lines till it died, though this was for long the recognised method of killing these sea-monsters. Perhaps, therefore, we shall soon come to realise that travelling in the Arctic night is not a more dangerous undertaking.

Another way in which progress in Arctic travelling has been made during a comparatively few years is in the use of snow-shoes. We read on page 164 of *Nares' Voyage to the Polar Sea* : ' they actually made a road through the deep snow with shovels ' ; and on page 167 the writer says : ' so soft was the snow, that on the return journey the party were obliged to cut a road for the greater part of the distance, and only travelled for about one mile a day with nearly empty sledges.' If the party had been able to use snow-shoes and had had the experience which the present-day explorers have of the most suitable kinds

of sledges for ice travelling, they would have been spared this labour and would probably not have been obliged to beat a speedy retreat as they did.

As the surface is frozen during the winter, one can walk over it without snow-shoes, but during the spring and summer the surface is so soft, and the snow often so deep, that the only way of crossing it on foot is by using snow-shoes.

The most suitable snow-shoes for this purpose would be those used by the Indians in North America, similar to those on which the Hudson Bay Company's mail carriers travel over snow averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet deep. The distance of 1800 miles between Edmonton and Fort McPherson is covered by the latter in this way in $2\frac{1}{2}$ months, and the mail, which weighs about 400 lb., is carried on sledges drawn by dogs, which method of carrying the mails has been used by the Company for the last hundred years. A dog will keep on the top of the snow where a man without snow-shoes will sink in.

One other advantage of travelling in the Arctic winter is that there is less liability to scurvy.

These facts all point to the winter as the best time of year to begin a journey on the Arctic ice, as the surface and light are both best when the sun is not of sufficient strength to melt the snow.

Rate of travel over Arctic ice.—The rate at which an expedition can travel over Arctic ice depends on various factors, such as the surface of the ice, the experience of the party, the weight of the sledges, the number of dogs, and the frequency of stoppages for observations and soundings. One does not loiter in such a cold temperature, nor stop to admire the scenery.

In an exploration expedition it is not of so much moment to be able to travel fast as it would be when a lightly-equipped expedition is making a dash for the Pole, as in the case of Dr. Cook's and Commander Peary's recent journeys, or Nansen's sledge journey after he left the *Fram*. As, however, a sledge expedition on ice—which cannot leave *caches* of supplies for the return journey, as can be done by a party of explorers travelling on land—must of necessity be self-supporting, and cannot trust to finding food, a steady rate of travel must be maintained, and the expedition must therefore travel as straight as possible between the defined points of starting and destination.

Commander Peary has proved how experience has enabled him to lengthen the distance of his journeys, and it may be taken for granted that an Arctic expedition, however enthusiastic its members, is not of real value unless some at least of the party have experience of Arctic travel. Such experience can best be gathered from the Eskimo, who live in the cold region with the same relative degree of comfort as that in which we live in our own country. In fact, Eskimo are absolutely necessary on such an expedition, both from their knowledge of how

to live in such a temperature, and from their unique power of driving dogs in sledges.

I do not propose to deal in this article with the weight of sledges or the most suitable kind, nor with the number of sledges and dogs required for such an expedition, nor the food and equipment necessary to be taken. It is sufficient to observe that the European members of such an expedition should include a doctor, a geologist, and a biologist.

The fewer the members the less the food to be carried; but there is a minimum below which an expedition cannot be considered fully equipped, and, after the doubts cast on the reports of Dr. Cook's and Commander Peary's journeys while they were accompanied by Eskimo only and not by other Europeans, it is advisable to have more than one European of known integrity to confirm the records in order to create for them an official character. Perhaps, too, a strong British expedition may be able to throw a light on the points in dispute between Dr. Cook and Commander Peary, and act as umpire in any question likely to arise between President Taff and other claimants to the Pole.

The most important duty of such an expedition would be to take soundings. Nansen found a depth of 2000 fathoms quite close to the edges of the continental shelf. Commander Peary reports finding a depth of 825 fathoms about the 86th parallel, and 1500 fathoms near the Pole, which is peculiarly interesting, if correct, as it points to the fact that the depth of 2000 fathoms which we know to extend in a line from the New Siberian Islands, passing close to the northernmost part of Spitzbergen, and follow the Greenwich Meridian to 65 degrees N. latitude, is not a narrow channel, but a deep sea basin. In fact, if Peary's soundings are correct, Dr. Nansen's hypothesis of a deep sea basin at the Pole is amply established. But still the existence of land in the unknown area must remain an open question.

The future British expedition should take 10,000 fathoms of sounding line, and a light portable machine which would be capable of taking a sounding to a depth of 5000 fathoms. The depth of the Arctic Ocean at various points is a matter of the utmost importance, and taking soundings would form a considerable part of the duty of such an expedition. Taking soundings is a tedious operation, and would cause the expedition to travel slowly; but it is essential that bottom should be found, a feat which Peary and other explorers have generally failed to accomplish.

I cannot think that there would be any insuperable difficulty in obtaining soundings during the Arctic night for similar reasons to those which I have already given.

The following figures will show the respective speeds of Dr. Cook and Commander Peary, in their recent expeditions, as compared with those of Cagni, and Peary in his previous expedition. These

figures, however, of Dr. Cook's and Commander Peary's recent expeditions must not be taken as a guide to the rate of travel of an exploration expedition, as they represent the pace of expeditions which were merely planned for a dash to the Pole and a scurry back, while an exploring party would proceed at a sober pace. I estimate that the latter may be quite satisfied with a very low daily average, if equipped, as I propose, to cover, in a period of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, a distance of some 1800 miles.

Speed of Travel reported in the Cook Expedition

Cape Hubbard, lat. 81°18'	March 21st	522 miles in 81 days	
The Pole, lat. 90	April 21st	16°83 daily.	882 miles in 62 days.
Return journey :			14°22 (= 16°42 stat. miles) daily.
The Pole, lat. 90	April 23rd	860 miles in 81 days	
lat. 84	May 24th	11°61 daily.	
Far down in Prince Gustav Sound, June 18th.			

Speed of Travel reported in the Peary Expedition

Cape Columbia, lat. 83°6'	March 1st	414 miles in 87 days	
The Pole, lat. 90	April 6th	11°18 daily.	828 miles in 54 days.
Return journey :			15°33 (= 17°57 stat. miles) daily.
The Pole, lat. 90	April 7th	144 miles in 17 days	
Cape Columbia, lat. 83°6'	April 23rd	24°35 daily.	

Some Average Speeds of Arctic Ice-Journeys prior to these Expeditions

Mikkelsen, 533 miles in 60 days = 8°88 miles daily.⁵

Cagni, 753 miles in 105 days = 7°17 miles daily.⁶

Peary, 253 miles in 47 days = 5°38 miles daily.⁷

Obtaining Observations.—In obtaining observations on a moving ice-field an accurate observation to within 2' is the best which can be expected; and this, as far as I know, can only be done by use of a Reeves' artificial horizon attached to the sextant. In order to procure an accurate observation in these circumstances it is also necessary to take the mean of many. The ideal observation from the Sun is obtained when the horizon is quite smooth and the outline of the sun clearly defined, but in the Arctic Ocean the horizon is usually a rugged ice-field and the outline of the sun at low altitudes invisible. I am strongly of opinion that the only reliable observations which can be taken on moving ice are those taken by the fixed stars, and therefore the Arctic night is the only time when such observations are possible. The nearer the Pole, the harder is it to obtain sun observations with accuracy, except when near its greatest North declination. Those reported to have

⁵ *Geo. Journ.* vol. xxx. p. 522.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. p. 694.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. xxxiii. p. 694.

been taken by Dr. Cook and Commander Peary at the Pole have been severely criticised, and it is probable that no one, with however good an instrument, could, in the short time during which they state they remained at the Pole, procure from the sun an observation of any accuracy; though I for one would not hesitate to accept them as discoverers of the North Pole if their observations and dead reckonings show them to have been within one of their day's marches of it. No doubt if they had remained at the Pole for a month it might have been accurately located with such an instrument as I have referred to.

Sledging by Relays.—When I laid my plans before the Research Department of the Royal Geographical Society in January 1909,^a I advocated a system of relays for moving the supplies, a certain proportion being carried forward by sledges, then the dogs returning with empty sledges and fetching the remainder. The principal advantage of this is that fewer dogs would be necessary, and consequently the total load would be reduced by the saving in weight of the extra dogs' food. The journeys would be of such a length that the advance guard would not be out of touch with the rear guard. This system would enable a road to be cut, if required, and leave the scientific members of the expedition more freedom to do their expert work than if they were required to assist in moving the expedition. This principle was criticised adversely by the Research Department, and it was stated that owing to the drifting ice it was probable that touch could not be kept between the two parties. This appears, however, to have been Commander Peary's plan, and to have been successfully carried out by him, as the reports mention that the various parties found one another, even though separated for more than one march.

Reasons for a British Arctic Expedition.—Finally, we are constantly being told that Great Britain is on the decline, and that we are being surpassed by other countries in all those points in which we have claimed a pre-eminence. We are taken to task severely because in international sports we allow other nations to take the principal prizes; and even our supremacy of the seas is considered to be at stake. There is no doubt that there is a disposition nowadays among Englishmen to take it for granted that they are born to rule the world, and we are apt to forget that our former position in the world was the result of the dogged perseverance of our ancestors and their fixed intention that the country should hold the premier place, at whatever sacrifice; but the former idea that an Englishman was as good as any two or three of another nation has been dispelled, even among schoolboys, and we are at last waking up to the fact that if we want to keep our place in the world we must take active steps to that end. It has come as a rude awakening, but such a lesson is a salutary one.

^a Published in the *Geographical Journal*, June 1909, p. 689.

In Arctic exploration, till quite a recent date, we had a record which no other single country could approach, and, as Commander Peary truly says, it was a magnificent one; but since the return of the Nares Expedition, in 1875, we have not had a single British expedition to the Arctic regions. We have all been stirred lately by Lieutenant Shackleton's fine journey in the Antarctic; it would seem that the centre of attraction has shifted from north to south, and we are all glad to hear that another Antarctic expedition is already talked of for 1910; but Dr. Nansen's expedition to the North Pole failed to make us retaliate; Dr. Cook and Commander Peary have got a long start; Mikkelsen and Leffingwell have returned from their journey; the results of the Danish expedition to Greenland must be valuable to science; Captain Amundsen will be starting in a few months; Wellman has made more than one effort to cross the Polar Sea in his airship; and now comes the news that the Germans have decided on the general lines of a national airship expedition whose object is scientific exploration of the Polar Sea and its thorough investigation for purposes of scientific study. Are we going to sit still while other countries reap the harvest which we have sown?

In January 1908, I submitted to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society my proposed plans for a further Arctic Expedition, but was told by them that these plans were impracticable. They are set out at the end of my book, *In Search of a Polar Continent*. As slightly modified they were again rejected by the Research Department of that Society in January 1909, but meanwhile some of my theories have been put to the test of experience by Cook and Peary. I do not, however, wish for a moment to maintain that mine are the only practical plans, but I have given my reasons for them frankly, and am prepared to have them criticised equally frankly, after careful and impartial examination. My object in this article is to try and induce the British public to come forward and insist that another British expedition shall be despatched without delay to the Arctic Ocean to continue the work so well begun by this country.

ALFRED H. HARRISON.

*INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND :
ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW*

THE present paper has been called forth by Mr. Edward Dicey's article on the same subject in the August number of this Review. It is not to be regarded either as a criticism or a commentary on that article : rather as a gloss—an attempt to restate the same facts from a different point of view, and to some extent with a different application. That the conclusions drawn are divergent from Mr. Dicey's in more than one important particular must be attributed to this circumstance. The subject in question is peculiarly susceptible to variety of treatment ; and the extent of the facts to be reviewed is so great that selection—of necessity artificial—must take place to a considerable degree before any generalisation is possible. That this is so may be seen not least from Mr. Dicey's article itself. Its title is 'Hindu Students in England,' but as a matter of fact the writer concerns himself exclusively with Indian Bar students, thus confining himself to the London community, and of that only to a part. Whilst no accurate computation of the number of Indian students in England is at present in the hands of the public it is roughly true to say that not more than one-third of them study law at the Inns of Court.¹ In spite of this it is true that these students are more representative of the Indian community in England than any other class that might be selected. Their concentration in one comparatively small sphere, the possibility of social intercourse afforded by the Halls and Common Rooms of the various Inns, the community of interest which binds law students together with a tie almost as strong as that of University life, and above all the comparative leisure their studies allow them—these together produce a corporate feeling among the students largely impossible elsewhere. But a generalisation from the facts provided by the Inns of Court—even when, as in the case of Gray's Inn, those facts are presented in the most compact and obvious form—must leave out of consideration the large body of engineering, medical, and agricultural students studying at the different Universities of the

¹ There are said to be about 320 Indian students on the books of the Inns of Court. The total number of Indian students in England is variously estimated to be from 700 to 1200.

country (including of course the University of London), and the smaller number of Civil Service students and Arts students at Oxford and Cambridge. It must be borne in mind throughout that the circumstances in which Indian students find themselves vary considerably in accordance with local conditions; and that here, as in Mr. Dicey's article, the statements and arguments advanced are confined to the students at the Inns of Court, and especially at Gray's Inn.

An intimacy with many of these students which in more than one case has resulted in real friendship—friendship of a kind only possible between students, however different their courses of study—has convinced the writer that it is as difficult to make general statements about Indian students in England, which shall stand in any real relation to the facts, as about any other class whose association is due largely to artificial causes. A parallel case would be an attempt to describe the conditions, needs, and aspirations of, let us say, the Rhodes scholars at Oxford. The basis of classification in the case of the Indian students is little more than that of colour and isolation. Nationality has nothing to do with it where so many races are represented, but no nation; neither has religion. Unity of political ideals appears to the outside spectator to be a strong factor in making a 'real kind' of the Indian student; in effect the young Indian is faced by so many divergent political interests among his fellow idealists that any choice he makes must at once constitute him a partisan rather than a nationalist; and in far more cases than is generally supposed the natural result takes place: in despair of finding unity amongst a multitude of counsellors he abandons any hope he may have had of taking up a definite line of political thought, and leaves the entire 'national' question to others. In cases of this kind, which are not at all uncommon, the student's interest is directed almost entirely to questions of religion and sociology. Such questions have an importance of their own, but with the Indian they lack that intense impulse towards association and self-assertion characteristic of political aspirations. It thus comes about that to the spectator, however acute his observation may be, the non-political element in Indian society presents few outstanding features, and bulks less largely in his conclusions than the facts really warrant.

This I feel to be the case with Mr. Dicey. Though many passages in his article refer to the general life of the Indian student in London, its main argument is concerned entirely with those law students who are politically-minded, and its object is to advocate a definite policy on the part of the Benchers of the Inns of Court with which no one, whatever his sympathy with Indian students in general, can possibly disagree. If a student (and here it matters not whether he be English or Indian, though the possibility of treason on the part of an Englishman is so small as to be negligible) be found guilty of deliberate

sedition, either in preaching or practice, let him by all means be refused admission to the Bar ; and if he is already a qualified barrister let him be disbarred by the Benchers.

This is Mr. Dicey's proposal : and the immediate question arises, To what is it held to be the remedy ? It is true that such action will safeguard the honour of the Inns of Court, just as it will maintain the traditions of the English Bar ; but this is not the problem under consideration. That problem arises from the presence in London of some number of Indian students actively engaged in seditious propagandism. It would be futile to deny this seditious element, and the friend of the Indian is the last to do so ; but it is impossible to estimate its extent or influence, for the reason that we have no real definition of ' sedition.' No two juries could be found in agreement as to the exact line of demarcation between a perfectly legitimate expression of political conviction and an illegal outburst of sedition. No one can reasonably uphold a defence of political murder, but short of this it is difficult to say by what criterion sedition is to be determined. Much of the language employed during recent controversies by Opposition critics of the Government would be branded as seditious were a literal construction put upon their words ; and it is to be feared that the Indian newspapers have drawn much of the inspiration for their arguments, invective, and, indeed, their tactics as a whole, from the too zealous methods of partisan organs at home. This by the way. The question to be considered must take this form : in view of the real sedition which exists in the Indian community in London (and, however much we may think it exaggerated, no one, as Mr. Dicey justly says, can deny its presence in face of the terrible murder of Sir Curzon Wyllie), how will any action the Benchers may take tend either to extirpate it or to nullify its influence ? To take a practical case, what change has the disbarring of Krishnavarma introduced into the existing state of things ?

The answer must vary with our conception of the degree to which sedition exists in London. If the whole of the Indian community is tainted with it, obviously the social stigma, with (in some cases) an attendant financial loss due to the inability to practise, thus imposed on a few selected individuals, will be useless in view of its widespread influence. If, on the other hand, the sedition is confined to one or two at most, they must be so far out of sympathy with their countrymen in London already that no further steps need be taken to increase their isolation. If, finally—and this the writer firmly believes to be the case—there are many Indian students to whom the imputation of sedition would be as deliberate an insult as to any other loyal subject of the Crown, and many more whose opinions, if expressed by an Englishman, would be held no more than the utterances of a warm party spirit—whose ardent nationalism, that is, is in no way opposed to zeal for the integrity of the Empire—if this is so, the public disgrace

attaching to a refusal to call, or its equivalent, would certainly serve as a warning against violence of expression, but would scarcely check the secret spread of seditious propaganda, which is on all hands regarded as the real danger. If treason is to flourish at all, *that* must be the method of its growth; and recent events in India are only the last of a series of incidents in history which show how impossible it is to stamp out by legislation—either of Governments or of lesser bodies—the spread of a determined fanaticism, whether its aspirations are good or bad.

This introduces the real question at issue. Is it possible that sedition against the British Government can ever die out among the Indian people? Sedition is the natural outcome, on one side, of incompatibility of temper between a governed and a governing race, just as repression is upon the other; the two must die out together, either by the complete and final victory of one or other, or by a cessation of the racial hostility from which both spring. Given that it is undesirable either that the national aspirations of India or that the influence of English civilisation in India should be allowed to die, and that these *at present* too often take the shape of sedition on the one hand and repression on the other, we are left with the question, Is the present incompatibility of temper between English and Indian remediable?

The major premiss of Mr. Dicey's argument is to be found in his answer to this question, and that answer is negative. On the political issue he says, 'The truth is that England won India by the sword; that she holds it by the sword; and that if she wishes to retain possession of India she must continue to hold it by the sword.' So long, that is, as European influence is directly to be maintained in India, 'military supremacy'—the policy of repression—must be the keynote of British interest there. But Mr. Dicey in his next sentence admits that this 'possibly will be disputed by many well-wishers both to England and India' for whose judgment he has high respect. The political issue is therefore not one which can lightly be decided; and Mr. Dicey is more concerned with the social, or personal, question. In this limitation of his subject I propose to follow him, as far as my experience carries me. His description of the present loneliness and isolation of the Indian student, and the almost entire cleavage between English and Indian, is not overdrawn. It is more noticeable in the Inns of Court than anywhere in England, except perhaps in one or two of the medical schools. Even where there is little animosity between the two races there is yet little real intercourse. Were such intercourse, with its attendant benefits of friendship and mutual understanding, possible on a large scale, it is evident that it would go far to stultify the effect of sedition.

Mr. Dicey's whole contention with regard to this point is that such an intimacy, however desirable it may be, is in practice impossible.

The grounds for this conclusion he finds not in any inevitable racial antipathy, but in the circumstances of the Indian's residence in England, his attitude towards the society in which he is placed, his personal and political aspirations. Mr. Dicey holds that even the smaller amenities of life are impossible as between the Englishman and the Indian in England; and he recognises what a large part these would play, if they could, in the desired reconciliation. He says, for example:

For obvious reasons it would hardly be possible for white and coloured students to take their meals together. Mahometans object to pork and resent the presence of intoxicating liquors at their tables. Hindus object to beef, and so on.

Again:

Indian students in London have to live in very poor apartments, have few, if any, English friends or acquaintances, and from various causes, the chief of which is the *res angusta domi*, have to live in out of the way suburbs, where, as a rule, they are not in favour even with the poorer class of London landladies.

As to sport,

the rough games in which British lads take delight are distasteful to ordinary Hindus, and even if they understood the attraction possessed for their English fellow-students by such games as cricket and football, the expenses attaching to these games are sufficiently large to prohibit their pursuit even by the small native minority who understand their attraction.

But apart from the initial difficulties Mr. Dicey sees in these facts, he holds that there are more serious differences between the Indian and English law students which render real intercourse impossible. The real barrier, he considers, lies in the mental attitude of the Indian. His sole object in reading for the English Bar is to better his social standing when he returns to India; he has no intention of staying in England at the end of his course, and no desire to cultivate an intimacy with things—or persons—English. I may be pardoned a few more quotations from Mr. Dicey's article.

The effect that common studies, common attendance at lectures, common examinations, and common moots might be expected to produce between white and coloured students *in statu pupillari* is neutralised by the fact that the two classes of our students desire to be called to the Bar with completely different objects. British students are desirous of becoming barristers. . . . The native students, as a body, intend to leave England for good as soon as they are called.

Their political ideals cut them off from the British student. They disregard the advances of 'benevolent institutions' founded for their benefit.

I doubt [says Mr. Dicey] such well-meaning institutions exercising much influence over young men whose one desire is to get away from England as soon as they have been called, and to return to their own country at once and for all. Given this mental attitude, it is natural enough that Indian students should entertain no ardent desire to form social relations in England, even if any opportunity presents itself.

As against this I would suggest, first, that the facts Mr. Dicey quotes, however true in themselves, do not apply to more than a minority of Indian law students, and then that, in view of the actual circumstances of the Indian's mental attitude and ideals, there is little that could hinder and much that might promote what Mr. Dicey rightly calls an 'entente cordiale' between his English fellow-students and himself. Before entering upon the considerations which support these conclusions I must make two qualifications. The first is that my argument refers only to the conditions of the immediate present. I believe that Mr. Dicey's statements are far more representative of the state of affairs, say, four years ago, than of to-day; and from that point of view I have little to urge against them. The second, that in my opinion the majority of Indian students are quite untouched by anything which could reasonably be called sedition, and therefore are not disqualified by their political opinion from entrance into English society.

II

There are many circumstances which bring the Indian to England as a student; but the cause at the root of them all is the same as that which brings the English schoolboy of to-day to the University; as that which took him, a hundred years ago, upon the 'grand tour'; as that which sends our budding theologians to Marburg and Berlin. England is still to the Indian the crown of a liberal education, as Oxford or Cambridge is to the Englishman; and though in the true interests of the East we may deplore this tendency to idolise a purely Western education the fact is nevertheless one of which we have right to be proud. For the Indian's residence in England confers just the same social prestige and commercial advantages as an English boy derives from his public school and University; but in far the greater number of cases, whether English or Indian, the impulse most operative is neither social nor commercial ambition, but a real desire for the best that education can give. And when it is recognised how far Indian education is based upon the best English public school traditions—as is evident in many instances less completely developed than Trinity College, Kandy, where the harmonising of the English system with Eastern conditions has been most successful—it will be seen that the Indian student at the Inns of Court is placed, both as to his past and his present, very much in the conditions of an Englishman at the University. There are differences of course. London is a 'cruel stepmother' rather than an *alma mater*; lodgings are a poor substitute for rooms in college; there is a strangeness and loneliness about it all for the Indian which never really wears off. But the resemblance is strong too. The Indian at the Inns of Court has a sense of the dignity of the 'honourable society' of which he is a member, comparable only to the University man's feeling for his

college. He has the same naïve interest in the opening prospect of life; the same light-hearted attitude towards such things as his 'career,' his financial success, and his responsibilities; and at bottom the same chivalrous determination to 'do something' which alone gives meaning to a student's life. He has a generous instinct for friendship, veiled behind a superficial arrogance which too often is only a bad imitation of English brusqueness. In the Government or mission school where he was educated he has had a foretaste of the interests of English youth; his teachers—and the teacher in India commands a respect and wields an influence very rare in English schools—have in their own persons exemplified for him the possibilities of English education. If he has graduated at one of the four Indian Universities—and many of our law students have—he has caught a further glimpse of what his school life in part revealed. He is, as a rule, acquainted with both the meaning and the fascination of athletics. It is said to be one of the most striking features of the awakening life of India that the Hindu, whose theory denies the possibility of a personality expressing itself in physical activity and condemns the cult of the body, is yet instinctively an admirer of the athlete, and takes to games with the zeal of a schoolboy. It is certainly true that a large proportion of the Indians who visit England play cricket, tennis, and golf with a skill not far, if at all, below the English average, whilst in this connection it is interesting to notice that in Glasgow recently a scratch team of Indian students, all selected from the small number resident there, beat the University team at hockey.

In other directions too the Indian student in England assimilates to the University type. He is as a rule a man of 'liberal opinions.' Though, as Mr. Dicey rightly says, the Mahomedan rarely eats pork, or the Hindu beef, whilst the tendency to take alcoholic beverages is very small, there is nothing else that prevents the Indian student from sharing the same table as Englishmen. Few who have had the privilege of entertaining or being entertained by an Indian will deny that he is both an agreeable and an interesting table companion. Mr. Dicey's statement that 'for obvious reasons it would hardly be possible for white and coloured students to take their meals together' is definitely opposed to facts which may be observed in any University in England, where such interchanges of courtesy, though rarer than might well be desired, are yet of constant occurrence. It is true that many Indians live in sordid lodgings. This is due, however, not to impecuniosity, as Mr. Dicey suggests, for the ordinary student—here again the parallel with the English University is very complete—comes from a family which can well afford his expenses, or, failing that, is at least furnished with sufficient means to maintain himself comfortably during his course. The true reason lies deeper in the Eastern nature. The Oriental has not yet grasped that Western

conception of personality by which a man's surroundings are included in the sum total of himself, leading him as far as he can to readjust his environment to his own needs. In other words, the Western ideal of personal comfort has not yet penetrated Eastern life, and until it does so no Indian, unless highly Anglicised, will pay much attention to his immediate surroundings.

In all these ways intercourse between English and Indian students is far more possible than Mr. Dicey believes. The real difficulty lies in the historical environment of the two races. The Indian has for so long been accustomed to regard the Englishman as a being apart—a 'sahib' in fact—that it is very hard for him to assimilate *in practice* the principle of the equality of the races, to which he clings desperately in theory. Nor does his experience, either in India or in England, make it easier. The Englishmen he meets in India are either his teachers at school and his professors at the University, the missionaries with whom he may in one way or another have come into contact, or Government officials; and the *general* impression they have fostered in him—this, I believe, is admitted upon all hands—is one of his own inferiority. This is apart from any of the instances of aggression or injustice which from time to time are reported, and which, as there is reliable evidence to show, do in fact occur. He therefore comes to England with a distinct awe of the Englishman, which effectually prevents his making advances to his white fellow-students, and drives him, sometimes unwillingly, to closer intimacy with his own people. Unwillingly, because in many cases he has come to London hoping to enter as closely as possible into the life and interests of the English through acquaintanceships with English people. And there are Englishmen and Englishwomen only too ready to help him. When Mr. Dicey says 'In as far as I am aware the late Sir Curzon Wylie was the only resident in London whose house was always open to Indian students,' he is unconsciously doing an injustice to a very large number of warm-hearted persons in London—some of them retired Indian officials and their families, but many also whose interest in India has been stimulated by no personal acquaintance with that country—who welcome the visits of Indian students, and in some cases have made their welfare the predominant care of their lives. Through their mediumship, or that of the various societies whose sole object is to promote intercourse between Indians and English residents in London—and no one who has had experience of them can fail to testify either to the extent or to the excellence of their work—any Indian student can see much of the best sides of English life and by degrees take a place in English society.

But this method is at best slow, and fails somewhat of the ideal. To revert to the parallel of the University, it is as if the freshman should enter into the society of the Senior Common Room and be received into the families of professors and their wives, yet fail to

touch all that part of University life which consists in the interchange of confidence and friendship between young men of the same age and standing. And what is lacking in the life of the Indian in England is too often the friendship of English students. The impression left by Mr. Dicey's article is that such friendship is impossible. I have tried to show that it is at least more possible than Mr. Dicey supposes. There are difficulties on both sides. It is hard for the Indian to conquer the racial bashfulness with which he has learnt to approach the Englishman ; and it is hard also for the English student so to widen his interests and ideals as to be able to share them, frankly and on equal terms, with men of another race and colour. But in neither case is such a change of attitude impossible ; and I would conclude by putting on record the experience of many Englishmen of the last forty years, and of a growing body of English students to-day, that a close and equal friendship with Indian students, if not at the outset easy, is yet most certainly possible, and may perhaps, by breaking down in individual cases the barrier of mutual misunderstanding, be a definite means of allaying that racial suspicion to which the present sedition is so largely due.

KENNETH E. KIRK.

A SUGGESTED SOURCE OF MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDUCATION

IN the expositions of various aspects of Milton put forth in connexion with the Tercentenary celebration of his birth, attention to his views on Education has not been lacking.¹ But nowhere have I seen any attempt, either recently or at any other time, to trace the sources of Milton's *Tractate*. Milton himself says: 'To tell you, therefore, what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare.' He is determined in his opposition to the reading of 'modern *Januas* and *Didactics*.' However right Milton may have been in his views, his contemptuous dismissal of the reading of John Amos Comenius, with his *Janua Linguarum* and his *Didactica Magna*, would not receive the approval of modern educationists. It is even doubtful whether Milton does not show an unbecoming ignorance by coupling together, with depreciation, the *Janua* and the *Didactic*, for they were very different in aim and scope, as a well-trained teacher nowadays knows. Not to delay over the point of Milton's adverse judgment on contemporary pedagogy, let us return to the problem: Who were the 'old renowned Authors' from whom he had benefited? It is true he says that he will 'spare' us the telling. But the interest attaching to even minute points connected with Milton makes us wonder if we can discover who are these 'old renowned authors' to whom he was indebted. Were the obligations quite general, and the simmering together in a cultured man's mind of various suggestions, which he could not easily differentiate, or were they definite obligations to other writers? It will be noted that the form of assertion is one which would be appropriate to the declaration of definite obligation. 'To tell you, therefore, what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare.'

The writer of the present article will only attempt to suggest the name of one of the 'old renowned Authors' from whom Milton appears to have benefited—a man whom, apparently, many writers on both pedagogy and other subjects consulted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, without emphasising, or sometimes without even naming, the

¹ See *Athenæum*, January 2, 1909 (page 19), for an account of Mr. Arthur F. Leach's paper to the British Academy on 'Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster,' and an article in the *School World*, January 1909, on 'Milton as Schoolmaster.'

source of the reading which suggested their views. I mean Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540).

Vives was born at Valencia in 1492, where he lived till 1509. He then went to the University of Paris, where he adopted Humanist views of a type antagonistic to the current academic scholasticism. From 1522 onwards till after the divorce of Queen Catharine of Aragon, Vives spent a portion of each year in England, chiefly at the Court of King Henry the Eighth, though he also lectured in Oxford. In 1531 his great educational work appeared—the *De Tradendis Disciplinis*. Milton's *Tractate*, it may be recalled, was published on the 5th of June 1644. The *De Tradendis Disciplinis* apparently has only once been published in England—viz. in 1612, at Oxford.

He would be lacking indeed in perception who should suggest that Milton borrowed the noble patriotic spirit of the *Tractate* from any other source than his own magnanimous heart, longing for the public good of his native country in education as in every other activity. The noble tribute to Mr. Hartlib, whom, as Mr. Masson says, 'everybody knew,' is a handsome piece of recognition, and is clearly Milton's personal testimony.

After the explanation of the reasons which induced him to undertake the writing of the *Tractate*, Milton lays down: 'The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love Him, to imitate Him, to be like Him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.' Vives, in his first book of the *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, says: 'As the end of man, what other can we fix but God Himself, or where can man with more blessedness seek for peace than as if absorbed in, and turned towards Him . . . What the things are which should be loved, faith will show.'

Milton proceeds: 'But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching.'

Parallel to this is Vives': 'First we must consider the easiest things—namely—those that are evident to the senses. These afford an opening for all knowledge.' Sometimes Francis Bacon is spoken of as if he were the first to point out the importance of the senses educationally, but the educational student will recall the interesting treatise called the *Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children*, besides suggestions in Renaissance writers. Vives, however, announces himself explicitly as a realist in education before Bacon.

Then comes the well-known passage in the *Tractate*:

And seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the Languages of those people

who have at any time been most industrious after Wisdom; so that *Language is but the Instrument conveying to us things usefull to be known.* And though a Linguist should pride himself to have all the Tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words and Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother Dialect only.

Vives had said: 'Discourse is the instrument of human society, for not otherwise could the mind be revealed, so hidden is it by coverings and by the density of the body.' Further, he had written at greater length the same idea as is conveyed so strikingly by Milton as to the subject-matter of a language:

Let those who study, remember, that if nothing is added to knowledge by the study of a language, they have only arrived at the gates of knowledge, or are still hovering in the entrance-hall. Let them remember that it is of no more use to know Latin and Greek than French or Spanish if the value of what is obtained from the learned languages is taken away from them; and no language is in itself worth the trouble of learning if nothing is sought beyond itself. Rather let pupils gain as much of the language as will enable them to penetrate to those facts and ideas, which are looked up in those languages, just as beautiful and valuable things are stored up in treasures. . . . Language is the shrine of erudition, as it were a store-room for what should be concealed and what should be expressed. Since it is the treasury of culture and the instrument of human society, etc.

With regard to the 'Languages' of those 'who have been most industrious after wisdom,' Vives had spoken with the greatest warmth in favour of an education leading to the literature of the Romans, Greeks, and *Hebrews*, as did Milton, later. But the parallelism of Milton with Vives is even more strongly suggested by the latter part of the above passage than the former, for Vives was, as far as I can discover, the first of the moderns to advocate the necessity for the teacher to know and teach thoroughly the vernacular.

The two following passages, published thus by Vives as early as 1531, deserve to be regarded as *loci classici*:

(1) Let the teacher know the mother-tongue of his boys, so that by that means, he may with the more ease and readiness teach the learned languages. For unless he makes use of the right and proper expressions in the mother-tongue, he will certainly mislead the boys, and the error thus imbibed will accompany them persistently as they grow up and become men. Nor can boys understand anything sufficiently well in their own language unless the words are said with the utmost clearness. Let the teacher preserve in his memory all the old forms of vernacular words, and let him develop the knowledge not only of modern forms, but also of the old words and those which have gone out of use, and let him be as it were the *guardian of the treasury of his own language*.

(2) The scholars should first speak in their homes their mother-tongue, which is born with them, and the teacher should correct their mistakes. Then they should, little by little, learn Latin. Next let them intermingle with the vernacular what they have heard in Latin from their teacher, or what they themselves have learned. Thus at first, their language should be a mixture of the mother-tongue and Latin. But outside the school they should speak the mother-tongue so that they should not become accustomed to a hotch-potch of languages.

When Milton deprecates the early composition of elaborate themes, verses, and orations by children, as the 'plucking of untimely fruit,' and suggests as the order of classical studies 'some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then proceed to *learn the substance of good things* and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power'—this method might almost be described as a 'return to the method of Vives.' Take for instance the latter's method of teaching Greek. This may be summarised: Learn the form of the letters carefully, and equally carefully learn the right pronunciation, and learn the main inflexions of the noun and the verb. Get your teacher to *read* such Greek authors as are easy and clear, *e.g.* short orations of Isocrates, Plato, some epistles and the fables of Æsop. Before all, understand which words represent particular things, and in what manner they are inflected. Then read authors. Orators first—Isocrates, Demosthenes, Lysias, Æschines, &c. Then philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Theophrastus. Then those iron-like writers Thucydides and Plutarch.

The reason for taking the above orators first is chiefly because they approach to the dialogue form, and this represents the first attitude towards learning any language (with Vives), *viz.* for the purpose of conversation and discourse.

Returning to the *Tractate*, Milton suggests:

And for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of Universities not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with Arts most easy, and those be such as are most obvious to the sense, they present their young unmatriculated Novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of Logic and Metaphysics, &c.

Already the similar opinion of Vives has been quoted: 'First we must consider the easiest things, namely, those which are evident to the senses. These afford an opening for all knowledge.' Further, of all the Humanist antagonists of the old 'scholastic grossness of barbarous ages' which presented 'Novices with the most intellective abstractions of Logic and Metaphysics,' it is to be noted that there was no one whose attacks against this very abuse were more incisive than those of Vives.

The vigorous passage in which Milton attacks the university system of teaching is couched in terms with which Vives would cordially agree, even if he had not himself written in such graphic terms of contempt and disgust. Milton shows the shallowness of the affected knowledge of metaphysics implanted in youths when they go on to divinity, law, State affairs, or lives of ease and luxury. The learning of 'mere words or such things chiefly as were better unlearned,' for him sums up the situation.

Vives, similarly, had fought with the utmost keenness against the disputatious, shallow, academic dialectic, and metaphysical methods.

In fact his work *In Pseudo-dialecticos* was devoted to this very object, and in the *De Disciplinis* he says : ' The youth, ignorant of Latin, and of Greek speech, ignorant of the subjects and arts which are set forth in those two languages, bursts forth into the learning of dialectic.' Further, he points out that the arts of dialectic and of rhetoric are ' contentious from their very nature, being provocative of strife and obstinacy.'

As to studies, Milton recommends pupils should begin with ' the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar,' and pass on to right pronunciation. So, too, Vives. Milton then requires ' some easy and delightful Book of Education ' to be read to the pupil. It is difficult to see exactly what Milton means, since, previous to systematic classical studies, he instances as education books, *Greek* works, viz. Cebes, Plutarch, and Socratic discourses, and further suggests that in this connexion

the main skill and groundwork will be to temper them such Lectures (i.e. readings) and Explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning, and the admiration of virtue ; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy Patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages.

This might seem to be a translation into Miltonic English of the following passage of Vives : ²

Sed quicumque auctores enarrabuntur semel atque iterum per hebdomades singulas de moribus audient nonnulla, quae vitiis auditorum medeantur, vel ut pellantur, vel ut ne invadant atque invalescant.

It is to be remarked that Vives, like Milton, requires the *Tabula Cebetis* to be read, and Plutarch, so as to teach in a brief form the subject of morals. For teaching ' the purposes of a school,' i.e. education, Vives also requires Quintilian to be read by the pupil. The difference, therefore, between Milton and Vives is simply the question whether Milton fixes the reading of a ' delightful Book of Education ' before the pupil has learned Greek, and to be translated by the teacher into the vernacular, as he goes along. Even then it may be stated that in mentioning the *Tabula Cebetis* Vives wishes the pupil to read it in both Latin and Greek for the sake of comparison. As to the ' inflaming ' of pupils with ' the study of learning and the admiration of virtue,' this is no less explicitly proposed by Vives, who wrote his *Introductio ad Sapientiam* for this very purpose. And although Vives does not rise to the same heights of patriotic impulse as Milton, yet he has the same idea. Milton finely longs for boys to be ' stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots dear to God and famous to all ages.' In precisely the same tenour Vives writes :

Simul ex vitae consuetudine flagrantius in illius corde et parentum et patriae pietas ardebit, cui ut rei iucundissimae ac carissimae optime cupiet consultum, eique quacunq̃ue debitor benefaciet.

² *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, iii. 6.

Next in the curriculum Milton places 'the rules of Arithmetic and soon after the elements of Geometry even playing, as the old manner was.' So, too, Vives. 'After evening repast,' Milton introduces the easy grounds of Religion and the story of Scripture. Vives does not, I believe, mention 'after the evening repast,' but he requires 'the most simple elements of piety' to be instilled, 'not by any invention of man, but by the divine oracles sufficiently laid down in letters by the Holy Spirit.'³ Vives requires the performance of divine worship which piety and religion demand, though worship, he adds, has its strength rather in *action* than in knowledge.

Milton's next step 'would be to the Authors in Agriculture: Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy, and if the language be difficult so much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years.' Vives says: 'In agriculture let the pupil read M. Cato, Varro, Terentius, Junius, Columella, and Palladius, having respect to the subject-matter contained in them, not as before for the vocabulary.' It will then, says Milton, be 'seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author the use of the Globes and all the Maps.' On this point Vives had said: 'Let the pupil' (after reading Strabo) 'consider the Maps of Ptolemy if he can get a modern edition. Let him add the discoveries of our (*i.e.* Spanish) countrymen on the borders of the East and the West.'

Milton then continues his curricula and suggests the reading of a 'compendious method of natural philosophy.' This is in accord with Vives' view. 'There should be to begin with a general explanation, a description of the whole of nature, of the heavens, of the elements, and those things that are in the heavens, and in the elements, so that a full drawing and description of the whole world is drawn as in a picture.'

Milton would then have 'Historical' (*i.e.* descriptive) 'Physiology' 'opened before' the pupils and would use Aristotle (*de Animalibus*) and Theophrastus (*de Stirpibus*). The same authors are suggested by Vives. Milton then names Vitruvius, Pomponius Mela, Celsus, Pliny, Solinus (all suggested also by Vives), together with Seneca's *Natural Questions*, not named by Vives.

Passing now to Mathematics, Vives and Milton similarly require Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Geography (then considered a mathematical subject). Milton adds: 'Trigonometry (which had been developed as a differentiated subject by Milton's time), Fortification, Architecture, Enginry, Navigation.' Vives had a great aversion to war and to teaching boys subjects apparently preparatory for war, accordingly he does not include fortification and 'enginry,' but architecture and navigation are described in his suggested curricula.

Milton next names divisions of natural philosophy. 'The pupils

³ Cf. Milton's 'They [*i.e.* pupils] close the day's work under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon or the Evangelists and Apostolic Scriptures.'

may proceed leisurely from the history (description) of Meteors, Minerals, plants and living Creatures as far as Anatomy.' Vives says : ' Concerning gems, metals, pigments, Pliny has discoursed in his *Natural History*.' Vives desires the study of plants, and for this subject (animals, we have seen, were to be studied in Aristotle's *de Animalibus*) recommends the reading of Dioscorides. Indeed, Vives goes further than Milton, for he wishes the student to read Oppianus, a countryman of Dioscorides, who wrote on fishes, a part of Nature-study as to which he says ' we are extremely ignorant but in which Nature has been almost incredibly prodigal.'

When Milton mentions anatomy, we have to remember that Vesalius and his successors had developed this subject after the time of Vives, but when Milton suggests : ' Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious Writer the Institution of Physick,' Vives is in line with him. Vives indeed would have the famous works of Galen read with the pupils in much the same way that Milton wished some Book of Education to be early introduced. Milton desires the student ' to know the tempers, the *seasons* and how to manage a crudity.' Vives joins the study of Nature with that of medicine. He says :

Let the student keep eyes and ears intent, and his whole mind also. Great and exact concentration is necessary in observing every part of Nature, in its *seasons*, and in the genius and strength of each object of Nature. Such students bring great advantage for husbandry, for the culture of palatable fruits and for remedies and medicines for the recovery of health.

Milton has often been praised for the realistic touch in the teaching of ' Nature and Mathematics ' when he says, ' What hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of Hunters, Fowlers, Fishermen, Shepherds, Gardeners, Apothecaries ; and in the other sciences, Architects, Engineers, Mariners, Anatomists ; who doubtless would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful seminary.' But Milton is following here the same track as that pursued by Vives, who said, ' Let the pupil have recourse, for instance, to gardeners, husbandmen, shepherds and hunters, for this is what Pliny and other great authors undoubtedly did ; for any one man cannot possibly make all observations, without help in such a multitude and variety of directions.' Milton then joins agricultural and ' natural knowledge ' with the poets. ' Then also those Poets which are now counted most hard will be both facile and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius, and in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural parts of Vergil.'

Milton's list of the Greek poets of Nature is longer than that required by Vives, but Vives has not omitted to mention them.

One further point in this connexion. There is no passage in Milton's *Tractate* more striking than that which he introduces in dealing with Students' Exercises : ' In those vernal seasons of the year,

when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and Earth.' Milton then turns this recommendation into the advocacy of the usefulness of sending forth companies of students to survey their native land, and the surrounding seas, so that they should combine peripatetic Nature Study with Patriotic motives.

The patriotic strain is much more intense in Milton than in Vives. But Vives had even mentioned the idea of perambulation through the country, but he united it with the thought of its resourcefulness to old age :

For the well-to-do old man, the pursuit of Nature Study will be a great delectation, and it will be a refreshment of the mind to those who have business affairs of their own, or *who conduct affairs of state*. For not easily will any other pleasure of the senses be found which can compare with this in magnitude or in permanence, since it stimulates the desire of knowledge which for every human mind is the keenest of all pleasures.

Vives had been just as pronounced as Milton in the requirement of the inclusion in the training of the student of Ethics, Economics, and Politics. Both of course founded themselves in this division on Aristotle. The writers on Ethics, Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, are recommended by both ; Milton further includes Laertius and the Locrian Fragments, while Vives, though he quotes Laertius, prescribed in detail the works of Seneca.

Before passing on from ethics to economics, Milton makes what has seemed so singular a demand : ' Either now or before this, they may easily have learnt *at any odd time*, the Italian Tongue.' Vives had said with regard to modern foreign languages, ' In a language which is in the continual use of people there is no necessity to frame systematic rules. . . . Rules are throughout for the guarding against mistakes and speaking inaccurately, in dead languages.' Such quotations do not, indeed, show how Milton and Vives proposed to have foreign languages learned, but they show, in common, their idea that foreign languages could be learned by a more direct method than that of systematic courses of grammatical rules and exceptions, exercises and praxes on rules.

Perhaps the most important feature of Milton's treatment of ethics, economics, and politics is the stress he lays on the course of instruction requiring the student ' to dive into the grounds of Law and legal justice,' for which he recommends the study of Moses as a lawgiver, ' the remains of Licurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, and thence to the Roman Edicts and Tables with their Justinian ; and so down to the Saxon and common Laws of England and the Statutes.' In a similar manner Vives requires his student to consider ' the beginning, end, and reason,' as Milton puts it, of Political societies, and

refers to Draco, Solon, Lycurgus. In the study of jurisprudence, he directs the student to discover

the justice that is present in every law, *i.e.*, what its life-giving force is, what its preservative force to the community is, what laws are usefully maintained at each period of time. The juriconsult is not to be a priest (*sacerdos*) and interpreter of Roman and Spanish law merely, but as Celsus and Ulpian wished, the interpreter of the *good* and the *right*. . . . The men of old required the laws of the Twelve Tables to be learned by boys, whilst playing. . . . One by one let the teacher expound to students the grounds and as it were, the sources of law, partly those laid down by law-givers themselves and partly those which have been suggested by former experts in jurisprudence. Of all written laws known to us, the most excellent seems to be the Roman Law. . . . Teachers should take care that they themselves taste all kinds of (legal) writings and show to their scholars the best authorities, which should be at hand in the library.

From this topic of the study of laws, Milton immediately proceeds to the study of theology 'understandingly.' So, too, had Vives done. Vives says: 'But he who is endowed by God with a greater power of intellect, and does not let himself be kept back by worldly cares, but is stirred to concern himself in intercourse with heavenly subjects, happy and dear is that man to the Powers above—he will soar up to the study of Theology.' Milton would have Hebrew learned. This had been suggested also by Vives. The teaching of logic and rhetoric under due restrictions, and at a later period of studies than was common in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is advocated by both Milton and Vives.

The exercises recommended by Milton are to be found in Vives, excepting those of a warlike nature. For Vives, like Erasmus, was a great hater of war. Vives is not so eloquent as Milton on the subject of music. Yet when Milton says: 'If wise men and prophets be not extremely out [the divine Harmonies of Music] have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions.' Vives expresses the common and ancient thought thus: 'Then let Music lead back to tranquillity and tractability all the wild and fierce parts of the students' nature, like as is related in the ancient world, under the guise of stories, rocks were moved and wild beasts allured by it.'

Lastly, Milton in common with Vives deals with diet.

These points of contact between Milton and Vives in details are interesting in their cumulative aspect. If the term 'magnificent,' which is usually reserved for Milton, be appropriate, it would seem that it belongs also, as far as comprehensiveness is concerned, to Vives. But the encyclopaedic ideal in education was natural enough in the transitional stage in which Vives wrote, when the Middle Ages had offered, with acceptance, the gift of the survival of encyclopaedism to the early Renaissance writers. But the fact that Milton takes up the point of view of encyclopaedism rather points to his reliance on older writers, since he ignores for the most part, in his treatment of

subjects like 'Mathematics' and 'Natural Philosophy,' the very differentiations which had taken place between the age of Vives and his own age. The coincidence of names of authors, though not conclusive evidence, is a confirmatory argument when we remember the immense amount of pedagogical apparatus which had appeared within the hundred years separating the *de Tradendis Disciplinis* of Vives and the *Tractate* of Milton. It is worthy of remark that the list of text-books actually used by Milton in his school in the list given by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips,⁴ introduces some more modern books than those named in the *Tractate*—a difference which would be accounted for if Milton in his *Tractate* had been following Vives.

It has been pointed out recently⁵ that in the *Tractate* Milton omits mention of the universities, and advocates an alternative institution—namely, an Academy, in which the boy should remain from about thirteen to twenty-one years of age. Milton himself says : 'This place should be at once both school and University, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar College of Law or Physic, when they mean to be practitioners.' The writers on the *Tractate* do not draw sufficient attention to Milton's statement that 'as many edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needful in every City throughout this Land, which would tend much to the increase of Learning and Civility every where.'

Now we must raise the question, Where did Milton get this central idea of a Model Academy, which should be multiplied in the cities of the land ?

He thus describes the institution :

First to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an Academy, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabouts may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done.

Now, Vives similarly plants an academy in every province—and postulates other institutions of learning for parochial claims, to which the Academy is to be the centre. The Academy is international, and has within it elements of self-government among the students. The teachers of the Academy are State-paid. The salary is to be high enough to attract good men, and low enough to be undesirable to a bad, avaricious man. Unsuitable boys are to be ruthlessly dismissed from the Academy, after they have failed to satisfy sufficient tests. The Academy is to be an influence not only to the pupils but also to the people of the province.

As to the position of Vives' Academy, the air is to be healthy, far from the fear of pestilence, yet not so verdant and pleasant as to tempt

⁴ The list is given in Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. iii.

⁵ By a writer in the *School World*, January 1909.

the scholars to neglect their work. It must be placed in a district where food is good and plentiful. It must be apart from the crowd and the noise of all who use hammer, wheel, and lathe. It must be far from the Court, and from the neighbourhood of girls. 'Let it be outside the town, not near a public road, nor near the boundaries of a country, lest war should break out. Let no one wonder that the place where wisdom is to be born and grow should be sought with this care, when we so anxiously look after the place where bees can get honey, the price of which is how much below wisdom!'

The idea of an Academy to Vives includes such study as ends only with life. Accordingly, though education of the students nominally ends at twenty-five years of age, provision is made for the student to go out and mix in the affairs of life and eventually to return to the Academy. 'To an Academy of this kind,' says Vives, 'not only should boys be admitted, but even old men should betake themselves as if to a haven away from the mighty tempest of ignorance and vices. Teachers should attract all by a certain majesty and authority.' In another passage, Vives describes the idea of an Academy: 'This is truly an Academy, namely, an association and harmony of men equally good as they are learned, drawn together to confer the same blessings on those who come thither for the sake of learning.'

I submit that Milton's idea of his Academy is a reminiscence from his reading of Vives' proposed academies—that Milton's extensive curriculum is founded on the encyclopaedic curriculum of Vives, and that the magnificence of conception of education and the exacting expectation from students are shared and suggested by Vives, on whom all this rests naturally and plausibly, living at an age when he entered into the heritage of the early and spacious days of the Renaissance, at a time when Pico della Mirandola had represented the supreme Maker in addressing man, as saying: 'Thou bearest within thee the germs of a universal life.'

FOSTER WATSON.

IRELAND'S NEED

Two recent articles in this Review have dealt with the condition of Ireland, representing it—and so far I agree with the writers—as abnormal and deeply diseased. Mr. Ian Malcolm advocates the old prescription of ‘resolute government’: Mr. Kenny recommends ‘setting the Irishman in Ireland free to be the owner of his own faculties,’ leaving it to statesmen to ‘infer’ the precise method of limiting that clerical influence which he regards as the root of all evil. I propose to set out my own view of the same phenomena, and to argue for the remedy which has been applied everywhere else within the British Empire, and, as a quotation will prove, with universal approval.

The Imperial idea, despite the historic associations of its name, must prove its title to acceptance, not as a limitation but as a guarantee of local autonomy and local rights. . . . Imperial thought aims at drawing closer the bonds of union between the nations of the empire, not in any limitation of individual autonomy but as the only means by which the development of each on its own lines can be secured. . . . Imperialism is not the enemy of those narrower and more intimate loyalties which bind each nationality within the empire to its own way of life.

These words are taken, not from the utterance of any Liberal statesman, but from the leading article in the *Times* of the 3rd of April 1909. I quote them to establish the fact that local autonomy is now recognised as a cardinal principle of the very remarkable organisation which we call the British Empire, and my main purpose is to inquire why a certain section of English politicians refuse to apply that principle in the country where it is called Home Rule. Incidentally I shall have to consider some of the views which are put forward in this Review and elsewhere by the opponents of Nationalism.

The refusal comes from England only. Scotland by an overwhelming majority, and Wales by unanimity of representation, are in favour of Home Rule; they begin also to claim it for themselves. Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, all explicitly support the demand of Ireland. In this matter England stands against the consent of the entire empire; or, to be more accurate, England, for reasons which I must examine later, hangs lethargic, declining to decide for or against.

I wish to deal with the realities of this question, and shall not dwell upon the contention sometimes academically put forward that Ireland is not a nation and cannot therefore claim national rights. No spokesman of the Orange body holds that language. Captain Craig, for instance, is just as proud to be an Irishman as I am. He and his friends advocate the Union, as we advocate Home Rule, primarily and principally in the interests of the Irish nation.

But it is worth while to refer to certain arguments which are constantly used by Irishmen from the districts which centre round Belfast. We have prospered under the Union, they say, Scotland has prospered under the Union; therefore the Union is a good arrangement, marred only by the perversity of agitators.

To the first part of this contention I make my own answer. The industrial prosperity of North-East Ulster rests upon the presence of a population with whom the industrial habit is an inheritance, and among whom industrial capital has constantly found employment ever since the days when England decided to protect and foster the linen trade among the Protestant settlers, at the same time as she was stamping out the woollen trade which prevailed especially in the more Catholic and Celtic populations. Proximity to the Scotch coalfields has enhanced the advantage, but the essential cause lies in the legislation and administration of the eighteenth century. It is not a question of industry; it is a question of industrialism. No one starts new industries in the South and West of Ireland for the same reason as no one starts new industries in Dorset. In the matter of farming, Louth and Wexford are every whit as good as Down; but their development is purely agricultural.

Further, the prosperity of North-East Ulster is only relative. Belfast grows, but the population of those counties which return Unionists has been reduced more severely than that of many other parts of Ireland, and a falling population is surely no index of progress.

As to the argument from Scotland, I leave that to be answered by a notable Unionist, Professor A. V. Dicey. Here are a few significant sentences from his article published in the *Fortnightly* for August 1881 :

The Act of Union (for Scotland) embodied what was, not in name only but in reality, a treaty or contract freely made between two independent States. . . . The union with Ireland lacked all that element of free consent between independent contracting parties which lies at the basis of every genuine contract. . . . (It) was in short an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must have been at once cancelled as a contract hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption.

Again :

Scotch affairs remained after, even more than before, under the control of Scotland. . . . Ireland since, as before the Union, has been governed in the main in accordance with English notions, applied in many cases, or misapplied, by English officials.

Neither Scotch or English history can, except by the misreading of past events, be forced into teaching the lesson that the failure of the policy in Ireland is due to the peculiarities of Irish character.

These, however, are somewhat academic considerations. I pass to an argument of more actuality. The Imperialist politician, confronted with such a passage as that which I have quoted from the *Times*, will answer that the whole development of the empire is towards federation in blocks; that the separate position of Newfoundland is an embarrassment to Canada; and that it would be a reactionary and unwise proceeding to dissolve the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland at the very moment when South Africa and Australia have completed their union of local governments.

In so far as this argument means that the relations of England to Ireland must always be essentially different from those of Great Britain to Canada or Australia, it is unanswerable. England might very conceivably let Australia or Canada cut the painter without more than remonstrance; England could never conceivably let Ireland break away unless after she herself had been defeated in war. We all recognise the geographical facts which govern the relation. It is at least arguable that Canada and Australia should have a separate military system; but, while Ireland remains subject to the British Crown, the military control of these islands must be unitary. Yet all this affords no argument against Home Rule. Those who quote against us the Union which has been effected in Australia, the union which has been effected in South Africa, the union which is desired between Canada and Newfoundland, ignore cardinal facts.

What is the union in South Africa? In the first place, it leaves the local governments existing, vested with very considerable powers for local affairs. The union with Ireland abolished the local legislature and brought Irish affairs under the control of an assembly which had neither time nor temper to consider them on their merits. In so far as it enacted separate beneficial treatment for Ireland, the Act of Union has been a dead letter. Legislation, when directed to industrial questions, has been framed solely in the interests of Great Britain; Ireland has had separate treatment only in the form of repressive enactments.

Secondly, the union in the Colonies resulted from a voluntary compact between free States, and the members came together on a basis of equality. I have already quoted Professor Dicey's verdict on the character of the union with Ireland. It was not voluntary. That it does not after a century confer equality of privilege is proved beyond all possibility of argument by a single fact. The system of the Volunteer force was not, and the system of the Territorial Army is not, extended to Ireland. Ireland's position under the Union is that of a conquered country held down by force of arms. In plain language, the union between the federated Governments in Australia

and Canada and South Africa is a reality : the union between Great Britain and Ireland is merely a specious name.

Thirdly, those who base upon the Colonial movement towards local union an argument against Irish Home Rule omit to consider what Home Rule means. Neither by Butt, nor by Parnell, nor by Mr. Redmond has a separate control of military affairs, or a separate interest in foreign negotiations, ever been claimed. On the contrary, these claims have been expressly repudiated. The demand for Repeal, which involved the re-establishment of a co-ordinate legislature, was formally abandoned for the offer to accept a subordinate legislature, having full control of Irish affairs.

The grant of such a legislature to the Transvaal and Orange Free State was, as Mr. Asquith put it, ' the condition precedent ' of South African union. In order to have a real union of Great Britain—a union based on consent—you must abolish the nominal and spurious Union of to-day.

We are told in reply that this cannot safely be done because there is a party in Ireland, and among Irish-Americans, which desires separation. * No one denies the existence of such a party ; the question is. What are its numbers and influence ? There are undoubtedly many men in England, there are probably some in Parliament, who would prefer a Republican Government. Yet they do not render the monarchical principle insecure, because the citizens enjoy all the reality of freedom. Under a different system of monarchy it is certain that their numbers would be very much greater. In a self-governed Ireland there would unquestionably be some Separatists ; but how likely is it that they would induce the country at large to risk its freedom or its prosperity by going to war with England ? For ' the condition precedent ' of separation is a total destruction of the British Navy.

I myself am convinced that the effect of self-government in Ireland would be to concentrate all the attention of Irishmen on purely Irish affairs, and that ultimately England might succeed in conciliating us through our interests and through our pride. George Meredith thought so, and put his view in a memorable poem, *Ireland*, published posthumously. In the meanwhile, Englishmen should realise that Ireland is to-day, in his phrase, ' England's broken arm,' producing no more soldiers than are required to maintain England's army of occupation. The loss of military strength in this way is a fact, present and permanent ; another fact is the continued hostility generated in America by the Irish emigrants and their descendants. The possibility of separation, the chances of Ireland engaging in war against England, is a contingency, as I think, so remote as to be negligible.

I shall not dwell upon the other spectre which is habitually conjured up—the fear of unfairness to Protestants. Wolfe Tone, Emmet, Smith O'Brien, John Mitchell, John Martin, Isaac Butt, Parnell.

knew their Catholic countrymen too well to have any fear of that, and the record of local government confirms their confidence. I quote from a letter written by the Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, the Rector of Mitchelstown, co. Cork, to the *Guardian* of the 30th of June; he draws, it will be seen, from a single parish:

In this parish some time ago the local Board or Council elected an English lady-nurse, who was also an English Churchwoman, to the chief position in the local Union. . . . The same authorities elected an engineer, who is a member of the Irish Church, a little later on to the position of District Surveyor. Another young man, also a member of my congregation, was elected Petty Sessions Clerk, though there was a Roman Catholic candidate in the field. Furthermore, a few years ago a young man from the North came here and started business as a grocer; he also is a member of the Irish Church. He has done exceedingly well; he is a good and obliging man of business, and, so far from being boycotted, he is doing the best trade in town in his own line—even the nuns and Christian Brothers patronise him. Let me say a word about myself. I am not a Home Ruler, yet I have, without the slightest solicitation on my own part, been unanimously elected a member of the County Committee of Technical Instruction, of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese is chairman.

That is typical of the condition of things which prevails through Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.

In Ireland itself there is no doubt but that the set of opinion among Unionists is towards regarding Home Rule as inevitable and as less unsatisfactory than the present order of things. Only one considerable resident Irish landlord sits in this House of Commons, and he sits on the Nationalist benches. Mr. Kavanagh, the able son of an able father, has thought out his conclusions to their logical consequence in action: the Devolutionist party, if equally courageous, must, I think, arrive at the same position. Even among them, Lord Dunraven has declared frankly for self-government as the end to be aimed at; and, broadly speaking, I think that most men under forty in the landlord class have no active hostility to that idea.

In the Northern democracy a similar movement makes itself apparent. Mr. Lindsay Crawford, Grand Master of the Independent Orange Order, is an avowed Home Ruler. Mr. T. W. Russell, who in 1886 and 1893 did more than any ten men to defeat Home Rule, has been converted by the succeeding years. Mr. Russell is charged with inconsistency and change of parts. At least his movement towards his present standpoint has been a consistent development of those views which led to his abandoning a seat in Lord Salisbury's ministry.

Again, among the clever writers who are most often busy in denunciation of the Irish party, 'George A. Birmingham,' 'Pat,' the oracle of the *Saturday Review*, and Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, cleverest of them all—there is a consent of opinion for self-government. All these writers whom I have named, believe—as I do—that it would lessen the ecclesiastical power which they so greatly dislike. It always

seems a little absurd that the English press should hold them up as infallible authorities when they criticise the action of other Nationalists, yet smugly ignore the very core of their philosophy.

The undoubtedly excessive power of priests in temporal matters arises from a combination of circumstances for which the clergy cannot be blamed. It arises, first, from the devotion of the laity to a Church which still wears the prestige of martyrdom, and whose position in the Ireland of to-day constitutes the one complete triumph of a race so long menaced with extermination. It arises, secondly, from the void left by the disappearance of the local aristocracy which governed Ireland thirty years ago, when the friends and relatives of those who managed the Castle managed also every county and every parish. To-day a gulf yawns between the central bureaucracy nominated by England and the popularly elected local bodies. The recognised political chiefs of the county councils, those who have a natural authority in Nationalist Ireland, are politicians in perpetual opposition, without legislative or administrative responsibility, without the disposal of patronage; and this absence of any central Government enjoying popular confidence tends to add great power to that other popular organisation, so solid and well-endowed, so permanent as compared with the political leagues, and possessing an influence which flows from the third cause that I must refer to—England's settled policy (avowed in Lord Randolph Churchill's letters) of 'governing through the bishops.' It has been the constant practice of English statesmen to appeal over the heads of Irish political leaders to the Irish hierarchy for counsel and support.

In part, also, the power of the clergy is established by direct enactment of the bureaucracy; that dependence of the school teacher on the priest which Mr. Kenny enlarges upon (with less than his habitual exaggeration¹) is largely due to rules of the National Board which debar the teacher from all political activity, thus imposing on him a civil servant's disabilities without giving him any security of tenure. And the claim of teachers for enlarged rights has been supported not merely by lay politicians but by ecclesiastics—notably the Bishop of Raphoe, prominent among the avowed and stalwart workers for that conception of self-government which would establish in power men like Mr. Redmond, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Devlin, who have again and again contended against undue exercise of ecclesiastical power.

Some perception of these facts is spreading among Unionists, thanks mainly to Mr. Birmingham; yet I do not affect to believe that the growing change in Unionist opinion and feeling has been due to the arguments adduced by Nationalists. It is partly due to land purchase. Irish landlords always convinced themselves that Home Rule would mean their ruin; yet Butt's proposals, which they scouted

¹ Mr. Kenny's article calls for some detailed reply, which I reserve for a concluding note, preferring not to interrupt my argument.

in 1873, expressly repudiated the idea of altering the land settlement. They have seen that settlement torn up and destroyed under the Legislative Union ; and their interest, in so far as they mean to remain in Ireland—as many of them do—is now simply that of general good government. Home Rule no longer frightens their pockets.

Partly, also, the change is due to local self-government. The Irish people have been put in charge of their county and parochial affairs, the new bodies have been quite as efficient as the old, and more frugal ; and they have been at least as fair. I do not think the utmost has been done for Home Rule ; if more Unionists were elected on district and county councils, there would be more converts ; but so long as this governing question remains unsettled, Unionists and Nationalists will use every election as a means of declaring their central conviction. That is in the nature of things. At the same time the fault is not only with the electors. Where such a man as Colonel Hutcheson Poe, for instance, a capable, resident landlord, has chosen to go forward for election, making it plain that he acts in a spirit of conciliation, he has generally been elected. Naturally enough, those who divide Ireland into ' we ' and ' they ' either will not stand, or, if they stand, are rejected.

But, fundamentally, the force working for Home Rule is disgust with the existing order. We cannot get either the legislation or the administration that we want. Legislation on controversial matters we can only get in the wrong way, legislation on uncontroversial matters we cannot get at all, and from these facts it follows that administration must be unsatisfactory. Public convenience, public interests that go much further than mere convenience, are neglected ; but, worst of all, public order is disturbed.

Let me illustrate first the mere question of convenience. Ireland is a country of wide rivers and long lakes and chains of lakes, which can only be bridged at great cost. The obvious solution is offered by pontoon ferries, and on Lough Corrib the Galway County Council proposed to establish one. Money was available, local money, and the plans were prepared ; then the Local Government Board discovered that the Act of 1898 had omitted to give councils this power along with that of making roads and bridges. County councils cannot initiate private bill legislation, and it was therefore necessary to introduce a bill giving them the power to establish and maintain ferries, and this measure was got through the Committee stage. It was then blocked in the House by the action of a single English member, and those who know and tremble at the name of Sir Frederick Banbury will readily believe that entreaties and arguments addressed to him, not only by Nationalist members but by the leader of the Irish Unionists, were wholly vain. Government could not give the hour or so of public time necessary to put the Bill through, and the public inconvenience remains, with great loss to the cattle and sheep industry

in a poor district of county Galway, and, I believe, with similar consequences in Fermanagh and elsewhere.

I have chosen a trivial instance. But the transit question in Ireland is not a trivial thing. There is virtually general agreement that our whole railway system, and for that matter canal system also, needs to be put on a new basis ; yet if we cannot get an hour of time to pass a small measure in which all Irish members are agreed, what chance is there of inducing Parliament to tackle the very large question of regulating transport all over Ireland—a question vital to the interests of an agricultural country ? The same considerations apply to the huge problem of arterial drainage. No English Government is ever likely to approach it in any serious spirit ; yet it is nearly as grave for Ireland as irrigation is for Egypt.

Take another illustration. The city of Dublin has for many years been providing public libraries on a creditable, but by no means lavish, scale ; and about three years ago, when the extraordinary ability, industry, and generosity of Sir Hugh Lane accomplished the formation of a gallery of modern art, the Corporation gladly proposed to charge on the Library Fund 500*l.* a year for the housing and superintendence of it. This is not the place to talk of pictures, but I say, without fear of challenge by any competent critic, that Great Britain cannot show any collection of modern painting which approaches this in general interest. While we were still congratulating ourselves on the acquisition, the Local Government Board discovered that upon a new interpretation of some clause the Corporation could not strike a library rate of more than a penny ; and as a result the Board proceeded to surcharge members of the Corporation for the amount by which the existing expenditure on libraries exceeded that sum. Naturally the extra 500*l.* for the gallery has never been paid, and for several years now the Corporation has been endeavouring to extend its powers in this matter. No one doubts that the extension should be given ; but ministers, representing the Local Government Board, have endeavoured to exploit the Corporation's disabilities. They introduced a bill which first of all made that Board the judges of how far the Corporation might go in their expenditure ; and, secondly, fixed on the county councils of Ireland certain other charges which the councils were sure to resist. Naturally, the measure is blocked ; and since no legislation of this sort can pass except by unanimous consent of the House of Commons—for no time is available to discuss it—respectable citizens have been surcharged with large sums because they acted on a library committee, several public libraries are closed, and the gallery remains unprovided for, the Corporation being unable to accept what is, in great measure, Sir Hugh Lane's gift. I ask anyone, is this reasonable administration ?

I have been speaking so far of the administrative inconvenience in uncontroversial or non-party matters—which, indeed, is admitted

on all hands. In graver affairs I maintain that there is also a consensus of condemnation upon the existing *régime*. Administration in Ireland is neither continuous nor consistent, it always yields to pressure and never to argument. In a word, it is of a nature certain to breed disorder and contempt for the law.

In Great Britain administration is hardly a party question. Until the Navy scare was sprung on us, the administration of this Liberal Government had hardly been challenged. In Ireland from the moment a Tory Government takes office, or a Liberal Government, the whole spirit and direction of the administration is attacked without measure. In a word again, the existing system is condemned by both parties. Liberals declare it to be unsound, while even the most ardent Unionist will not deny that the principle of 'resolute government,' for which he stands, is periodically infringed by the advent of a Liberal *régime*. English ideas about the administration of England are in effect continuous, and so beyond doubt would Irish ideas be about the general administration of Ireland. But, as Mr. Long stated quite plainly in a speech just after he left office, Unionists cannot admit that Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas; it is governed, therefore, according to English ideas of how the thing should be done, and these ideas change violently.

The Unionist inference is that you should keep Unionists continually in power. Well, as a matter of fact, England refuses to do so. But even with a long spell of Unionist government these fluctuations occur. We had, first, Mr. Gerald Balfour setting out to 'kill Home Rule with kindness'; then came a period of reaction, and in 1902 one of those upheavals which, when a Liberal Government is in power, Unionists describe as a 'saturnalia of crime.' In that year about a dozen members of Parliament were in gaol; boycotting, rioting, and other forerunners of a legislative change were rampant. Then came Mr. Wyndham with his Land Act of 1903, and what Mr. Moore in a famous speech described as the 'wretched, rotten, sickening policy of conciliation.' After a few months Mr. Wyndham was thrown over, and Mr. Long brought in, to put the muzzling order in force.

Now let us consider these phenomena. In the first place, not one human being in Ireland believes that without the agitation—the lawless, violent agitation of 1902, centring round the de Freyne evictions—we should have got the Land Act of 1903. That is the moral writ large over a hundred years' history of the Union. Lawless agitation, which invariably at some point or other degenerates into crime, is the necessary prelude to any serious legislative reform.

That is the kernel of my case against the Union. Read the history of O'Connell's day, the Tithe War, the agitation for Emancipation; it is the same story: demands put forward in argument, argument ignored; demands put forward by violence, sooner or later acceded

to. And in every case it is now apparent that the thing asked for was just and necessary:

Carry the investigation forward, not backward, from Mr. Wyndham's day. We are always hearing about the halcyon rule of Mr. Long, for whom personally I have nothing but the highest respect. But he came to Ireland when the effects of a great concession were as yet unexhausted, and before the failure of the Wyndham Act to work in Connaught had become fully manifest; his rule was exceedingly brief, and through half of it Ireland was conscious of the coming change. It would have needed very great perversity to breed trouble just then; and yet that most harmless of organisations, the Gaelic League, was vexed with police interference. Had Mr. Long remained in power the trouble which arose under Mr. Birrell would have arisen, but in a more dangerous form; and it could ultimately have been remedied only by the same means—that is, by the introduction of a Bill giving effect to the recommendations of the Dudley Commission.

Mr. Wyndham's Act, whose purpose was in effect to institute peasant proprietorship all over Ireland, was hurriedly rushed through Parliament, the administration of this sweeping social transformation was handed over to a body of officials, and Parliament, I suppose, expected to hear no more of the matter. At all events, since then Parliament has been unable to devote more than a day or two in each year² to consideration of the working out of a scheme which involved not only the interests of landlords and tenants but of every Irish ratepayer; for the Irish ratepayer was made responsible for the payments to the State. Public opinion in Ireland was indeed ceaselessly occupied with the defects and difficulties which revealed themselves in the Wyndham Act; but this took no effect on legislation. Ireland was quiet; England was busy about Tariff Reform. The Liberal Government, when it came in, did indeed appoint a Commission in the beginning of 1906, but it did no more.

Had the Dudley Commission issued, as it could easily have done, its eagerly expected report in October 1907, instead of April 1908, had the Land Bill been seriously introduced in the spring of last year instead of in this, there would have been no disorder worth speaking of in Ireland. As Mr. Dillon said the other day, the Irish leaders can always keep Ireland quiet when they can hold out a reasonable prospect of redress for admitted social evils. Translated into the language of the Unionist platform, this reads: Mr. Redmond can turn outrages on and off like water from a tap. Let them put it that way if they like, provided they face the facts.

It was in this Review for March last that Mr. Ian Malcolm wrote his article which had the modest heading 'Ireland in *Extremis*!' Ireland was then, according to him, in 'a state of almost incomparable anarchy' (Lord Lansdowne, indeed, had been obliged to go to the Macedonian

² I except the special case of the Evicted Tenants.—S. G.

vilayets, where they had 10,000 murders in four years, for a parallel) ; there were 'twenty-two disordered counties' in which 'the rich and poor went in terror of their lives and livelihood.' Unluckily, on top of this came the Spring Assizes, and in a disconcerting proportion of the twenty-two disordered counties judges were getting white gloves ; it became evident that disorder was very local, and even in those districts greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, there was plenty of cattle-driving, there was serious intimidation in places and some bad outrage, and there was at last (to complete the resemblance cited by Lord Lansdowne) actually one agrarian murder.

What has happened since ? In the end of July the Chief Secretary's salary comes up for discussion, and the Ulster Unionists find the admission wrung from them that Ireland is now in a very peaceful condition. In the face of the Summer Assizes and the judges' charges, they could not say otherwise. Now, what was the cause ? Simply and solely that a Land Bill was going through the House which embodied recommendations signed first and chiefly by the last Tory Lord Lieutenant, and also by so militant a Unionist as the late Sir John Colomb.

Very well ; observe the moral. Suppose the Bill becomes law this autumn. Every Nationalist holds that it will have been won by violent agitation, every Unionist endorses that opinion. Yet the alternative is to refuse reforms recommended by so competent an authority as the Dudley Commission, and demanded by four-fifths of Ireland—to refuse merely because they have been demanded with violence. That stamps the character of British administration in Ireland. Does anybody believe that an Irish Parliament would have waited six years before it amended the Wyndham Act ? The Old Age Pensions Act, an infinitely less important measure, is to be amended within a year of its introduction. Parliament does not respond thus to Irish demands.

Mr. Malcolm himself, from his own point of view, endorses my opinion. Deeply concerned as he is by the spectacle of Ireland agonising *in extremis*, he deplores that it is 'almost impossible to arrest the attention of a British audience even for a moment' by the recital of these woes. That fact—that apathy and aloofness of the British public who control our destinies in Ireland—is the root trouble. Let me state more fully what I mean, writing as one born and bred in the class and the religion to which ascendancy has belonged since the Union.

Ireland has been, since I was old enough to observe it, in the throes of a revolution, prolonged now beyond the thirtieth year and yet not accomplished. I have seen in my lifetime the emergence of an entirely new social order, which is yet only half-born ; the transference of the soil from landlord to occupier, the transference of government from a caste and a bureaucracy to the mass of the people,

are both incomplete, yet both irretrievably begun. Now, birth must go on ; there can be two ends only—death or deliverance. But the birth-process, with human organisms—and the State is more complex, less automatic, than the individual—is not simply an affair of reflex actions ; it means desperate concentration of nervous energy and will-power, continuously guided by skilled ministry. So it is with the individual, so it should be with the State. How has it been with Ireland ?

Here the nerve centre, the governing will, lies outside the organism. The brain which has to work for Ireland, to carry it through this revolution, is your Imperial Parliament, cumbered with the affairs of continents, clogged and crowded with myriad messages from the swarming populations that lie nearest to its gates ; controlled by the will of that British public whose attention upon Irish affairs even Mr. Ian Malcolm finds it ‘ almost impossible to arrest.’ This far-off brain only responds to those spasms and agonies of the body politic which are summarised in statistics of agrarian crime, illegal conspiracy, and so forth. Why is organised lawlessness tolerated in Ireland ? Simply because Ireland has come to recognise in it a political and social necessity owing to the apathy and inertness of the controlling power. We know perfectly well that organised lawlessness breeds crime—and in truth many of the outrages in the disturbed parts are mere faction fighting and have no political meaning whatever—yet we are not willing to vindicate the law ; for I admit freely that in the area of Ireland which is peaceable the spirit of revolt exists. In crimeless Wicklow, juries steadily refused last year to bring in a verdict of guilty against cattle-drivers from Longford and Roscommon ; and naturally, for a generation ago those symptoms which are now confined to a small group of counties were general over Ireland, save in the north-east corner, where the agrarian revolution had been carried through its first stage in the eighteenth century. Ulster tenant-right was won in the eighteenth century by precisely the same lawless manifestations as those which within our own memory have won tenant-right for the rest of Ireland.

Active lawlessness where it exists to-day exists only in the districts where tenant-right was confiscated, as it were, in embryo, within the past seventy years ; and the reason why there is no trouble where tillage prevails is that in such cases tenants have been continuously on the land, and the agrarian revolution has operated more or less completely. In Wexford, for instance, the transference from owner to occupier is almost universal. But because the other part of the revolution—transference of the government from the representatives of England to the representatives of Ireland—is inchoate and incomplete, Wexford is still as rebellious in spirit as it was in 1798. It is peaceful because its people are a kindly, law-abiding race ; but it is lawless in essence, because the law, where law affects political combinations, carries no moral sanction. From this state of

things I fully admit that great evils result, and when Home Rule comes they will be sharply felt. They will be the natural consequences of an agrarian revolution prolonged into the second generation. Apparently what Mr. Malcolm and his friends want to do is to prolong revolution indefinitely.

Of all curses that can befall a country, agrarian revolution is the worst. It partakes invariably of the character of a servile war, a helot rising; it demoralises both sides. England has never experienced it, because in England political revolutions got free play to work themselves out. The revolutionary spirit always manifests itself first among the educated, the men of leisure; only when sheer desperation urges can the masses be induced to move.

In Ireland a great political revolution was accomplished bloodlessly when Grattan's Parliament was established; and I do not think that any sane Irishman doubts that that Parliament, with all its amazing vices, contained within itself the seed of a peaceable constitutional growth. But it was knocked on the head, and Ireland fell back on counsels of despair. Yet even in despair agrarian revolution was not soon attempted.

Emmet, the first leader of revolt against the Union, abhorred and deprecated the idea. His comrade, James Hope, proposed it to him; but Emmet answered: 'I would rather die than live to witness the calamities which that course would bring on helpless persons. Let that be the work of others; it shall never be mine.' Emmet tried direct insurrection, and was hanged for his pains. O'Connell, adhering to constitutional methods, aimed, as Emmet had done, at a purely political revolution, a transference of the machinery of government, and failed. Smith O'Brien and the Young Ireland party expressly repudiated Finton Lalor's proposal to yoke the political movement to an agrarian one; they also failed. The Fenians, idealists as worthy of respect as any in history, attempted a military revolution, and failed. Each successive failure appeared only to strengthen the landlords' grip on the tenants, England's grip on the conquered country.

Butt and his group declared in 1873 that they wanted no subversion of the land settlement; they argued, and no one listened, or listened only to laugh. Then, at last, Davitt and Parnell inaugurated the agrarian revolution, combined with that attack upon the weak points in Parliament itself which was Parnell's invention, as the agrarian organisation was Finton Lalor's. There is no use in denying that they stirred up Acheron: we had something resembling a Jacquerie in Ireland. But, looking back, I say that no revolution was ever more justified, whether by the causes or by the results. These men succeeded where all the others had failed; they abolished in great measure a monstrous wickedness of two hundred years' standing. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*—not a party scribe like Mr. Malcolm and myself, but a scholar and an historian—formulated the result by

saying that the Wyndham Act of 1903 meant simply the ending of the seventeenth-century settlement of Irish land.

It was a great result to achieve, and a terribly high price has been paid for it. Ireland has lost half her gentry, and I am old-fashioned enough to think that a very great loss. The revolution carried out by slow stages, with England perpetually interposing, yet never interposing effectually, has been far less beneficial, far more destructive of social ties, than any which might have accomplished itself had Home Rule been granted instead of the Land Act of 1881. Every year that goes by adds to the wreckage, loses something that might be saved if Ireland were set at once to the work of reconstruction. The pith of the matter was put into an aphorism by the late Mr. Alfred Webb, a Quaker Nationalist who served Ireland from his boyhood in the great famine to his death a year ago. 'So long as the centre of power lies in a people, parties and interests learn to accommodate themselves to each other. Otherwise they seek to gain their ends, not by mutual agreement and accommodation, but working on the feelings, the fears, and the prejudices of those among whom is the centre of power.'

England has seen the almost magical effect of placing the centre of power for South Africa unreservedly in South African hands. It is for sane Imperialists to ask themselves whether the same course in Ireland would not produce the same results. I believe that Home Rule would be an advantage to the Empire; that is what I ask England to consider. For my own country—apart from the paramount consideration of racial pride, national sentiment—I want a Government that can attend rationally to local affairs, big and little, that can do the constructive work of legislation. And, above all, I want law and order. I want a Government which, by keeping legislation and administration in harmony with the country's needs, will remove the sanction which at present attaches, and rightly, to breaches of the law. 'Breaking the law may at times become the highest duty of the citizen,' is another of Mr. Webb's aphorisms. I want a Government under which we shall not need so continually to bear that aphorism in mind.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

NOTE.—In effect much of the objection to Home Rule is based on the Englishman's prejudice against the intellectual and moral capacity of Irishmen, and Mr. Kenny's article in the September number of this Review, 'His Parochial Majesty,' is calculated to strengthen that prejudice. I wish to say that the picture which Mr. Kenny draws of Ireland is one that I cannot recognise. When he says that he sees the Irish child come home from its first confession 'defiled in its innocence,' 'transformed into a moral and mental invalid,' and 'the Irish peasant, who could face the deadliest fortress without flinching, turning pale as he meets the priest on the road,' he

states what my experience tells me to be in the first instance shamefully and in the second ridiculously untrue. But statements of this sort do not admit of verification or confutation. You cannot argue about a personal impression. Again, when he asserts that 'the savage doctrine of eternal fire for Protestants is as triumphant now as ever unless among a minority of the better Catholics who get at the teaching of their religion over the heads of priests and bishops,' I have only to say that all the Catholics whom I know, gentle and simple, apparently belong to the minority, and also that they resent vehemently the assertion that priests teach or that the people believe that every Protestant will be damned. Mr. Kenny's testimony on this point can only be true if my most respected acquaintances and friends deliberately deceive me, and naturally I ask for his credentials. Again, when I read that he 'has known a man killed in open daylight by his parish priest,' without penalty inflicted by Church or State, or that 'nuns and monks' who manage industrial schools employ agents at 10s. a head to induce children to commit crimes which will secure their consignment to the schools, I frankly confess that these are assertions which I cannot swallow. Mr. Kenny would doubtless say that the law of libel prevents him from giving verifiable detail. Let me therefore seek in the four corners of his article for some means to test Mr. Kenny's credibility. Owing to the general vagueness of his method, this matter is not very abundant; but it is sufficient.

I find on the last page of his article the following passage :

Landlord and tenant are kept destroying each other while 'the Church' annexes the spoil. See how 'the Church' goes up while Ireland goes down, with priests multiplying on destitution and monasteries fattening on the track of the deluded emigrant. 'The Church' evidently means to get back 'her lands,' and it matters not to her whether the occupant to be removed is landlord or tenant. Both go together, and she gets 100,000*l.* worth of property for 3000*l.*, the League clearing the way for her by crime, and the 'Government' arranging the rest for her at the expense of the British taxpayer. There is now a community of foreign nuns in Lord Dillon's famous mansion, acquired on such terms as I describe; and in the neighbourhood at the time, I can remember how the agitation was worked up by the priests to get possession of Lough Glynn, in the name of Irish patriotism, but for the benefit of Belgian nuns.

Now, here we have two statements: first, that in engineering the sale and purchase of the Dillon estate the Church ousted alike landlord and tenants, and, secondly, that it acquired 100,000*l.* worth of property for 3000*l.* The estate consisted of 92,000 acres roughly, bought for 297,000*l.* All of this land has been subdivided among the tenants, except what immediately adjoins Lough Glynn house. By general consent, the redistribution and enlargement of holdings, combined with drainage operations, on this property have raised the condition of the people from misery to comfort. What has been the share of the Church? Fifty acres of arable land, 50 of plantation, 120 of water about the big house. Some estimate of the value of this asset may

be obtained in this way : the house, with demesne of 1200 acres and sporting rights over the entire property, was advertised for sale by the Congested Districts Board ; the highest offer received was 11,000*l.* for the lot. Then the sporting rights were vested in the tenants, 1000 acres of the demesne was sold and subdivided for a total of 11,400*l.*—actually more than was bid for the house and whole demesne and the valuable shooting. In short, the house was a white elephant in bad condition, and the Board was lucky to get it taken off their hands—especially by a community of ladies who, I believe, are of great use in the neighbourhood.

All these facts were published in Parliament in April 1908, and were the object of much comment : they should have been specially familiar to Mr. Kenny as a Mayo farmer. Setting them beside the paragraph quoted above, I find it impossible to acquit him of deliberate and gross misstatement.

Take another specific and verifiable statement, that about cattle-driving. ‘ The bishops suddenly discovered that it was immoral, and in three months it was dropped.’ Now, it is common ground between Nationalists and Unionists that cattle-driving stopped when the Government in this Session introduced a Land Bill and pledged themselves to pass it through the House. The cattle-drives stopped after the Bill had been brought in. Mr. Kenny chooses to assign another cause to fill in his theory of Irish life. He should verify his dates. The episcopal pronouncements against cattle-driving were made in the close of 1907. And on the 7th of March 1908, the *Saturday Review* commented upon the situation which was created, in an article headed ‘ The Cattle Driver’s Conscience.’ That article was signed ‘ Pat.’

I do not say that there is no basis of fact for Mr. Kenny’s statements. He does not invent ; he merely falsifies. What I find in his article (as in his numerous contributions to the Unionist Press) is embroidery upon a small substratum of reality—the figments of an imagination diseased by that personal resentment which is indiscreetly avowed in his concluding sentences.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

THE EVOLUTION OF MAURICE BARRÈS

THE remarkable success of M. Barrès' latest novel, *Colette Baudouche*, seems to invite, not only an examination of this volume, but a survey of the author's career, which is probably now at its culminating point.

It is not easy to pronounce on M. Barrès' value as a writer, a moralist, and a man. Like everybody else, he has his qualities and his faults, the balance of which it is difficult to find. But one element in his nature and his literary life makes estimation a matter of excessive nicety. It seems impossible to take seriously most of what M. Barrès wrote before he was thirty, and yet it is certain that his fame rests largely on the very volumes which strike us to-day—as they did then—as a mystification, no matter if unconscious; add to this that they were taken seriously by M. Taine and M. Bourget—both inclined, I must say, to be sometimes unduly serious—and that the more devout Barresians, as they call themselves, worship their god's early manifestations almost to the exclusion of the rest. The imposition and its success create an atmosphere unfavourable to serene criticism, and one has to nerve himself repeatedly against temptations to impatience when trying to give M. Barrès his due.

I fancy the English reader knows M. Barrès mostly as the author of *Les Déracinés*, and, in a more shadowy perspective, as the decadent initiator of what used to be styled in the early nineties the *Culte du Moi*. The later Barrès, the author of the Lorrain books, of the *apologia pro patria sua*, has gradually become familiar to his countrymen, but it seems to me that his avatar has not been taken much notice of abroad. Yet it is essential to bear in mind the calm, haughty attitude of an intransigent patriot, in which M. Barrès has settled down in the last seven or eight years, before reverting to the restless young man from whom the academician and deputy has slowly been evolved. With this precaution the reader will not be wide of the mark in continuing to think of M. Barrès as the Egotist and the champion of provincialism, as set forth in the *Déracinés*.

It was about 1890 that Maurice Barrès, thanks to the wisdom of a few, like M. Bourget, and thanks, above all, to the pretence and folly of a great many, took Paris by storm as the high priest of that famous *Culte du Moi* which I shall call in English the Cult of Ego, but which

loud Worship of Self would describe much more accurately than quiet Self-culture. He had been known already for some years in the Latin Quarter, and when I say that he took Paris by storm I only mean that a few hundreds of his fellow-students trumpeted in every direction the praise given to his books by a few indulgent as well as clear-sighted critics, and copied his attitude to the amazement and admiration of their provincial cousins; for the volumes themselves sold slowly, and even the most successful did not go beyond a tenth edition.

Maurice Barrès in those days was ignorant, wonderfully ignorant and raw, but clever, ravenously ambitious, and he affected complete scepticism. He had read, as he said, or skipped through, as we think, too many philosophical six-shilling volumes, and in the confusion of his young brain he declared that religions, morals, and nationalities were overthrown idols. There was only one deity of the existence and omnipresence of which he entertained no doubts; that was his own clever, bubbling little self, his voracious individuality, a dainty Parisian—not Lorrain—Moloch, and he worshipped it.

He did not rise at once to the daring conception embodied in the more daring phrase 'Cult of Ego.' But he spoke immediately of withstanding the pressing universe about him, and this meant a good deal already. As to his method of resisting the universe, it was purely literary, and he will perhaps die without unlearning the habit. His life has been an endless conflict between the yearning after action and the longing for adequate expression, which literary tendency has invariably got the better of its rival. What is the good, he thinks, of fighting the world if nobody hears of the exploit?

In our agitated but unchivalrous days all that a young man—as full of ambition and as destitute of humility as Barrès was at the time—can do towards the conquest of the universe is to try and understand it, and put the result of the effort in print. So it was in fact that *Sous l'Œil des Barbares* came into existence. The Barbarians are the philistines who think not and write not. One ought to think and write in order to get away from the common herd. But to understand the universe requires considerable exertion, as the disgusted reader of six-shilling volumes has already realised, and it is easier and, after all, more profitable to rest satisfied with describing it. Most Barbarians do not see the difference and buy the description as if it were an explanation.

So the first volume published by Maurice Barrès was only a literary exercise—I could almost say a scholastic exercise, for we possess editions of the work in which the author has given us, with admirable simplicity, the theme of his chapters in the philistinish language side by side with their Barresian development—and it is very like the translation recommended by Dr. Johnson of a passage of Gibbon into English. Not so lucid, though.

One trait of this early work reminds us of Verlaine's poetry. Whenever Barrès felt that he had something worth while to say, he wrote it, like the poet, his elder, in perfectly clear language. But the language is seldom clear, because the youthful author, being no fool, was often aware that his thoughts would look commonplace unless they were clad in a style rare enough to appear at once as the height of fashion. It requires some attention to satisfy yourself that nine-tenths of *Sous l'Œil des Barbares* is only habit and not substance. Suppose a very conceited, very dandified, and tolerably gifted young man walking from his club to his rooms one night in a fairly excited condition, and talking to an admiring friend on the way. His remarks would vary in tone as he and his companion would pass from the glaring boulevard to the quiet of the Tuileries and to the solemn poetry of the river, but they would still be a very young man's remarks, and if the young man were nearer a Byron than a mere pretender, when he had shaken hands with his friend at his door, he would shrug his shoulders, call his friend a fool aloud, and himself a snob under his breath.

Maurice Barrès wrote in those days very much as such a young man would speak. There is something wandering and bounding in his way of jotting down things which at first sight looks original; there is a brevity in his utterances which gives them a semi-classical appearance; he has occasional dashes of poetry and flashes of insight too, but on the whole what he says is mostly prating, and the so-called description of life and the world is humbug. There is no more resistance to the universe in this book than there is in a Flemish mirror over a door at Bruges. The author was sincere in his way, and he felt in himself those unprobed reserves which are the all-too-soon-dried-up sources of youthful confidence; they gave him heart, but he had his doubts already, and there was a curious appeal at the end of his volume to some superior power—'hero or axiom,' as he put it—which should save him from himself.

The hero did not come at once, but the axiom did, and we see it ruling through the next book, *L'Homme Libre*. Naturally this axiom could not be metaphysical. M. Barrès was as incapable of as he was disgusted with speculation. Metaphysics is a poor commodity on the literary market, and the young author abhorred it. A moral axiom, on the contrary, and a corresponding moral attitude suited him admirably. His curiously complex taste for analysis and logic, as well as for literary show, found their complete satisfaction in it, and he felt there would be something contagious in his complacent display of his beautified Ego. The event proved that he was right in his previsions, and the Cult of Ego became a watchword which for many men, even of the present generation, has not ceased to have a meaning.

I am sorry to say that in my opinion there is something incredibly

ridiculous, unless it be something pathetic, in taking seriously the moral system set forth in the pages of *L'Homme Libre*. I have no doubt either that it must be extremely painful to the Barrès of to-day to see fools devoutly retracing his old steps. M. Barrès is and always was a very intelligent and very dexterous man. He managed, twenty years ago, to put into his book irony enough not to seem to be his own dupe, and in the prefaces he has had occasion to affix to it later on—as recently as 1904—he has succeeded in saying that he had outgrown his doctrine without confessing quite plainly what he thinks of it at present. But I feel certain that a painfully pious little work lately published by one M. Massis must have been dreadfully unpalatable to him. Admiration of the literature of the Cult of Ego he may still relish, but it must be the literature and not the spiritual advice, and it requires a deft and agile pen to sift one from the other. Nobody has succeeded so well in this difficult task as M. Henri Bremond.

For all that, it is beyond doubt that M. Barrès believed in his axiom, and worked it out, and divided and subdivided under Greek letters its bearings and consequences with much gravity. This key to all wisdom and happiness consisted of two principles and a corollary :

First principle.—We are never so happy as when we are in a state of excitement.

Second principle.—The pleasure of feeling one's self in that condition is considerably increased by analysis.

Consequence.—We should endeavour to increase our sentiency by analysis.

The *Homme Libre* applied and tested his formula through a severe method borrowed chiefly from St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercises*, and expounded in the most technical mystic language. He sat down to try and make himself highly sentient with as much earnestness as a Jesuit novice would try and make himself obedient and self-renounced. There were considerations, spiritual dialogues, and prayers. There were intercessory saints also who helped the beginner through. The chief ones were Sainte-Beuve—the Sainte-Beuve of *Joseph Delorme*, not that of the *Lundis*, who was only a plodder—and Benjamin Constant. Shortly after, M. Barrès discovered Marie Bashkirtseff, and he worshipped at her altar, revering in her the cosmopolitanism for which he called her the Madonna of the Sleeping-car.

He declared that, thanks to these exercises, he had created for himself a world of his own, and so broken his soul into obedience to his wishes that it worked like a machine, giving him, at his pleasure, the rarest sensations. What this fancied universe was, and of what order were the exquisite sensations, we do not know for a certainty. A hint in the novel leads us to think that Master Maurice had lately experienced the pleasure of keeping a diary and of reverting to the entries which seemed to show him at his best. The book is as chary of definite illustrations of the method as it is circumstantial about the

theory, and we are left to conjecture. Literature soon creeps in, too, and almost immediately drives out the first occupant; and we must say that this second half of *L'Homme Libre* is one of the best things that Barrès ever wrote. Every character in the book seems to go mad, but those lunatics are full of wisdom, distinction, and eloquence, and when you turn the last page you find yourself in a strange, bewildered condition which, after all, is a sort of enchantment in its way.

In one of those confidential fits in which he is even more apt than his generation to indulge, M. Barrès once said, with an accent of undisguised conviction, that *L'Homme Libre eut des suites*. Yes, the book bore its fruits. First of all, hundreds of young fellows, more or less literary, believed in the two principles and the corollary, and pretended to find a lofty, arrogant pleasure in living within themselves. Mere literary tricksting would have been of little importance: unfortunately many light-headed boys just out of their teens would live these beautiful theories, and worshipped their Ego in the name of powerful individualism. The race is not extinct. Another consequence was that young Barrès, who needed a lesson of humility, found himself, on the contrary, adulated as a successful writer and venerated as a director of modern consciences. It was vainly that he discovered in his next volume, *Le Jardin de Bérénice*, that spontaneity was everything, and that women and animals were the only beings who knew the secret of life. Through two or three more volumes he had to stick to his principles, analyse his excitement, and guide his contemporaries in the romantic paths he had opened for them. A heavy chain! He soon grew tired of what he has called the unbearable nihilism of self-contemplation; but he had to write, he lacked time for reflection, and, disgusted as he was with his own principles, ignorant as he realised that he was, he had to go on exciting himself over Venice and Toledo, or over artists or works of art which were too much for him (cf. in *Trois Stations de Psychothérapie* his study of Leonardo da Vinci, so poor that he looks like a sparrow chirping criticism over a cathedral), and he wrote and wrote, excellently when he could limit himself to the picturesque, flimsily and not always honestly¹ when he had to touch on subjects requiring study, constantly harping on the same chords and repeating the same few names, and, like all exhausted young writers, swelling his voice to appear powerful and using up half the force of his essays in their titles. He certainly paid a high ransom for pretending to believe in his axiom, and he must have felt it the more, as that was the very time when he thought he had come upon the hero.

¹ He makes game in *La Mort de Venise* of some 'Ruskinian babbling' over a little out-of-the-way church called Ste. Alvise. Refer to the Index of the *Stones of Venice*, you will be amazed to find just two lines beginning with the statement, 'I have never been in this church.' Ruskin was beginning to be talked of a great deal in France. Barrès could not ignore him, so he spoke at random.

The hero was no other than General Boulanger. A poor hero, no doubt; yet millions believed in him, and when M. Barrès was longing for the coming of a strong man, he was longing above all for a chance of doing things instead of writing them. He was, as I have said, wildly ambitious, and had turned to literature, no doubt because he felt he could write, but above all because literature was the only field in which he could hastily raise laurels. He threw himself in the Boulangist wave, and the tide floated him into the Chamber. It was a great joy. Though he never made his mark as a debater, he was noticed for his youth and for his literary celebrity, and turned his wonderful opportunity of advertising himself to the best account. By the time he was thirty nobody had any great hopes of him as a politician, but everybody had heard of him, and the deliberate abstruseness of his books caused him to be regarded as a deep, subtle author, intelligible only to a few adepts.

No man was ever more lucky. He had just grown tired of the Cult of Ego, of the empty contemplation which made him expand over eighty pages the swift notation which two quatrains of Browning do ample justice to; he knew very well what good writing was; he had a unique chance of witnessing such thrilling scenes as the Boulangist movement and the Panama affair; he improved the occasion, boldly made himself the Tacitus of that exciting corruption, and *L'Appel au Soldat* and *Leurs Figures* appeared. He had not been as yet a really great writer—one is not a great writer for writing a good page here and there—but he was supposed to be one. The books were bought eagerly, and, lo! they were as lucid as they were forcible and picturesque; everybody could understand them; they united facts and feeling, an historical accuracy of their own with pungent irony; they were sure to be imperishable documents. Thousands of readers were grateful to Barrès for being clear and stirring when they thought him only difficult, and their gratitude turned into a conviction that his previous books were ten times better than they really were.

From that day Barrès could afford to be himself. He never reverted to his former style, and we have him in his last three or four books as he really is, with his limitations as well as his qualities.

His two chief characteristics are, as the reader can easily infer from what I have just said, lyricalness on one side and a sort of moral tendency—the root of which must be deep in his soul—on the other. The manifestations of this moral inclination are, with M. Barrès, rather æsthetical than ethical, and it is easy to see that he cares more for looking than for feeling beautiful. He is above all an artist. His lyricism is absolutely the same as that of most modern poets; it is fundamentally an irresistible attraction towards the most intimate, the most elusive, and the most unspeakable seductiveness of things, mostly nature, the picturesqueness and associations of old places,

and the complexity of the human countenance in life or in art. The greatest lyrics, Shakespeare, Shelley, Heine, Browning, are warned by a secret instinct that this charm which holds them spellbound is exquisite, but dangerous too. They meet the Sirens from whom it emanates with the caution habitual to the strongest, and dally with them without ceasing for one moment to be on their guard against them. Their rapidity, their liquid rhythms, their quick and imponderable expression, are all intended to dodge as well as copy their models. What would become of Jaques if he were made to talk as much as Falstaff? Is it blasphemy to say that two or three verses could be cut out of the *Skylark* itself? As M. Barrès could not write verse—he never tried, which is a sure sign—he was a lyric in prose; but the consequence was that he talked too long, looked occasionally like a poetical Falstaff, and had his substance devoured by all the Spanish and Italian enchantresses he sought. Hence his disgust and the discontented speech I quoted above. His peculiar morality met with the same untoward experience. The spirituality of *L'Homme Libre* was only a farce. The experiment in active politics during the Boulangist period resulted in one remarkable book, *Leurs Figures*, but also in bitter disappointment. No peace there and no greatness, only literary success as before.

It was at that moment that Barrès struck the happy vein in which we now see him at his best. It had occurred to him long before—when he wrote *L'Homme Libre*—that there might be something in the fact that he had been born a Lorrain. Perhaps his Parisian ambitions of those days, or the thought of his Auvergnat forbears on his father's side, or the southern attraction of Italy and Spain, had diverted him from his quiet province. But it gradually dawned upon him that the gratification of all his wants, artistic as well as human, lay there, and he worked out the idea in *Les Déracinés*, and later on in his fragment on *All Souls' Day in Lorraine*. At present it is the chief source of his inspiration.

Though a hundred and twenty years have elapsed since the Revolution and the nominal disappearance of the old French provinces, provincialism, i.e. the local feeling of the Picard or Normand, is still alive. A boy at school is hardly aware of it and only talks about France and the French. Let him grow and become a soldier in some garrison town fifty miles from his native place, pride and contempt in indiscernibly subtle shades will teach him that the category 'French' supersedes the others only from a very general point of view. This local patriotism seems to me far more developed in France than in England. The provincialism of Barrès has little in common with that of Mr. Hardy. Its characteristic is a touch of exclusiveness helped by distinct local features, and its equivalent would be found only in the States of Southern Germany. M. Barrès thinks of his Lorrain ancestry with as much pride—deep, quiet, disdainful pride—as a

Breton country nobleman of his pedigree. To have been born a Lorrain seems to him a wonderful piece of luck. Lorraine has not the semi-separate existence of other provinces like Flanders, Roussillon, Béarn, in which a local dialect maintains rough local peculiarities. But that is precisely one of the things for which Barrès is grateful. Everybody notices the characteristics of a town like Perpignan or Bayonne, but it requires the subtler receptivity of the native to distinguish the old German influences as well as the eighteenth-century refinement in a town like Nancy. A Parisian feels at home there, yet M. Barrès knows from a thousand signs that the Parisian is impervious to what seems to him the *genius loci* itself, and the knowledge adds to his intellectual pride.

Pride of another description arises from the fact that Lorraine, after centuries of independence, has accepted her geographical mission of acting as the sentry of France and keeping the Germans at arm's length. There is something chivalrous and soldierly in her attitude which is reflected back on all her sons. Finally the valleys of the Moselle have a poetical charm of their own, both subdued and active, soothing and flattering, which only the happy few perceive in its entirety, and which only the finest picture will describe.

The reader sees at once that such a country with such an atmosphere must be an endless source of exquisite sensations for an artist and a patriot of M. Barrès' type; the more so as there is something very deliberate and—we must never be tired of repeating it—very literary in his adoption of his mother's native province, and he is a Lorrain very much as Tolstoi is a moujik. He has given up the exhausting job of being happy for months in a cathedral which its builders intended only for a brief Sunday delight; he sneers at the sophisticated commandments of *L'Homme Libre*; he has at last discovered the secret of breathing a pure, free, bracing air, instead of his old oxygen bottles. He has found at home poetry combined with patriotism, that is to say, the complete gratification of all his tendencies. No wonder that he should write better and, in spite of his remnant of artificiality, that he should look at last like a man and not like an author. The first volume in which he appeared thus regenerated was *Les Amitiés Françaises*. It is a charming book simply fraught with poetry. There is no trace left in it of the straining after poetical excitement and expression which is the great fault of *Du Sang* and of *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, no feverish longing after the rare and the subtle, no disquieting recollections of unforgettable minutes during which the charm of religion was revealed to the author in the same flash as the violence of passion. The book is supposed to be, and in one way really is, a study of the 'feelings which make life worth living for a Lorrain boy.' One chapter is entitled 'In Hymnis et Canticis,' and it is a defence of a poetical and almost musical method of education. That chapter is a key to the whole book. The boy and his father—

Barrès himself—are seen going on pilgrimages to various places famous in the history of the province—once Domrémy, another time Woerth—and both hear voices which we in our turn hear singing softly through the book. Barrès, who had never known—except in his *Deux Novembre*—what the movement of style meant, seems to have learnt it from some mysterious master, and to have learnt at the same time that it will not go along with overcharged phrasing. His descriptions, too, are less graphic but so much more suggestive than before. You would not think it was the same writer, nor, above all, that it was the same man. He seems, after being tossed on treacherous seas, at last

to see his own
And pace the sacred old familiar fields.

There is the same solemnity in his tone as in Tennyson's line. All his intellectualism has been turned into feeling, and his voice is that of a convert.

He has, however, a fault of the convert. He has nothing but scorn for all questioning of what appears to him evident, and he revels in narrow-mindedness. His patriotism is far-reaching and purifying, and acts upon him like religion, but he makes it deliberately cold and heartless—totally different from the warm feeling of Déroulède. There is something offensively harsh in his telling little Philippe that no French boy ought ever to play with German children, and that prayers put up in German never mingle with French prayers. The same man who spoke of nationalities as fallen idols cherishes at present a cold, sober hatred of the Prussian and of whomsoever and whatever stands between him and revenge. Patriotism of a more spontaneous, less literary character does not know that exaggerated bitterness, even when it will hear of no compromise. I appeal to the recollections of every good Frenchman who has visited Metz in recent years and realised, as I have, that Germany *cannot* keep that town.

The exaggeration is striking in *Colette Baudouche*, a little novel full of the same charm as *Les Amitiés Françaises*. Colette Baudouche is a young girl who lives at Metz with her grandmother. They are poor. Dressmaking is not enough to keep them, and they occasionally let a room to a boarder. A young German professor, Dr. Asmus, takes the room. He is a heavy, good-natured fellow whose greatest wish is to learn French while he stays at Metz, and then go home and marry his Gretchen. But he falls in love with Colette, whom M. Barrès has admirably painted, giving her in a few touches all the charms of the France of yore with the pathos of the Metz girl, a prisoner in her own native town. Being in love with Colette he gradually espouses all her ideals and shakes off his German prejudices and heavy ways of thinking, until a visit to Nancy reveals to him that he is another man. He shows it rather bravely by taking up the cudgels for the Metz people against their invaders on several occasions. Colette loves him

too. But she hesitates between her love and what she feels her duty, and, coming out of a funeral service in the cathedral for the French soldiers killed in 1870, she refuses him with a sternness which the writer's presentment makes very nearly savage. The reader is rather shocked and, from the artistic standpoint, the mistake is serious.

But M. Barrès cannot help it, and the lapse must be traced to a deeper cause than an occasional want of literary tact. Throughout the large production under his name there is something withering, a sort of blight which his talent nowhere succeeds in concealing. In the earlier volumes this curious dryness was a matter of course, and undoubtedly less unpleasant because it might be a literary artifice. Unfortunately we feel its presence quite as much in the patriotic works, which ought to be perfectly free from it. In spite of their poetry there is nothing warming in them, none of Dickens's optimism, none of Tolstoi's contagious conviction, none of the go-ahead spirit of Déroulède. All this beauty is barren. The cause lies in the writer's selfishness. He never writes to persuade. He is too much taken up with his Lorrain contemplation to care whether his readers ought not to think, like himself, of becoming better Frenchmen by becoming more conscious provincials. All his moral progress has been absorbed by his literary being, and, now as before, we see a man mainly and almost exclusively occupied with himself. This deficiency tells even on the purely artistic value of the work. M. Barrès too often steps in, even in *Colette Baudoche*, between his reader and his heroine. What do we care about *his* over-conscious sensations when we are enjoying the girl's delightful spontaneousness? He never can make up his mind to keep quite away. Hence also a monochordism which would not be easily bearable if the book happened to be longer. Perhaps we may also trace to the same cause that which seems his chief deficiency, viz. a singular want of inventiveness. Not that he is unable to realise human peculiarities and express them in truly human language. But they must be his peculiarities, the brilliant selfishness of *L'Homme Libre*, or the provincialism of *Colette*; or he must actually have met the puppets in *Vanity Fair*, for instance, the scoundrels in *Leurs Figures*. What he cannot do is to imagine an action and characters in which we readers should take an exclusively human interest. The creative imagination of Balzac, the playful fecundity of Dickens, are parts of which I should not be surprised if he had even no idea. He never quotes such creators, and possibly never reads them. They are too impersonal for a man whom life, as it really is, does not interest; who always wants to see it through some poetical medium. At all events the lesson they could have given him is lost or wasted, and I doubt but M. Barrès will ever be able to tell another story than his autobiography.

If I had to try and sum up this sketch of one of the prominent

French writers of to-day, I should say that, in my opinion—no matter how strange and even inconsistent this may sound—he was born rather a good man than a good writer. The writer possessed two gifts in a high degree—verbal appreciativeness and the descriptive power. Of sensitiveness I think he had only a moderate share, far less, at any rate, than it is the fashion to admire in him; but he made the most of his talents, worked unremittingly and with increasing success.

Unfortunately the great literary fault, voracious vanity, vitiated the man's innate aspiration after the ideal. M. Barrès' qualities were intended for obscurity, not for fame—above all not for the fame he was in such a hurry to court. However, they managed to live on, and they still fight their way through the adventitious growth about them. But the fatal vicinity is too much for them, and patriotism, simplicity, kindness, appear inferior in M. Barrès' books to what they probably are in his soul. He is, and I am afraid will die, artificial. If literature had not usurped the place it holds nowadays, if there remained in this country more than a veneer of Christian morality, if the *grand sérieux* of the Christian life, toward which M. Barrès and so many of his political friends are drawn like butterflies who recoil from it every time they come near, still prevailed, surely the author of *L'Homme Libre* and of *Colette Baudouche* would not be so famous, for he owes all his success to literature; but if things were thus different, if this was a less sophisticated world, M. Barrès would be a better man, a happier man, and possibly something very like the man he would wish to be, for his faults, too, are due to literature. His nature, his life, his books, his success, are not a paradox but an instance of the disastrous influence of art for art, that is to say, in plain English, enjoyment for enjoyment's sake. He has cured himself of his scepticism only by adopting the crudest, no matter how poetical, pragmatism. He verifies the great historical principle laid down by the one Socialist writer who can be looked upon as a great moralist, M. Georges Sorel, 'that scepticism, at any period, invariably prepares its own ruin by making pleasure the one object of the sceptic's ambition.'

ERNEST DIMNET.

ON THE ROAD IN CORSICA

'*En Corse, Mesdames, le ménage est primitif.*' The stewardess delivers herself of this dark saying as she places on the deck beside us two uninviting cups of tea without milk and two chunks of bread without butter. We venture to point out that we are not yet in Corsica, that it is only three hours since we have left a land flowing with milk, and a good many other things, at Leghorn, that the outline of Cap Corse is as yet barely visible on the horizon, and that we are, moreover, on board a French steamboat. But the stewardess smiles inexorably, and explains once more that this is the only form of *thé complet* or any other sustenance which we must expect before we reach Bastia. We have yet to learn that the Corsican is not logical, but we have also to learn that the stewardess has deemed it advisable to let us know the worst of her country at once. In Bastia and Ajaccio at all events there is no occasion to take so pessimistic a view of the *ménage* where such simple luxuries as milk and butter are concerned.

For the moment, however, we are steaming slowly over a deep green glass sea, flecked with white foam. On our right lies the desolate rocky island of Caprera, and far away on the left the blue mass of Elba, so conveniently near to the coast of Italy that the only marvel is that Napoleon consented to remain a prisoner for so long as he did.

The warning of the stewardess recalls itself to us a week or so later when, the interests of Ajaccio being exhausted, we decide to see something of the interior of the island. The little toy railway which has rattled us southwards from Bastia has given us more than an idea of what we may expect in the matter of scenery. And we have discovered that the scenery of Corsica is not only even wilder and more magnificent than we expected, but that it is of the kind which we associate with the stage, and especially with the stage of old-fashioned melodrama where probabilities may be legitimately ignored. The cultivated fertile country of the Nebbio is soon left behind, and the little train pants gallantly, like any overworked cab-horse, on its upward course through jagged masses of rocky mountains, overtopped by snow, scuttling down again with complete absence of self-control, and racing with agitated shrieks and whistles along the edge of yawning chasms and seemingly bottomless abysses. It

requires some nerve to sit through this journey of seven hours, boxed up in a tiny compartment, and, as the shadows deepen, conscious of our progress and surroundings only by the erratic movements of the train. We are reassured however by the knowledge that there has never yet been an accident, and that the Corsicans, many of whom have seen none other, are justified in being ostentatiously proud of their railway.

But to gain any intimate knowledge of the island or of the people this manner of locomotion is certainly not sufficient. We must take to the road, in one of the light victorias drawn by a pair of sturdy long-suffering little horses, which we have seen standing about under the plane-trees on the Place du Diamant. And since we intend to spend several consecutive nights in the mountain villages we must face the primitive conditions of life in the country, of which everybody, from our stewardess onwards, has been so anxious to warn us.

Milk we know we must dispense with, other than that of the goat, but we supply ourselves with a little butter, which will last for two or three days in the mountains, and a large kettle and a spirit lamp, since hot water, except served in a small and shallow saucepan, is one of the unattainable luxuries. Our forethought in regard to both these items we learn to count as the greatest of our self-appointed blessings.

And so, early on a sunny April morning, lovely as only a spring morning in a Southern land can be, we turn our backs on the sparkling blue waters of the bay, on the blue mountains of the opposite shore sleeping in a haze that promises fine weather, and rattle out of Ajaccio under the heavily laden orange trees of the Cours Napoléon. Our little carriage is quite unusually shabby, but obviously light, and the small, lean horses, whose appearance promises nothing, are warranted to be remarkable both for speed and endurance. Our miscellaneous luggage and provisions are fastened with string upon the back seat; on the box by the driver is a bag of forage and his own very scattered possessions; and behind the carriage swings a bundle of further refreshment for the horses. Certainly our equipage is not elegant, but elegance is a negligible quantity in Corsica. Deficiency in this respect is moreover largely atoned for by the appearance of our coachman, Antoine Casalta, who, in his dark velvet suit and silver buttons, his red sash and slouch felt hat, is quite a handsome object. It is very desirable to be upon good terms with your coachman in Corsica. For the time being you must commit yourself entirely to his care. He becomes your friend, philosopher, and guide, and as much philosophy as guiding is not infrequently required. There is no difficulty with Antoine. He is a true Corsican, of the most agreeable type, which means that he is also a very gentle child of Nature. We have been assured in his recommendation that he is *bon enfant*, and subsequent intercourse with him convinces us

of the truth of this statement. Absolutely docile and dependable towards his employers, he is probably capable of destroying in cold blood any member of a family which in this or a previous generation has given offence to the house of Casalta. Like all Corsicans, he has little sense of humour, and he is childishly vain and childishly inquisitive. Yet he is a most courteous and considerate companion, and entirely deferential in manner so long as he is treated on mitigated terms of equality. Once clear of the town he decides that the moment for a formal introduction has arrived, and descending gravely from his seat he interviews us accordingly. Which is Madame and which is Mademoiselle? Satisfied on these points he gives us his own name, which we already know, decides that he will talk in Italian to Madame and in French to Mademoiselle, takes off his hat with a magnificent flourish, and scrambling back on to his seat proceeds to encourage his horses with those weird sounds which every European and no English driver's throat can produce. It must be added in parentheses that Antoine insists for the most part upon talking French; and that since his French is extremely incomprehensible, Mademoiselle has by far the harder part of the bargain. It is evidently a kindly and half patronising concession on his part when he breaks into the language which is obviously so much more nearly akin to his own.

Meantime we have begun the slow ascent of the Col de San Sebastien, and are confronted with that apparently impenetrable mass of rocky mountain of which the whole interior of the island seems from a distance to consist. Corsica has to thank Napoleon for the innumerable and well-engineered roads which make travelling by carriage a comparatively easy matter. It is still very early, for the most inexorable rule of the road is that the midday halting-place must be reached as soon after eleven as possible. We meet a few women coming down to the market on their mules and shaggy ponies, mounted amongst a pile of baskets, and most of them knitting as they come. One or two of them are riding astride and spurred, after the fashion of some parts of the country, but they are all as usual sombrely garbed in black. There are few men amongst them, for the men do not work. Presumably they have better occupations. We exchange greetings, for the civility of these country folk is quite unfailing—it is impossible to pass a man without his taking his hat off, and, however wide the road, they will all alike back their mules into a ditch when the carriage passes. Our destination for the night is the Greek colony of Carghésé, at the further extremity of the Gulf of Sagone, but meantime the beetling granite range of mountains in front of us has to be crossed before we can attain to *déjeuner* at Calcatoggio.

As the road mounts gradually upward we leave behind the mulberry trees and vineyards, and find ourselves more definitely in the country of *maquis*. Bushes of tall white Mediterranean heath, arbutus, cistus, myrtle, and every kind of aromatic shrub clothe the mountain

side. Great clumps of wild hellebore, the pale green flowers, larger than a Christmas rose, growing in bunches of six or eight on a single stem, make bright patches of colour against the darker scrub. So beautiful is this hellebore in form and colour, as well as being one of the most distinctive botanical features of Corsica, that we cannot resist adding an armful of it to our luggage. Seeing which, Antoine promptly leaves his horses to their own devices, and, running hither and thither, gathers us quite a nosegay of hypatica, violets, wild pea, and orchids, to which in his zeal he would have added a bundle of *maquis* itself had we not strenuously and ungratefully resisted. As we crawl up the hot winding road we observe more than one small cross of sinister meaning by the wayside. Obviously this solitary pass over the mountains from Ajaccio to the West Coast has proved a convenient background for the wild justice of Corsican vengeance. At the top of the pass the Bocca San Sebastiano, though the immediate scene is extraordinarily desolate, the outlook is magnificent. Far below us lies the beautiful Gulf of Sagone, with its series of little bays, and beyond and around us range upon range of superb mountains, rocky and serrated, the towering snowy masses of Monte d'Oro, Monte Rotondo, and Monte Cintio, stretching away to the northern extremity of the island. Meantime, overhead the sun burns fiercely upon the shadeless *maquis* and the white winding ribbon of a road which we can see behind us almost as far as Ajaccio. A solitary hawk poises itself above us against a sky of cloudless blue; a herd of goats and a flock of black, horned sheep are scrambling about in inaccessible places; and lizards basking on the rocks peer at us with bright eyes for a moment, and then vanish into unseen crevices. An ancient goatherd, rising suddenly out of the bushes, where he has been enjoying a siesta, offers us a drink of goat's milk, which we decline. Antoine, who has allowed his horses a breathing space, gathers up the reins, and at breakneck speed we make the descent to Calcatoggio. Calcatoggio is a village half-way down the mountain, set in blossoming orchards of pear, almond, and cherry, and concerning which a rhyme, unjustifiable in our experience, has been handed down to posterity:

Calcatoggio, Calcatoggio,
Mala cena e peggio alloggio,

which has been translated

Calcatoggio, traveller's curse,
Supper bad and lodging worse.

I cannot speak for the supper or the lodging, but the *déjeuner* on the two occasions that we have halted there leaves little, judged by the standard of Corsican inns, to be desired. The Hôtel Paoli, as it is called, is indeed a fair specimen of all such country hostels in the island. An aged and welcoming crone appears out of the cavernous depths of a kitchen on the ground floor, and conducts us to the living-

room above, whence several doors open into the surrounding bedrooms. Here we are fed on minute lamb, followed by a dish of remarkably plump blackbirds, which latter fills us with shame while their brethren are piping merrily in the trees outside—but we are hungry. This, after having indignantly rejected *pâté de merles*, the one delicacy of Ajaccio, is a downward step, but one due to the exigencies of Corsican travel. The old crone's little granddaughter, a child with classical features and wonderful black hair and eyes, waits upon us with grave dignity and deftness, and with an unusual regard for the British prejudice in favour of clean forks. Indeed we have every reason to be pleased with Calcatoggio. Before we start again, Antoine, who has espied a camera amongst our luggage, requests that he may be photographed. He is a good-looking young man, and he knows it. So having arranged his moustache and his hat to his satisfaction, and drawn the carriage and horses into position, he climbs on to his seat and poses himself with an expression of startling ferocity and concentration. This is the more surprising, as his features are by no means Napoleonic, and his usual expression is one of extreme gentleness.

The afternoon drive to Carghès is generally admitted to be the most lovely in Corsica, for all the way the Corniche road follows the curves of the beautiful Gulf of Sagone. Sagone itself, once the seat of an archbishopric, has little or nothing left of its former magnificence. The earth might have opened and swallowed up whatever once existed except a few narrow commonplace-looking houses, the worst of which is labelled *Repos des Voyageurs*. Here the river Liamone ambles down to join the waters of the gulf through patches of bright green maize, the first sign of cultivation we have seen, and which, taken in conjunction with an avenue of eucalyptus and an interval of flat and sandy marsh, suggests extreme warmth and probably a fever-stricken haunt in summer.

In the bed of the river among the yellow iris, and on the seashore, a number of gulls, and small crows with grey backs and black wings, having all the appearance of being in half mourning, are searching for their dinner, while innumerable goldfinches haunt the trees above our heads. A hedge of tamarisk, just bursting into bloom, traces a delicate pattern of pale green and coral against the blue water of the little bay. These miniature bays, which follow one another in such quick succession, with their transparent rippling water and the silver sand of their shore full of wonderful shells and bits of coral, with the weird red rocks which guard the entrance to them at intervals, and the fields of pale purple asphodel, growing down to the edge of the sand itself, graceful and slender against a background of ancient silver olives, might well suggest the coast of fairyland. Here and there a mischievous fairy has planted a hedge of prickly pear—perhaps to keep out human intruders. But of these there are few indeed, for not a soul do we meet upon the road, although we pass the big stone oven

where all the bread of Sagone is baked, and which is heated first by bundles of burning *maquis*. Later we learn to recognise these ovens as the necessary adjunct to the outskirts of a Corsican village. Only one human craft is on the sea, and she, with her white sails spread, is more like a large bird floating slowly inland, and might easily delude the fairies into misplaced confidence. She is coming to be laden with timber from the forest up in the mountains, one of the few products of their fertile country which the Corsicans take the trouble to export, and she will carry it to Ajaccio, where it will be transferred to a Continental-bound steamer.

It is late in the afternoon when, following the road which winds slowly upward above the sea, we reach the beautiful promontory on which, flanked by Genoese watch towers, stands the Greek colony of Carghésé.

In 1674 the Greeks of the Morea, flying before the Turkish invasion, found a refuge in Corsica, and were allowed to choose a site and establish a colony by the Genoese occupiers of the island. Not unnaturally, since they were befriended by the alien rulers, the Corsicans regarded these Greek settlers with animosity, and no doubt they were also jealous of the industry of the intruders and of the superior cultivation of their land. So at the time of the Corsican insurrection against the Genoese early in the eighteenth century, the Greeks took refuge in Ajaccio, but were brought back and re-established at Carghésé in 1774 by the Count de Marbœuf, who also built himself a magnificent castle, the ruins of which may still be seen. Less than twenty years later came the French Revolution, when the castle was burnt and the Greeks again took temporary refuge at Ajaccio, where some of them intermarried with the inhabitants and where their descendants remain to this day. And from that time the Greeks of Carghésé have continued to intermarry occasionally with the islanders, and as a result of being less exclusive their type has naturally become less pure. An imposing modern Greek church faces the Latin church across a narrow valley in the middle of the village, but the national costume has long been abandoned for the sober black garb of the Corsican, and except among themselves they speak the Corsican dialect and bad French like any other native. Their *pape*, a most venerable gentleman, does his best, we are told, against insuperable difficulties to cherish the classic traditions of his very mixed flock. Carghésé certainly has an individual stamp, which appears in an unwonted neatness and propriety in the village and in the cultivation of mulberry trees and vines around it. It has a cheerful appearance, moreover, from its position, not being so immediately overshadowed by rocks and mountains as are most of the Corsican villages. The houses are whitewashed, and many of them surrounded by gardens, an unusual sight in this country. Our spirits rise as we clatter up the street at a smart pace, and we have since wondered whether these

pleasant-looking houses were merely whited sepulchres, externally relics of Greek tradition and order, and internally given over like the hotel to Corsican squalor ! For the hotel, as it calls itself, has a charming garden also, full of wallflowers, stocks and marguerites, and all the other old-fashioned flowers which should adorn a cottage garden, but when we have said that we can say no more in its favour. Antoine in his zeal for our comfort has telegraphed to an hotel which does not exist, so there is some demur about rooms, and having heard so much about Greek hospitality we are a little chilled to find a less cordial greeting awaiting us than is usual in this country.

Our landlady is no doubt anxious to please us, but she is overburdened with a family of young children who cry incessantly. Her servant, of a purer Greek type than herself, and clothed in peculiarly unrelieved black, which is, however, no more dismal than herself, waits upon us with amazing reluctance. The dark wooden staircase is extremely discouraging, and reminds us of the retort made by Edward Lear's landlady at Sartène forty years ago when he reasoned with her on this same subject. ' Here, sir, it is never the custom to clean stairs ; stairs are never cleaned, never ! ' Apparently the Corsican housewife is still faithful to her traditions. But meantime, outside the hotel, this little corner of the world is full of attraction. A swarm of merry little boys and girls, far more friendly than the children of Ajaccio, escort us in a body to the Greek church. Here, whilst Maria Amica, the eldest and plainest of them, is despatched at a swift gallop for the key, the rest crowd round us begging to be photographed, turning and twisting themselves and one another in all sorts of impossible groups and positions and keeping up a perpetual hubbub of laughter and chatter. By the time Maria Amica returns, still at a gallop, and shouting and waving a large key above her head, we are thankful to take sanctuary in the church, especially as the two sous bestowed upon our messenger have a most demoralising effect upon the manners of her companions. Later, passing through the narrow cobbled street, where we meet innumerable families of pigs wandering in and out of the houses, and where a lady in a pink dressing-gown is busy driving her chickens into her living-room for the night, we come to the old stone fountain of St. Jean, surrounded by weeping willows, at a corner of the road above the village, and facing the simple tall iron cross which is to be found at the entrance to every mountain village in Corsica. By this time the sun is disappearing, a ball of golden fire in a cloudless sky, behind the jagged line of Cape Rosso, sending a path of lurid light across the still waters of the bay. The mass of mountains behind are rapidly darkening in the brief twilight, the snowy peaks gleaming coldly where the remaining light touches them. Round the fountain is a group of women and girls filling their large pitchers and moving slowly off with stately upright carriage, the pitchers poised easily upon their heads. Two curly-headed little girls in pink frocks, who have

followed us out of motives of curiosity, reminding us, however, at intervals with bursts of giggles that Maria Amica has had two sous, finding us unresponsive, have clambered upon the stone ledge above the fountain and are dangling their bare legs in the dripping water with much satisfaction. Coming from the village is a group of half-grown boys who are pushing in front of them what appear at a distance to be hobby-horses of the nursery. As they come nearer we see that from the handle of these sticks or wheels are slung the same pitchers which the women balance so easily upon their heads. This is the manner, peculiar it seems to the Greeks of Carghésé, by which the male sex lightens the labour which it so seldom feels called upon to share. A long and picturesque procession is winding its way up the hill from the other direction. Evidently there has been a market somewhere. There are carts full of children, men and women in their sombre garb mounted on mules and ponies, a very old man and an equally old and smiling wife sharing a mount in one case, almost as old as themselves, and both riding astride, the old woman clasping her husband round the waist. A picturesque goatherd is following his flock of black sheep and goats, amongst whom a lamb frisks and gambles with untoward levity, while droves of pigs with unlimited families appear, as always in this country, to take care of themselves. Some of the people are singing a melancholy chant in a minor key, but as they all appear remarkably cheerful it must be supposed that this is the Corsican method of rejoicing. It is a picturesque scene, with the rapidly darkening hills and water as a background, and the twinkling lights appearing one by one out of the velvet gloom of the village below.

The less said about the night which we spend at Carghésé the better. It is sufficient to note that the donkeys which converse into the small hours, and the cocks which crow all night lest they should forget to wake at dawn, are amongst the least of our troubles. It is our first night in a Corsican country inn, and I may say at once it is by far the worst of our experiences. Soon after five we find ourselves more than ready for the road, and only wishing we had acceded to Antoine's desire to start at six instead of at seven. The Greek servant is gazing listlessly from the window in the dining-room when I interrupt her meditation with a demand for breakfast. She has left the cloth on the table covered with crumbs exactly as it was the night before, and has contented herself with scattering a few drops out of a watering-pot to lay the dust on the floor. When at length we are ready for the start we are met by a rather woe-begone Antoine : '*Vous avez bien dormi, mesdames ?*' he inquires with respectful solicitude. He has already been up to search our bedrooms for forgotten objects like any well-trained maid. We indignantly demand how anyone could sleep in such a place, and he shakes his head in sorrowful sympathy. He also has not slept; he has had to lie upon the ground with

only a coat for his covering—but what would we? The Greeks do not know how to treat travellers. We shall see how different it is at Evisa. Now we have both heard Antoine snoring, and have envied him comfortably installed in the comparative safety of the carriage, but we are too considerate of his feelings to tell him so, and are properly commiserative. He certainly lacks his usual air of correctness, and as we drive out of the village, where we hope never to lay our heads again, we pause at the fountain of St. Jean while he sponges his own face and those of the horses, who also have a rather dissipated appearance. The Corsican air has a marvellous quality of freshness without being in the least sharp. Especially is this the case in the early morning, and the troubles of the night are soon forgotten. The mountains ahead of us are wrapped again in that blue haze which promises heat, and down below, under the lately risen sun, the sea sparkles with a myriad diamonds.

Our midday halt is to be at Piana, the further side of another arid mountain pass, a charmingly situated village overlooking the Gulf of Porto, connected by a steep path with the fishing hamlet on the shore below. At the last hill before we reach Piana, Antoine's toilet is more than usually elaborate. His moustaches are combed and twisted until they would not disgrace Emperor William himself. Many attempts are made before his soft felt hat attains the rakish angle which he fancies, and his wide red sash takes much arranging. The whole effect is surreptitiously studied in the looking-glass lid of a small box which he carries in his pocket, like any lady of fashion.

At Piana the humble edifice called by courtesy an hotel is in a great bustle. *Le Monde* is expected from Evisa. There are also ourselves and several French guests who are staying in the house. Nevertheless the old and toothless landlady finds time to greet us very courteously. She is assisted by a deaf and dumb handmaiden who, in spite of the heat of the day, waits upon us in an imitation Astrachan coat. It can surely not be for the *beaux yeux* of this lady that Antoine has made himself so smart, and yet there does not appear to be another female creature on the premises! *Le Monde* from Evisa consists of an English family which is taking the same drive as ourselves in a contrary direction, and is bound for Carghèsé. Travellers who meet and pass on the road in Corsica are like ships which speak one another at sea. We at once exchange mutual experiences. Our compatriots can give us encouraging accounts of M. Gigli's hotel at Evisa, while we can only commiserate them on their impending doom at Carghèsé. We confide to one another the secrets of the pantry cupboards, where glass and extra cutlery can always be obtained by the marauding visitor, and we agree that for the bedrooms to open out of the dining-room in a country where necessities are apt to be regarded as luxuries is a decidedly advantageous arrangement. When we are ready to start again we find Antoine dancing and gesticulating

before our landlady in a perfect frenzy of passion. It appears that owing to a further inrush of visitors from Evisa his *déjeuner* has been curtailed, and he is vehemently refusing to pay the full price. Possibly, in view of the careful toilet he has made on the road, disappointment of another kind has something to do with his fury. Anyhow, the sight of his employers reduces him at once to gentleness and docility, and though he continues throughout our afternoon drive to pour maledictions on the Hôtel des Touristes, he is temporarily reduced like a child to smiles and satisfaction by the present of a piece of chocolate.

Soon after leaving Piana we reach the Calanches, a fantastic avenue of red rocks a mile and a half long. Distorted and twisted in every conceivable shape, these mighty granite spires and pinnacles, some of needle-like sharpness, tower far above our heads on either side of the road. Here and there an alarming gulf opens between them at our very feet, and we get a glimpse of the swirling surf of the sea. Happily the horses are sure-footed, but it is difficult not to believe that these rocky masses may at any moment fall and crush us. They are like the illustrations of a bad child's fairy book, the grotesque creations of an unhinged imagination, and brilliant as is the colouring of these vivid red rocks against the blue sea, we are glad to emerge on to the road which borders the calm serenity of the Gulf of Porto. At the mouth of the river we turn sharply inland, and confront once more those impregnable mountains which cover the whole interior of the island. Presently the road, which is marvellously engineered in the solid rock, begins the long ascent of the Col de Capicciolo. It is a wildly volcanic country we have come into. Here the giants have been at play hurling great boulders of granite, which have been caught in all sorts of unexpected places. Far above us tower the gaunt masses of the Spelunca range. Round and round, and higher and higher we mount, while the carriage swings upon the edge of a precipice from the depths of which we can only just hear the murmur of the river. Soon even the *maquis*, which has hitherto offered a safe refuge for a whole regiment of bandits, becomes less luxuriant, and leaves only rock above, beneath, and around us. The silence and loneliness of this amazing gorge become oppressive, and it is a relief to meet a solitary *cantonnier*, upon whom Antoine, who possibly shares our feelings, in a burst of generosity, bestows a cigar. But still the road winds and loops ever higher and higher, and with a wall of solid rock on one side and nothing between us and eternity on the other, we presently discover that Antoine is happily slumbering, his person extended on the forage bag and the reins twisted round the lamp. Later experience teaches us that this is the inevitable habit of Corsican drivers going uphill after the midday meal, where no doubt the red wine of the country has flowed freely. We prod the sleeper with our umbrellas and ask a series of intelligent questions, for to-day on the

brink of this appalling abyss we cannot afford to trifle, but none of our methods avail for long. Antoine rouses himself quite amiably, and seconds our efforts for about ten minutes, and then relapses into peaceful unconsciousness. Recognising at length the futility of the situation we are reduced to tramping ourselves beside the horses, though it is true they know their business rather better than we do. At the first level ground, however, we sternly call a halt. Antoine is wide awake, in his seat, and with the reins in his hand in a moment. '*J'ai dormi toute la montée,*' he observes in a self-congratulatory tone, but looking round shamefacedly out of one eye to see how we take it. We remark coldly in both languages that the fact has been obvious, but happily it is not strictly true, as he had waited until the worst part of the ascent was over before he composed himself. While the horses are permitted to breathe, our coachman blandly expresses his surprise at the pleasure which English ladies seem to take in walking—for his part he should not have thought it was good for the health, and he is evidently rather aggrieved that we receive his criticisms in chilly silence.

At all events he is thoroughly aroused now. A lash is fastened to the whip, for it is essential to his credit to make a showy entrance into Evisa, and after a mile or so of chestnut woods not yet in leaf, although we have left them bursting into bloom at Ajaccio, we gallop at breakneck speed up to the door of M. Gigli's famous hotel. This is a modest whitewashed establishment, but exceedingly and refreshingly clean. Even the staircase is not repulsive, and our whitewashed bedrooms, hung with dimity, though bare of everything but actual necessities, have, after our night of horrors, a most inviting appearance. M. Gigli is a much-travelled young man. He has not only visited the Continent and England, but it is said that he has also been to India, and has even penetrated to the Carlton Hotel in London! There are no signs that he has attempted to model his own establishment upon such a magnificent example of luxury, but the cleanliness and order which prevail place it far above any other of the country inns of Corsica. M. Gigli refuses to take in any visitors who have not previously telegraphed, but happily we have conformed to the rule, and are most politely greeted, not only by our host himself and his wife, who does all the work, but also by most of the village. At Evisa indeed the hotel is the centre of life. On the low wall opposite, the whole male population, including M. Gigli, who has evidently relapsed into Corsican habits, sits from an early hour of the morning, like a string of swallows upon a telegraph wire, and smokes and gossips, and watches the mule carts laden with granite toiling up from the world below. On a bench outside the door of the inn itself, two or three old women and a very old man sit and blink at the sun as long as it is shining. In the evening they creep into the cavernous depths of an unused kitchen, where, later, I find an old witch stirring something

in a pot over the fire, and am silently and majestically waved out again with a spoon as black as herself by this ancient recipient of our host's charity. Evisa with its clustering red roofs and white campanile, surrounded by chestnut woods, 3000 feet above the sea, is an unusually attractive village, and has a superb view of mountain ranges in all directions, beginning with the jagged granite masses of the Spelunca opposite. Five miles away lies the great forest of Aitone, under snow at present, which also makes the road over the pass to Corte impossible for carriages. There is no chill in the air, but it is very fresh and reviving after our long afternoon spent amongst the sun-baked rocks. We find quite a gathering at the evening meal served in a room upholstered in ancient yellow brocade in curious contrast to the whitewashed walls, and guiltless of armchairs, but we are the only English visitors. We are waited on by Madame, who joins at intervals in the conversation, and who gives us trout fresh from the stream, the usual *ragoût* of a nondescript kind, and a very perfect specimen of *broccio*, the dish of the country, a superior cream cheese made with goat's milk and eaten with sugar. The party includes the Inspector of the Roads, a venerable white-bearded gentleman, who has bicycled the whole arduous way from Piana, and intends in spite of the snow to continue his road over the mountains to Corte to-morrow. He produces a bottle of white wine with a curious taste like cider, which he insists upon sharing with the company, and meantime he gives us a great deal of interesting information. The Inspector deplors the good days of Napoleon III., when the *vendetta* was almost exterminated, for, under the indifferent rule of the Republic, it flourishes abundantly, and in his tour of the villages it is no uncommon thing for him to find that one at least of the inhabitants has gone *à la Campagne*, that is, to the shelter of the *maquis*! The Corsican moral sense seems to be controlled by his sense of duty to the clan to which he belongs, for the whole island is divided into clans, and it is no doubt this sentiment which has preserved the national character from receiving any but a superficial influence from the successive foreign occupiers of the island. It is this same sentiment, moreover, which will inflame these gentle, well-mannered people with a sudden unbridled ferocity, if the honour of the clan be in any way impugned. As far as strangers are concerned, there appears to be no civilised country in which it is possible to travel with greater ease and security. Though the power and the knowledge are both surprisingly limited, the wish to please and the ready tact and courtesy are almost invariable. So great is the horror of any kind of dishonesty, that for the careless traveller to whom the possession of keys is a serious annoyance, Corsica is an ideal place for a holiday. Once, it is true, in a fishing village on the north coast I discover the so-called chambermaid seated at her ease in my bedroom, with all my postcards spread out around her, but she is obviously prompted by a merely inquisitive spirit, and a desire to see those places on her native island which she has not yet visited.

It is in this same neighbourhood that, no longer having the faithful Antoine to direct us, we omit to telegraph when we drive up to take our *déjeuner* in a mountain village. We are received with sufficient warmth and friendliness by the elderly widow who is our landlady on this occasion, but also with some embarrassment, for there is nothing in the house. Fortunately it is a Friday, which fact, since the Corsicans are a devout race, comes greatly to her assistance. It is worth quoting her menu to show what can be done at a very humble hostel in a Corsican village at an hour's notice. We are served in turn with boiled eggs, sardines (stale) and capers, a *purée* of lentils, a dish of young green peas, fried fish with salad, and lastly a very beautiful sweet commonly known as 'eggs in snow.' With this we drink a curious red wine, slightly *mousseux*, and lastly, as everywhere in Corsica, we are given an excellent cup of black coffee. We shall always believe that on this occasion we share the good lady's hospitality with a bandit, and a bandit who, judging from his attire, his thick mane of black hair and beard, is in training to be a second Bellacoscia. Perhaps he has come down from the mountain for a good meal, which, however, he steadily declines to share with us, according to the usual Corsican custom, so we have to sit upon a crazy balcony and count the chickens in the woodyard below until Monsieur has finished. Our theory may be mistaken. Very probably he is a respectable employé in the post-office or an advocate on his way to the Assize Courts at Calvi, in which case I can only recommend him to have his hair cut, not to wear ancient white flannels, and to be less exclusive. But this is a digression.

Monsieur the Inspector has a great deal to say on the subject of the idleness and incapacity for manual labour of the Corsican men. This he attributes in part to the long centuries of warfare when the men, who are splendid soldiers, were occupied in fighting desperately and in vain for their freedom against a series of invaders, and the cultivation of the ground was naturally left to the women. In these peaceful days the men are entirely absorbed in politics. They are mostly Imperialists, and even those who are owners of uncultivated acres only concern themselves with procuring minute posts under Government which will give them greater importance at the time of the elections. In the northern part of the island, in the rich districts of the Nebbio and the Balagna, where you may see well-ordered vineyards and orchards and terraces of wheat and barley, Italian workmen are regularly imported to do the work which the Corsican himself feels to be derogatory to his dignity. No doubt, as a Frenchman present at the supper-table on this occasion suggests, could the present race of men be exported and employed as soldiers, and a more industrious people introduced into the island to turn its vast mineral and vegetable wealth to account, France would be enormously profited.

We would gladly have stayed a week at Evisa, where the atmosphere

is so soothing that we soon find ourselves sitting on the wall with the rest of the population watching Madame Gigli weigh the meat, which she does in the middle of the road, while M. Gigli is also an interested spectator. The arrival of a motor is so unusual an incident that it reduces the whole village to hysterics. Children, pigs, donkeys, dogs, and hens run screaming in different directions, and the old women on the bench outside the door disappear precipitately into the safety of the back kitchen. Our host alone remains calm and unmoved, and helps his guest to alight with an increased dignity and a condescension modelled, perhaps, on that of the manager of the Carlton Hotel in London. A few minutes later we count thirty-three children, who have sprung out of the ground to investigate the now quiescent monster. There is certainly no immediate fear that the population of Corsica will decrease. Antoine, who finds things much to his liking at Evisa, would also have preferred to linger there, but on the second day duty recalls us to Ajaccio. The drive to Vico, our halting-place, is only eleven miles, and takes us over the Col de Sevi, through a park-like country of ilex, chestnuts and olives, the ground carpeted with flowers and vegetation—as great a contrast as it is possible to imagine to the barren, rocky route of our ascent. At the top of the hill we find ourselves on a ridge of open down covered with short turf, the air blowing fresh off the sea and full of the aromatic scent of the *maquis*. Here Antoine descends, and producing a pair of lady's slippers of the kind known as *mules* from his pocket, spends a very considerable amount of time and labour in fastening them on to the back wheels of the carriage, his conversation meantime being entirely for his own benefit and encouragement. As we begin the descent we understand the reason of Antoine's ingenious machinations, for though the hill is not steep, it is many miles long, and out of consideration for our feelings, the horses are made to trot unusually slowly. At the cross-roads, where the Franciscan monastery guards the entrance to Vico, we draw up at the forge in order that we may have our brake attended to, and that Antoine may be congratulated upon his contrivance of slippers, which is a profound satisfaction to his vanity.

Vico is a large village lying in a cup of the mountains and surrounded by blossoming orchards. Its chief and only merit is indeed its situation, for it is appallingly dirty, and our hearts sink as we gallop up the long street into the piazza and stop at the door of a large and gloomy building with the promising but deceptive title of *Hôtel des Gourmets*. Deceptive it certainly is, for nowhere in our previous or subsequent wanderings in Corsica, not excepting Carghèse, have we met with such an inferior *ménage* served in so unattractive and uncleanly a manner. Nevertheless Vico lives very pleasantly in our memory, for nowhere have we met with such friendly and characteristic hospitality. In the cavernous stone hall which forms the

ground floor of the hotel, followed by a train of half-grown boys and girls, who are presumably her servants, we are met by our landlady. She is an old woman, a widow, like most of the landladies in Corsica, and her attitude towards us is entirely maternal if apologetic. Alas ! she has no bedrooms in the hotel. It goes to her heart to put *ces dames* elsewhere, but when their telegram came this morning a numerous party had already arrived from Ajaccio. But she has two friends in the town ; yes, these ladies are personal friends of her own, or she would not recommend them, and her visitors will be theirs for the night. Unfortunately they only have one bedroom each, but we shall see, we shall be so happy with them ! Not greatly elated at the prospect, yet conscious that in some way a favour is being conferred upon us, we submissively follow the escort of girls and boys carrying our luggage, through some narrow cobbled streets composed largely of rubbish heaps, up a very dirty staircase to a surprisingly nice little flat, where we are welcomed by a most friendly elderly woman. The bedroom, which, as usual, opens out of the living-room, is clean and well furnished, and the walls are adorned with rosaries, little stoups of holy water, sacred pictures and branches of palm, a relic of last Palm Sunday. Our hostess infinitely regrets that she has only the one bedroom, the other is occupied by herself and her husband. Were it only herself—but the ladies will understand that Monsieur cannot be deranged. So we deposit half our luggage and set forth again. Our second landlady, who lives alone, is even more demonstrative than the first, and enchanted to have a visitor. The staircase is even dirtier, but the flat is larger and decidedly more sumptuous. At the evening meal in the hotel the company is a mixed one, and less select than any we have hitherto encountered, consisting largely of Government employés and commercial travellers. Supper is over soon after eight, and we then realise to our dismay that we are expected to retire to our separate lodgings for the night. Madame is already marshalling her parties. There are several sleeping out besides ourselves, and each is provided with a hobbledehoy girl as a guide, bearing a lantern. We are the last to go, and we feebly protest at our summary dismissal, but Madame is not to be cajoled. Vico goes to bed early, she remarks pointedly. *Ces dames* must be on the road betimes if they wish to get to Ajaccio before dark, and it is not good for them to lose their sleep. She, an old widow woman, knows what is best, and, moreover, she will soon turn out the lamp in the *salle-à-manger*. In face of this final threat there is no room for further argument. Our escort consists of three girls with dirty woollen shawls tied round them in crossover fashion, and since no lantern is available Madame provides them with an ordinary duplex lamp without a shade. Once out of the house, however, we make a determined effort to free ourselves from tyranny, and we suggest that the girls should conduct us to the larger flat first, where my companion is lodged, and either wait or return for me later.

They are only too delighted, and elect to wait, being determined not to separate themselves from us for a moment, and greatly enjoy investigating the mysteries of spirit lamps and hot bottles. Madame, revelling in her rôle of hostess, joins the party, and invites us all into her salon, where she says she will give us a little music. First, however, she shows us her library. One room is indeed given up entirely to books—a good selection of French standard works they appear to be, bound in red leather, and she explains that they have been left her by her sister. We are not allowed to linger here, however, for Madame is anxious to proceed with her own entertainment. She seats herself firmly at the piano, conversing all the time in a stentorian voice which may be heard all over Vico. Do the ladies like music? Well, she cannot play, because in fastening her bodice she has run a hook into her thumb—do the ladies see? and she holds out the injured member for inspection. ‘I cannot sing either, Mesdames,’ she bawls genially, ‘for I have a heart complaint which affects the throat.’ With that she orders the girls, who are now giggling convulsively, to bring up two chairs and place them close to the piano, on either side of her, ‘that we may see,’ as she explains. Then she thumps several loud chords upon the broken-winded instrument, and begins to shout—I can call it nothing else—an air from *Rigoletto*. Suddenly she stops in the middle of a bar and again presents the injured thumb for inspection. ‘See, the hook went in just there, and I cannot sing, because’—but here we are able to assure her she is mistaken, and pleased with our appreciation, and taking up her song exactly where she left it off she finishes quite happily. ‘That is an Italian opera,’ she explains, ‘of which I am very fond; you being English probably do not know it!’ After this we have a selection of *La Traviata*. The girls giggle and we applaud vigorously, the applause being swelled from the street, where an audience has assembled. Madame is greatly pleased, and becomes a little excited. She produces some Corsican songs, and calls upon the girls to come and join in the chorus. With some persuasion two of them are induced to sing a duet, which they do very prettily. If we would stay another day Madame promises us a real concert; she would fetch some girls in from the mountains and they should sing us some of the old love songs of the country. It is an attractive offer, but like other good things it must wait for a future occasion. It is now nine o’clock, and for the sake of the sobriety of Vico, of which Madame of the hotel has warned us, it is time to retire. First there must be a considerable interchange of courtesies, and we can say with truth that we have never spent a more entertaining evening, nor one, we add to ourselves, when with very little personal trouble we have given such obvious entertainment to others. The girls, still bubbling with amusement, collect themselves and the lamp, and we start again, followed by Madame’s strident tones, which are still audible when I reach my own room in another street. It is a black night, for the

clouds have come down on the mountains, and there are no lights in the streets of Vico. Moreover, a puff of wind immediately extinguishes the lamp, to the delight of my escort, one of whom, clasping me firmly round the waist, conducts me over the rubbish heaps and up the filthy staircase to my own door. No reveller returning from a drunken carouse can have done so with less dignity, and next morning I view with horror the lanes through which we stumbled, and the unwashed appearance of our boon companions as they wait upon us soberly enough at breakfast under the eye of the *patrone*. Meantime my own hostess is awaiting me. She has heard the music and is inclined to be a little malicious at the expense of her neighbour, of whom she is evidently jealous. 'Ah, that one, she is an eccentric,' she observes, with a sniff, 'she always likes to get the visitors, and she always plays the same tunes!' Questioned as to the history of her rival, she admits that the father was a man of some importance in the neighbourhood, and something of a musician, that the sister, she of the books, became a 'Continental,' but returned to Corsica to die, and that 'Madame herself has been for long deserted by her husband, and'—she taps her forehead significantly. This may be all true, but my Madame is undoubtedly jealous. 'Madame over there has not so good an *armoire à glace* as you have, Mademoiselle,' she observes, whilst carefully examining my toilet accessories. The statement is untrue, but I do not correct it, as since in each case the wardrobe is securely locked and we have to pile our respective possessions upon a table, I cannot see that it is of much moment. '*Madame votre amie* will not be so comfortable as you are, Mademoiselle; the house is not so clean.' I can only hope this further statement is also incorrect, but her final announcement as she leaves me at length to repose between the fine herb-scented sheets, of which she is so justly proud, 'At least, Mademoiselle, you are the more respectably lodged,' is perhaps incontestable. Next morning, however, I can feel no sense of superiority in face of my companion's further experiences. As she was about to scale the heights of her vast bed there was a knocking at her door. This was alarming, as it gave direct upon the public staircase instead of into the usual living-room. It was only the irrepressible Madame, however, in slight *déshabillé*, who tripped across to the famous *armoire à glace*, unlocked it and produced therefrom several yards of very fine lace made by her own hands. These she pressed upon her visitor in a loud whisper, but in so charming a fashion that the latter was made to feel she was merely conferring a favour in accepting them. We part with this old lady with especial regret—a pathetic, eccentric, yet withal striking figure, with her books, her piano, her handsome furniture, her suggestion of a glorious if mysterious past set in such squalid surroundings. It may be added that for all this hospitality, good rooms and fine linen, we pay two francs each! Antoine also, it appears, has assisted from the street at the concert. We ask him

if he knows anything of our hostess. 'Ah! that one, she is an eccentric,' he in his turn replies enigmatically, and with that his lips are closed.

Our homeward road takes us once more by Sagone and Calcatoggio. In these few days the cistus has come into bloom, and the mountain side is starred with pink and white flowers. The fig-trees are bursting into leaf, and summer is surely at hand.

As we approach the end of our journey Antoine, who has asked us repeatedly if we are pleased with him, and is scarcely satisfied with our British incapacity for paying compliments, waxes confidential. He is very poor, he tells us; his mother died when he was a little boy, so as there was nobody to work for him he had to leave school and to work for himself. Characteristically there is no mention of the father as a breadwinner.

'We Corsicans do not work as a rule,' he continues proudly, spreading out his hands comprehensively over the *maquis* on either side of the road. 'If we did, we should be rich!' Lying full length on the forage bag, with his back to the horses, his elbows on the seat and his chin in his hands, Antoine Casalta is an admirable specimen of the industrious Corsican! With intuitive quickness he seems to guess our thought, and assuming his proper attitude with remarkable agility, he smiles engagingly over his shoulder.

'And mesdames will not forget the photograph?'

ROSE M. BRADLEY.

THE EDUCATIVE VALUE OF THE MODERN MUSEUM

THE imposing ceremony wherewith in June last their Majesties opened the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the magnificence of the buildings which now form the home of our national art collections, could hardly fail to inspire in the minds of those who were present reflections on the changes which have taken place in museums generally during the past generation.

Time was, and not so many years ago, when any museum was merely a receptacle for any and every article which might be considered a curiosity. Who does not remember the singular medley of exhibits which made up the collection in the museum of a county town that boasted such an establishment? An ill-stuffed crocodile, depending from the ceiling; a handful of flint arrow heads found in the neighbourhood shared a glass-covered case with bead ornaments from Central Africa, a box of undescribed shells, some bone trifles carved by French prisoners in England during the Napoleonic wars, and other strangely assorted miscellany. On the shelves an array of stuffed birds unrecognisable under the dust and decay of years; gods from the Fiji Islands, ancient cannon balls, weapons from various regions of the earth made picturesque variety against the walls. Method and arrangement were totally lacking; unless the museum possessed a collection of coins, in which case, it is fair to say, an attempt was made to display them in order. Some of the exhibits were labelled; but not a few bore nothing to enlighten the visitor as to their identity, origin, or use.

Such displays as these might stimulate curiosity, but their educative value was literally *nil*. The impression a county-town museum left upon the mind of the visitor who had strayed into the place to while away an hour of waiting for his train, or to escape the passing shower, was much the same as that left by the storehouse of a dealer in curios. The place was generally empty save for occasional invasion by small and idle boys; amusement—of a somewhat dismal kind—might be afforded by the miscellany. That it could, or should, provide instruction was an idea that was wholly wanting.

The same absence of idea that a museum might be, or ought to be, instructive was not peculiar to the museum of a provincial town. It obtained in London equally : some of the officials connected with the British Museum in pre-Victorian days possessed more advanced views on this point ; but the public, generally, regarded it merely as a storehouse where curiosities were kept for the amusement of those who had spare time to go back and look at them. It was a resort for the idle to gaze and wonder. In the popular esteem it had no other aim or purpose.

It is interesting to turn for a moment to the voluminous mass of evidence taken by the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the management and affairs of the British Museum in 1835. The views held by most museum officials of those days were as yet undeveloped. Mr. J. G. Children, the curator in charge of the Natural History Department, was asked (Qs. 3364-6) :

Q. ' While you were employed in arranging the collection in scientific order, did you keep distinctly in view at the same time the making of it attractive to the general public ? '

Ans. ' Not further than distinctly exhibiting the specimens ; there has been no particularly ornamental way of exhibiting them ; that has not been considered, nor do I well know how it could be done. '

Q. ' Do you think it would be consistent with science to arrange the specimens in such a way as to give a slight notion of the habits of a family ? '

Ans. ' Does the Committee mean by putting them in natural positions ? It might be done, though it is not in general done. The effect would depend on the skill of the artist. '

In this department, of course, the museum official was dependent upon the skill of the taxidermist : he was not free to give effect to any plans of his own if his ideas had progressed beyond ' distinctly exhibiting the specimens. ' It is not necessary to labour the point : one need only walk through the splendid bird-galleries of the Natural History Museum to see how far we have progressed, and to discover how interesting and instructive the museum curator of our own time, aided by modern taxidermy, makes a case of stuffed birds. The ' specimen ' of an earlier day told the visitor nothing : that of our own, mounted in a natural pose with its nest and eggs amid artistically preserved natural surroundings, tells him more than he can learn from descriptions in books ; more than he can learn in any way short of observing for himself birds in their woodland, meadow, or sea-cliff haunts.

The truth is that until the 'sixties, and perhaps later, we had not progressed beyond the seventeenth-century conception of a museum. ' Tradescant's Ark,' the earliest museum of which record remains, could not have been very dissimilar from the English provincial museum of forty years ago. John Tradescant, the reader may be reminded, was a gardener of eminence, who is believed to have died in the year 1637 : he had a passion for collecting curiosities of all

descriptions, and these he exhibited in his house in South Lambeth. A son, also named John, inherited his father's taste, in, apparently, an intensified form: he enlarged the collection and travelled widely in his search for additions to it.

A few quotations from the catalogue of this 'Collection of Rarities presently at South Lambeth near London,' which was published by John Tradescant junior in 1657, will show its character: 'Some kindes of Birds, their Egges, Beaks, Clawes, Feathers and Spurres,' 'Divers sortes of Egges from Turkie one given for a Dragon's Egge,' 'Easter Egges of the Patriarch of Jerusalem,' 'Two feathers of the Phœnix Tayle,' 'Cherrystone, on one side S. George and Dragon perfectly cut and on the other 88 Emperours' Faces.'

This collection eventually came into the possession of Elias Ashmole: he presented it, together with curiosities of his own, in 1683, to Oxford University, who erected the old Ashmolean buildings to accommodate the gift. A museum which contained, among other curiosities, feathers from the tail of the Phœnix and the egg of a dragon, no doubt embraced a great deal else that was false and spurious; but for at least one item posterity owes gratitude to this seventeenth-century museum maker. Tradescant's collection included a stuffed bird of which relics remain to this day—namely, 'a Dodar from the Island of Mauritius'; the head and foot of this dodo, the only remains of the famous bird known, if I am not mistaken, are now treasured in the University Museum of Oxford.

Even as Elias Ashmole's gift formed the nucleus of the museum known by his name at Oxford, so did the collections of Sir Hans Sloane contribute to form that of the British Museum. Public collections were unknown in the seventeenth century, but the few large collections made by private individuals were accessible to those who might wish to see them. Sir Hans Sloane's was the most remarkable of the time; and from the somewhat cursory account of it which appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1748, we are justified in assuming that Sir Hans Sloane recognised the educative possibilities of a museum, and endeavoured to make his collection instructive.

When the then Prince and Princess of Wales paid Sir Hans a visit at Chelsea, his collection consisted of over 200,000 objects of various kinds. Natural history specimens collected during fifteen months' residence in Jamaica, where he had held the appointment of physician to the Governor (the Duke of Albemarle) in 1687-8, appear to have formed the beginning; and for about sixty-five years he had continually added to his treasures. There were 'tables spread out with drawers fitted with all sorts of precious stones in their native beds' for example; collections of coins, medals, fossils (or 'remains of the antediluvian world,' to quote the contemporary account); Greek, Roman, British, and Egyptian antiquities; dried plants and insects,

shells, feathers, and other specimens. The *Gentleman's Magazine* refers to the 'immense treasures of the valuable and instructive productions of nature and art.' The italics are mine: the words clearly indicate that this was a collection put together not to appeal only to idle curiosity.

When Sir Hans' museum and his large library became, under the owner's will, the property of the nation, they were deemed sufficiently valuable to be worthy of a proper home: and the collections were placed in Montagu House, which was purchased for the purpose; these, with the Cottonian and Harleian Manuscripts, formed the basis upon which the national collections have been reared.

The educative purpose of Sir Hans Sloane's collections no doubt developed as his museum grew, but we cannot doubt that the original idea was to collect for the sake of collecting. It is impossible for one man to be an expert in every department of science, art, and industry; and to possess any valuable educative quality a collection must be made by one who has closely studied the subject to which it refers, and knows the worth and interest of each item.

Medical men and naturalists were the first to make collections with the definite purpose of gaining and imparting instruction. The famous surgeon John Hunter, for about thirty years, 1763-1793, preserved anything he considered likely to prove useful for subsequent reference to members of his own profession, and his collections became the nucleus of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. The origin of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art is traced to the famous physicians Sir Andrew Balfour (1630-1694) and Robert Sibbald (1641-1722); both were enthusiastic collectors, the former of natural curiosities generally, the latter devoting himself more particularly to zoological specimens, as might be expected of so keen a naturalist.

Sir John Soane (1753-1837) made his collection of paintings, drawings and sculpture, we may fairly assume, in the spirit of a connoisseur, without educative purpose; he deserves passing mention as one of the public-spirited men who presented the fruits of his taste and industry to the nation during his life-time. The furniture in the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields is now considered the part of the gift best worth seeing, though there are some excellent pictures, notably Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*.

The attitude of the public towards museums generally during our own time was reflected in the speeches made in Parliament when the idea of opening these institutions on Sunday was first mooted.

No small measure of progress in management and classification of collections had been made before the year 1879, when Lord Thurlow's motion to permit access to museums and picture galleries on Sunday afternoons was vetoed in the House of Lords; but those who successfully opposed the innovation had not, it would seem, realised that

museum or picture gallery could be otherwise than a place of recreation ; of intellectual recreation it is true, but still a place of amusement, and therefore a resort which it would be improper to throw open on Sundays. ' Open your museums,' they said in effect, ' and clamour for the opening of theatres and music halls must inevitably follow ' ; as though the museum and the music hall existed for identical purposes and what was applicable to the one was applicable to the other.

Some stress was laid by peers who spoke upon the fact that Sunday work would be thrown upon attendants and officials, and this perhaps was the only sound argument advanced ; the opponents of the step based their main objection on the plea that it would destroy the character of the British Sunday by affording opportunities of recreation which would pave the way to the ' Continental Sunday ' with its work as well as its pleasure. A few speakers referred to museums in broader terms ; Viscount Middleton incidentally spoke of them as ' places of public instruction and amusement ' : and when the subject was debated in the House of Commons in 1896, Mr. Thomas Lough, the member for West Islington, spoke of the ' useful lessons ' to be learned in a museum.

Now I am not prepared to say that they were wrong who insisted upon the ' innocent recreation ' a visit to the museum on Sunday implies. Assuredly far more people visit museums, whether on Sunday or any of the other six days of the week, in search of pleasure, than visit them for instruction : I have merely glanced at this phase of the subject by way of showing how little the educative possibilities of the museum were realised within the memory of persons not yet middle-aged.

One of our national inconsistencies, and not the least glaring, was swept away when the British Museum and others were made accessible to the public on Sunday afternoons. It was a wise measure, one that had been far too long delayed, but was fully appreciated when it came. It materially widened the scope of usefulness of these institutions ; they had been opened three evenings per week till ten o'clock at night as a method of enabling the working classes to visit them ; but the average worker did not take sufficient interest in what he might see in a museum to make an expedition thereto after a long day's work.

Who shall venture to assert that the visitor of ordinary intelligence, whether he be workman or schoolboy, who strolls through any one of the great galleries in the Victoria and Albert Museum, whether among pictures, sculpture, wood carving, armour, porcelain, textiles, or what you will, does not carry away therefrom some new impression ? Who can say of the large majority that what they see does not kindle the spark of a new interest and turn their thoughts in a new direction ? Much more do the children, more impressionable than the parents they accompany, gain new ideas from this glimpse of strange worlds ;

the ideas may be vague and nebulous, but the seed has been sown and a crop may follow.

Dr. John Edward Grey, one of the pioneers of what I may call the modern museum movement, said in the address he delivered before the British Association (Section D) at Bath in 1864, that the purposes for which a museum was established were two : first the diffusion of instruction and rational amusement among the mass of the people, and secondly to afford the scientific student every possible means of examining and studying the specimens of which the collections consist.

We may take it that if a collection of any kind is to convey instruction, it must be properly classified and displayed ; its arrangement must be such as to enable the uninformed visitor to trace the progress which has been made in the course of centuries. An admirable example of chronological arrangement occurs to mind in the series of rooms in the Victoria and Albert Museum wherein are exhibited the earthenware and porcelain of various ages and countries, from the pottery of Ancient Egypt to the Worcester and Chelsea products of our own age.

Not every collection lends itself to chronological arrangement with perfect facility ; but the instructional value of any, whether of art, arms, or domestic appliances, depends so largely upon arrangement that those who realise the true purpose of a museum lay the greatest stress upon it.

The custodians of our national collections are unfortunately handicapped in this part of their work. The donations and bequests which are received from private individuals form no small part of the public possessions, and these are frequently given or bequeathed with the stipulation that the collection shall be kept together as a complete unit.

Such stipulation, natural as it is, must, as I venture to think, do something to retard the progress of the modern museum ideal ; which, as the late Sir W. H. Flower said in his presidential address to the Museums Association in 1893, is ' not only the simple preservation of the objects contained in it, but also their arrangement in such a manner as to provide for the instruction of those who visit it.' Our national collections profit enormously from private munificence in the shape of gift, bequest and loan, but it is to be regretted that gifts and bequests should so often be accompanied by a stipulation which prevents the greatest educational use being obtained from them.

A striking instance of the control exercised by testators over their bequests may be cited. A certain valuable collection of paintings was bequeathed to the nation with the proviso that the pictures should not be exhibited on Sunday. The works comprised in the collection might be, and are, distributed in appropriate rooms ; and the Sunday afternoon visitor is confronted by green baize coverings with which the canvases on that day are shrouded in order to comply with the terms of the bequest.

So far I have referred only to the incidental educational uses of a museum ; to the effect the exhibits may produce, it may be almost insensibly, upon the visitor who resorts thither without idea of gaining advantage in the shape of mental improvement. There is another class for whom the museum caters : a much smaller class, but one whose importance is not to be estimated by its numerical strength.

Dr. Grey, whose name was mentioned on a former page, laid it down as the secondary object of a museum that it should afford facilities to the student—the man or woman who goes regularly to the galleries with a definite educative purpose in view. The importance of considering the needs of the student has long been recognised by setting apart certain days of the week on which special facilities are given for study by the exclusion of the general public—or more accurately by the levying of a small fee which limits the attendance of the crowd.

I have not been able to ascertain when the system of ‘ student days ’ was introduced ; but it has obtained, so far as the British Museum is concerned, for at least seventy-five years.

The art student of the eighteenth century enjoyed no such opportunities as are accessible to the art student of a later age. He counted himself fortunate if, by favour of influential friends, his promise as an artist obtained for him the privilege of admission to the studio of some great painter whose works he might study and whose methods he could copy. Apart from such opportunity he might, also by influence, obtain access to the private gallery of some wealthy collector and patron of art : but these opportunities were insignificant by comparison with the range of study open to the young artist of to-day. The eighteenth-century student, unless he had means and could travel, was confined to observation of works necessarily limited in number and in style.

It is permissible to think that this limitation of opportunity for study may, to some extent at least, explain why English art lagged in its development : why, until about the middle of the eighteenth century, the majority of great painters who worked in England were of foreign birth and training. Whatever the talent or means of the student of the present day our national collections afford equal opportunities to all : thanks to our museums and art galleries no beginner, however humble, need lack the models nor the examples of great masters to cultivate his style.

It may not be generally realised how much of improvement in the public taste we owe to our national collections. When Sir Richard, then Mr., Westmacott, R.A., was examined before the Select Committee before mentioned in 1835, he made some interesting and significant statements regarding the use made of the Elgin marbles ; ‘ I think,’ he said, ‘ that the improvement of the taste of the country since the acquisition of the Elgin marbles is quite extraordinary.’

Sir Richard was also asked whether much improvement followed in any other department of art from the purchase of the Hamilton vases. He replied that a great variety of domestic articles were improved in shape and form : the models offered by these vases had ' improved the potteries and gave new and more elegant forms to the productions of the potteries.'

The Elgin marbles, it is hardly necessary to say, were acquired by the nation in the year 1816 ; the less familiar ' Hamilton Vases ' were acquired from Sir William Hamilton, the diplomat and archæologist, in 1772 ; the collection consisted of Greek antiquities, and formed a very valuable addition to the Museum.

Of necessity it rarely happens that an addition to the Museum is productive of such direct influence upon the taste and the art of the time ; but it cannot be doubted that the taste of those who visit the collections is, sensibly or insensibly, formed and elevated, though it may not be possible to point to any definite stimulus such as cited by Sir Richard Westmacott in 1835.

A very heavy responsibility rests upon those who buy for, and upon the experts who are in charge of, our great collections. Few probably of those who enter the British Museum or other of our great national treasure houses, are aware that the exhibits represent only a small proportion of the objects housed under that roof ; that there are, packed away for lack of space to show them, vast quantities of articles of all kinds.

Fewer still perhaps realise how great is the knowledge and discrimination possessed by those upon whom rests the task of selecting objects for exhibition from among the stores at their disposal. The museum curator must be a specialist in his department, whether it be modern art, ancient leather work, arms or coins ; and he must be something more : he must possess understanding of popular taste and seek to educate while he gratifies it ; he has, as it were, to *edit* the collections under his charge and make the most and, at the same time, the best of them in the space, always limited, at his disposal.

Looking round the magnificent halls of the Victoria and Albert Museum the visitor might be pardoned if he reflected that here the curator's demand for space and more space was at last satisfied. No doubt it is satisfied for a time, but it can only be for a time. The greatest, the fundamental difficulty of conducting a museum is that of finding space for the exhibition of collections which it is the primary duty of the curators to enlarge. ' A finished museum is a dead museum,' to quote the pithy remark of a great American authority.

A museum to which well-chosen additions are not being continually made, a museum which is not kept up to date, loses its educative value, and for instructional purposes is no more use than an uncompleted book. Hence the ideal museum building would be one whose conspicuous quality was elasticity ; one built upon a site which would

allow of periodical addition as circumstances required : an ideal obviously impossible of attainment when the first condition of utility is that the museum shall be accessible to the greatest number of visitors—in other words, be situated in a large city where land is sold by the square foot.

This space question of course is of greatest moment to our national collections, which embrace exhibits of every description from Egyptian mummies to postage stamps ; and this suggests the reflection that the national museum and the provincial museum have, or should have, different scope. It is out of the question for the local museum to emulate the national with any but ludicrous results ; it has neither the funds nor the opportunity to make its collections all-embracing ; it is the willingness with which the county-town museum has accepted gifts of all sorts and descriptions which makes it the heterogeneous jumble we so frequently find.

The local museum, as I venture to think, should be modestly local in its aims. It should seek to acquire collections of articles of local interest, natural, antiquarian, industrial, and artistic. Fossils, ancient Roman remains and natural history specimens obtained in the neighbourhood possess stronger interest when shown on the spot than when sent to some distant city, and they are appropriate to the local museum.

Examples of local industries, ironwork, wood carving, lace, or what not, displayed in proper chronological order, would possess both interest and utility—an interest and utility which must increase as time passes, when so many of our old local industries have fallen into decay.

Another matter to which our provincial museums might most profitably devote themselves is the collection of old-time domestic appliances and utensils : these varied to a remarkable degree in different parts of England, in material and shape. Take so commonplace an item as the jug : an expert in those articles can tell at once in what district it was made and assign to it the period of its making. In some parts of the country leather jugs were in regular use ; in others, wooden vessels built up in pieces bound together with hoops. The local pottery of England is a study in itself. Then there are those appliances which were common to all the country, but are not for that reason less well worth preservation in the museum of the county where they have been found. Some of these things, once familiar in every cottage, are gone so long and so completely out of use that few persons living know what they are.

A friend of mine, some little time since, was going over an old house in a quiet part of Surrey, where a sale was about to take place. Among the objects catalogued were two wooden pedestals, each carrying an iron implement resembling a long and narrow pair of pincers. That they had puzzled the auctioneer who compiled the

catalogue was evident, for he had grouped them with some other small matters as 'et cetera.' My friend found his companions debating the use of the appliances, and he, having some knowledge of these matters, was able to explain that the articles were rushlight holders, the predecessors of the modern candlestick, which would have been useless to uphold the limp and slender rushlight of a past age.

Let our local museums, then, devote their funds and their space to exhibits of local interest. The strange and ill-assorted 'collection' made by some resident during his travels in Africa or his service in India, and bestowed upon the museum not infrequently because the owner has no room to house it himself, is entirely out of place there.

The system under which selections of pictures, sculpture, and other objects of art are sent out from the national collections to be exhibited for a time in provincial towns has been in vogue for some years, and it goes far to relieve the local museum from the necessity for attempting to form such a collection for itself.

The Museums Association, founded in 1888, is a body which has done much useful work without ostentation, and with little notice from the public at large. Among its objects are—to secure the better and more systematic working of museums throughout the kingdom; to promote the interchange of duplicates and surplus specimens; to secure models and casts; to prepare loan collections of an educational character for circulation among schools; to promote lectures to working men; and to secure a uniform plan of arranging natural history collections.

I have not given the full list of objects, but those mentioned serve to show the nature of the work to which the Association has set its hands; more especially I wish to draw attention to the preparation of loan collections for educational purposes. This scheme is one which appears to me deserving of the greatest encouragement and assistance. It is a practical endeavour to turn to the best account the educational possibilities of the museum, and bring them within reach of the young in a manner which will enable them to profit thereby.

At the same time, masters of private schools in our provincial towns may well consider whether they cannot make use of such museums as the Victoria and Albert on their own initiative. The schoolmaster who should bring a selected party of his boys to visit these great collections would, I am convinced, find that the experience proved both interesting and instructive to them.

WALTER GILBEY.

AB OCCIDENTE AD ORIENTEM

AN IMPRESSIONIST STUDY EN ROUTE TO INDIA

I

No one can, I suppose, look forward to, much less embark on, a visit to India without having many thoughts and visions, however vague, about a land that has for so long held such a conspicuous place in the realm of wonders and gorgeousness, and in the sphere of religious and philosophical lore, and the modern history of which is so full of striking events and great names and deeds.

How much of our early memories and surprise centres round pictures and stories of the bejewelled raja and the hidden princess, the naked fakir and the juggler, the brahminy priest and bull, the elephant and the tiger, the peacock and the snake, parrots, monkeys, crocodiles—the jungle and the bungalow, palms and deodars, fig-trees and rice-fields, temples, gardens, palaces, tents—and always the swarming crores of black people! What an aroma of spells and spices, of portents and flowers, pervades the atmosphere! What a display of pearls and ivory, of muslins and marble, feasts the eyes! What a lustre of fabulous wealth Golconda and the Kohinoor reflect! What a thrill of horror tales of the Thugs and Suttee arouse! And how terrible look the very words—the Black Hole of Calcutta or the Car of Juggernaut! My thoughts harked away even to representations of Bacchus on his famous tour to furthest Ind—seated in a triumphal chariot drawn by a pair of tigers and escorted by satyrs; and I fancied, too, that I had seen somewhere peacocks yoked as steeds, and deities riding on parrots. Monkey-armies fought with snakes that resembled men; and gymnosophists, like moths, voluntarily mounted the pyre and burnt themselves. Great napoleonic names—Alexander, Tamerlane, Aurungzebe, victorious demigods amid orient hosts—confronted one; and the Himalayas towered over the Alps. Or, again, gentler scenes—redolent of Lalla Rookh and of Heine's visionary love-haunt—appeared in an afar and a fairy land, aflame with colours and light and gems and perfumes—the home of sacred rivers and lotus-blossoms, of moonlit dreams and songs of love. The magic flute of histrionic art evoked a strange and enchanting

spectacle of Eastern life—where precious stones grew on golden trees, and silken cushions floated in the azure sky—where godlike forms sat on diamond thrones, and mystic symbols of the stars foretold the emblazoned destinies of men.

And, to our more mature appreciation, what social and political interest surround the zenana and the pariah, the rules of caste and the village community, the Native States and the British Raj! What fields of misery the wars and famines and plagues present! And how brave and noble read the lives of the many heroes, whose actions and work adorn the annals of the country! What true romance and poetry are to be found, too, in the epics and legends of the ancient literature of the land! And how sublime are the words and teaching of Indian wisdom, and the seraphic examples of self-renunciation and spiritual illumination! I reverently stood still and held my breath, as I meditated on the profound abstraction and consciousness of the Eastern mind, with its belief in the universal transiency and sorrow and illusion of life, and on the submissiveness and fatalism that supervene—on the age-long immobility of their world, with its absence of science and mechanism and modern commercial society—on the general insouciance and irresponsibility in mundane affairs—on the scrupulous regard for all forms of mysterious life—on the quiet poetry and pathos, the meekness and endurance and child-like simplicity of the people's lives—and on the deep and earnest character of their religious thought and conduct, culminating in the ascetic search for and attainment of that peace, that freedom from self and all desires, which is found in perfect contemplation of the divine and absolute.

Yet—leaving such thoughts and visions and reverence aside—a small piece of india-rubber would, I must confess, have sufficed to erase all that I really knew of this marvellous land and its myriads and history. My learning was that of a Western baboo, and my experience was confined to a tame, domestic acquaintance with a few such things and appellations as kedgerie and curry, pyjamas and a shampoo. I was also not unaware that people in the East took off their foot-covers, instead of their headdress, on entering a building, though I had not realised that slippers would lie about the threshold as hats do here, or that there would be twice as many of them, since man, whether he be black or be white, or hail from the East or from the West, is a unicephalic biped. I could, perhaps, have recalled speeches in the debating society at school on the misdeeds of Warren Hastings, and might almost have repeated perorations on the robbery of the Begums of Oude or of Cheyte Singh. I had heard that holy men sat with legs crossed motionless for years, perched on pillars or rocks, or squatting in bowers or under the shade of trees; and I knew that animals were venerated and very familiar, and I believed that there, if anywhere, birds built their nests in old men's beards. I had handled a Cashmir shawl, and, when I threw rice over a newly-wedded couple, I had a notion that one did so because, *à l'indien*, it was a

symbol of fertility and affluence and happiness. I was not sure whether Brahmins were priests or cooks, or whether they were not somehow both. But I was quite certain that the cow was a sacred animal, and that pepper was cheap in Hindostan ; and I guessed that I would be having mulligatawny, rather than oxtail, soup. Indeed, beyond having been once upon a time vaccinated and having dabbled in philosophy, I felt but little qualified for appreciating, or being initiated into, the mysteries of this vast, ruminating realm of oxen and men.

And—over and above all facts and fancies and pictures and feelings—I knew that there would be the broad, unclouded sun, streaming in straight rays upon the scene below with its white glory and reviving power—as the milk is poured from the full udder of the cow.

II

The bridge from Europe to Asia is a canal ; and it is, when we recall the old accounts of doubling the Cape, a most remarkable short cut. And this safe, tranquil watercourse between its artificial uplifted banks forms too, after its modern fashion, a miraculous transit, allowing us, in our time and manner, to escape from much philistinism and bondage and many tasks. Yet the slow, laborious navigation of the Suez Canal, edged with slanting stonesets and bare, monotonous sand tracts, is in itself a dull and prosaic proceeding, and cannot rival the story of the passage through a crevasse in an unfrozen, marine glacier—with its cerulean glamour and the infinite visibility of its upright green walls—of our religious forefathers.

But, as we steam over these depths—in the dry bed of which, between the waters piled up on the right hand and on the left by the blast of the nostrils of the Lord, the unquenchable faith of the Israelites enabled them to walk—we cannot but seriously reflect on the very holy, very historic ground that we are on the border of. How sacrosanct is the whole region ! How solemn all its memories and associations ! Hard by is even the radiating spot on the wide earth's surface whence spread ' the light of the world,' and—moving, as we are, from the west to the east, from one side of the planet to the other—we perceive how central the fountain of our faith and civilisation is, how it has verily flowed from the middle earth. For here is the home of the beginning of things. All around is the ancient land of earliest signs and wonders and revelations and works. It must have been from some point of vantage here that the Ancient of Days set His compass. It was surely in this eastern sphere that the Almighty said ' Let there be light,' which blessing we enjoy in so sparse and diffracted a condition in the West, but the oriental effulgence of which still glows somewhat ; and I tried my best to catch a lingering note of the morning stars singing together. Not far is Mount Ararat and the garden of Paradise—amid the first flowers of which Adam and Eve in their innocent bloom dwelt ; and I thought of Rodin's *Hand of God* moulding the forms of man and woman side by side out of the very clay of life,

exemplifying with plastic realism and inspired art the actual, clammy, gestatory process, as it were, of the original immaculate conception of the human race. Over our heads it was that the sun stood still, and that the finger of the Lord stretched forth from the skies and was visible. And there is Sinai, where the Creator and the creature stood face to face.

It was here, too, that the Chaldean shepherds began to record the tale of our religious history, and we also muse upon the many grand, local objects of ancient deification—the elemental purities of the Persian, and the starry heavens of the Arabian, and the natural seasons of the Egyptian. A thousand thoughts and recollections—of ancient myths and glories, of prehistoric cosmogonies and chronologies, of genesis, and of the long childhood and education of humanity, from the primeval dawn of earliest wonder and trust, through ages of magic and superstition, down to the testament of divine revelation and mediation—fill the mind and soul as we pass by this theophanous land—although now this sacred middle earth is for the most part a sad waste and desert, its tribes scattered and its glory departed, only the dust of cities and altars, the tombs of gods and nations, the desolation of the dead and past, which overtakes the terrestrial home of all things human and divine.

III

But not until we have left the Canal behind us do we emerge for the first time into the sun-steeped regions of the East and begin to experience a new atmosphere and unwonted sensations. Soon, however, novel effects of colour and light, of smell, taste, hearing—and of life and behaviour—become noticeable. Strange little droves of flying fish rise ever and anon from the crests of the waves and scud along the frothy expanse of the blue waters, reminding one somehow of the liquid swoop and undulating flight of the limpid swallows as from the eaves they fall and skim along, and seem to dip into, the herbaceous level of the verdant lawn. Queer visitants, in the shape of enormous insects, make their appearance and crawl upon the deck of the ship; and you yourself feel inclined to take to crawling like any invertebrate, and to forget the fuss and energy, the bone and bluster, of the West. Time seems to hang, and the ship to move more heavily and leisurely as kine to their pasture, while we on our part begin to chew the cud of a growing reflectiveness. The clock gets clogged in its diurnal round, and stops or ceases to strike. The machinery and tension of life have slackened in this warmer clime; and the hour or appointment vanishes under the sultry sway of a general stagnation of mind and body. And in this quiescent mood you even resent and recoil from the presence and activity of the fire and engines that propel the vessel. Surely all this noise and motion are unnecessary, and are a violation of this calm sanctuary? Let the ship drift as she may, or move not at all. For we are content now to sink or float as circumstances may ordain. Already the fatalistic spell of the East is descending upon us.

And it is most remarkable, and somewhat disconcerting to our treasured sense of stableness and identity, to have to acknowledge how quickly one finds oneself getting acclimatised in thought and feeling to totally new surroundings and influences, and changing colour and coat in them, like any rat or chameleon. It becomes painfully apparent that we had rather flattered ourselves in estimating our constancy of nature and character. For, in the change of position, one very soon discovers that one feels and sees and hears and smells and thinks differently from the way one used to, and that it is necessary to test and modify and readapt, as though we were fresh-born, all our old senses and habits and beliefs and values. The effect of climate is so strong that it is said that, when voyaging into the Pacific, it takes only three days to turn the deck even of an American liner into one of the Society Islands; and one is reminded of the astonishing scientific fact that response to environment will quickly—in a few weeks—turn an aquatic into a land animal. One thus gets an inkling of the immense importance of situation in the making of men and nations, and begins to understand what is meant by ‘the brand of the East’—that powerful ‘mark’ which can, like a tattoo or lichen, colour and cover the mind and skin of the white man, when he ‘dwells in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.’ We are told that the traveller, however much the scenes vary, always carries about with him himself; but we do, methinks, cross some rubicons in life—intellectual and moral, as well as physical ones—that make us wonder who it is has alighted on the other side; and I am inclined to believe that the white man would be black and the black man white in a few generations if they exchanged quarters. What chance have other agencies against the climatic? Most questions are meteorological. Man is not a bad weathercock. For myself, I know that if I went to the Coral seas I would want to be an ammonite—and that on the coasts of the Red Sea, or on the banks of the Irawadi, I would surely turn into a troglodyte—and in the Indian jungle or forests of the night, would I not soon become a tiger or a yogi, burning bright?

But this naturalisation that sets in is, doubtless, due to some extent to actual kinship; for, after all, are not we Westerns but Aryans returning to our old home in the East, and is it surprising that atavistic qualities and traits should revive in us as we bask under its primordial sun? Highly polished heir of the ages though one may be, we cannot deny that here is the rude, ‘procreant’ cradle of our religion and race. Europa came from Asia across the Bosphorus on a bull; and it only took Byron an hour and ten minutes to swim back from Sestos to Abydos. Nevertheless, in stage of growth or civilisation, there is much that is instructive to be found in an old land like India. One goes to it in order to see what the world was like when younger. For it is we who, however modern and advanced and recent, are the ancient-born of the world’s life, it is we who are

the old and the late and, in some important respects, the corrupt and effete. And, as our most remote ancestors are the earliest and youngest people, so their unchanged descendants afford us an opportunity of having a peep back into the nursery of our own origin and growth; and the photographs of childhood and infancy are not uninteresting to the adult and aged. In this way India is an excellent studio in which to take some pictures and to learn some lessons. Its life and thought are a rich, palæ-ethnological mine, where one can excavate and explore the past ages and submerged strata of the race, and marvel at the curious formations and vestiges of early, obscure, sedimentary humanity.

And we went to this old land by the eastern route because we knew that if we attempted, like Columbus, to reach it westwards we would come across a very different country blocking our path. For to go west is to accentuate and increase on similar lines all the developments and conditions of modern civilised life. To go east is to divest ourselves largely of them and to attempt to recover our ancient heritage and traditions. It is a sort of ancestor-worship, whereas America—the antipodes—apotheosises posterity. The West is a long way from the East not merely in mileage, but also in mentality. It requires a great distance to produce a mirage. The world is still dissymmetrical, and the East is not a replica of the West no more than the right hand is of the left. Life is from every point of view double, and the transition from the West to the East has all the novelty and wonderment of seeing the other side.

IV

And it is well for the Western—the greedy, ambitious, jealous, noisy, sordid, vulgar, busy, practical, restless, aggressive, mundane Western—to visit the East, where the sole wish is to escape from a world of desire and action, of possessions and distinction. We come from the West, complacently absorbed in the innumerable affairs and details of our elaborate society and governance and public life, and we find a people to whom our civilisation—all our social and political and economic and commercial and scientific development—is foolish and contemptible, and who cannot condescend to give it any thought or attention, while the mystery of life—the nature and destiny of the soul—confronts us; and, of course, the Eastern view is essentially right. For, with all our modern devices and inducements and arguments, we cannot hoodwink ourselves into a denial and oblivion of the great spiritual problems of life. However deluded and ensnared and overlarded by the pomposity and trappings and luxuries of a rich, external life we may be, however occupied with chattels, trades, professions, undertakings, the mysteries are there all the same and appertain to each human soul; and, as long as that is so, it can never seem reasonable to shirk or ignore them. And it is

the being thus engrossed in the affairs of the world, in the passing activities and complications of our vast social mechanism, the intense commercialism and utilitarianism and secularism of outlook—the absorption of our whole time in objects, plans, traffics, uses, gains, honours, offices, properties, tasks, orders—which is the hideous nightmare of modern life. The countless accoutrements and accessories and ornaments of our civilisation, the frightful abundance of superfluities, hide and suffocate life itself. ‘Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.’ Our whole being and existence is so externalised, so cut up and labelled, so allotted and confiscated, it has become a mere matter of nomenclature and classification, of position and repute, of relations and ties. Publicity is the end and advertisement the means. All values are commercial. Social measurements, or your credit, alone count. In every matter votes—or other people’s opinions—are the only proofs or guides required. They are the passport to the highest success and worth. The claptrap of the ubiquitous market-place and the voices of our inquisitive neighbours are everything. The individual soul and its personal spiritual excellency and responsibility are nothing. The West firmly believes that—if there is a God, He reads the *Daily Mail* every morning, and is much interested in it. For the public is the fickle goddess whom by daily flattery, incantations, and offerings we worship and try to appease, and, on festivals and sensational occasions, deliberately sacrifice a scape-goat to ; whose altar is the press, and her many priests—the journalists.

But now—as we face eastwards—we are happily escaping from the horological curriculum of news and works and projects and duties that has usurped the place and privilege of genuine life. We are getting free of all the conventional standards and barriers and obligations and concerns, of society and citizenship. With gasping relief we turn from a loud world of movement and business, of multiplicity and confusion, to a life of quiet and simplicity, where we shall not be prevented meditating on the problem of our spiritual destiny. For there is a high order of thought and emotion which is above, and almost unconnected with, the plane of the senses and of everyday life and intelligence and activity. In the West the idlest of us is ever seeking employment in some pursuit or occupation, in some way or another ; we are cursed with the curse of work ; but in the East the soul is supreme, and—perfectly amiable and universal—it includes and surpasses all ways without adopting any. However great may be the achievements of the active-minded and busy-bodied, we would, then, turn to those whose aim is—to lull and eliminate such mere expositions of the brain and senses, and to arrive at a higher, unimpeded spiritual sovereignty, and who believe that this attainment of a pure, self-centred, all-inclusive consciousness and composure is alone valuable, and enables us, through attachment to nothing that is, to become a microcosm of all that is.

So, the crowded distractions and engagements of the West are left behind. The close, suffocating fog of society and civilisation is dispelled, and we gladly put aside, like a cast slough, all the wrappings and protections and encumbrances and paraphernalia of our old social conditions, and begin to share somewhat the glory of the spirits whom the mystic describes as 'raised to the degree of nudity.' And what lightness and purity and freedom, this disrobing, this defoliation gives, after our burdensome, confined, upholstered, contiguous existence! What greater delight is there than doffing garments with all their compressed perspiration and uncomfortable ligaments! Piece after piece of a complicated and irritating social investiture we fling away, as we smile and saunter and squat in the naked East. A feeling of warmth and light from sun and soul clothes us sufficiently; and we look back with pity on the poor, smothered—the unspiritual and unexposed—creature, whose skin knows little of the air or the sun, and whose mind reckes little of God or the soul. We seem nearer to Him Who is without name or form, when at least we are without raiment or possessions. The mantle of the Lord is light, and the texture of the soul is luminous.

Of course, in the East it is perhaps not so hard to be detached from things—or clothes. In Italy, to say nothing of more northerly countries, even St. Francis had some trouble in arranging how many coats the Brothers might wear. But here life is simpler; the very travail of birth or of death is easier, shorter than in the West; many complexities and obstructions are unheard of. There are fewer things, fewer cares, objects, desires, utilities. Under the overpowering sway of nature and elemental life, commercial values and social interests and differences begin to wane. At last our spiritual apprehension can grow and expand at its ease, and everything about us does not jar with our new ecstasy. Life is a mystery everywhere, but in the East you are allowed to think so openly, and to attend to, and occupy yourself with, the same. In the West it is very difficult, if not impossible, for a man to save his soul. But—with or without reason—we have a presentiment that the East contains some kind of esoteric knowledge of life and death, of their secrets and miracles, compared with which the religious thought of the West is superficial and inanimate; and we know that the Wise Men came from the East. There the soul, as much as the body, is naked and free, and would seem to be able to get closer to the Divine Essence. Indeed, according to Indian teaching, even the most profound consciousness is inferior to a sort of super-consciousness, or bliss, in which the soul returns to, and is merged in, its original source; the final goal of spiritual ambition is to reach and share the Divine Apathy, which is the secret and solution of life; and the ash-besmeared, soul-annihilating answer of the East is better than no question at all.

I longed, therefore, to see the East—the East which will conquer and survive the West and which is so much wiser than the West;

and, like a worshipper in a truly orientated church, I devoutly faced the East and the ever-returning glory of the great luminary—a fireplace in whose honour was the original altar of mankind. It was, too, a physical pleasure to escape for a bit from the cold and gray and iron of the smoky West to the bright colours and soft scenes of the golden Orient. Although the planet is so explored, and novelties and adventures are well-nigh obsolete, yet the East—its climate, people, vegetation, animals, customs—must still surprise and interest the Western mind; it remains, with its poppies and pearls, the purple patch of a colourless, utilitarian world. Without regret, therefore, one turned from contracted and disciplined Europe, and debouched with rapturous expectation into the unbounded, naked, sun-clad, soulful, serious East. Joyfully, with clasped hands, I hailed its rising, auroral dawn—the deep line of crimson and the emerald shades fading into the light blue—while far behind I left the noisy factory and twilight gloom of the West, and the awful remembrance of its busy hours and overwhelming superfluities.

V

Thus we broke into the Red Sea of a rosy, rathe world. And now appeared on the far horizon of the waters those mirages or illusory scenes—spectral shapes and evanescent hues—that arise from the inversion caused by atmospheric refraction. And, as we approached these ethereal representations we seemed to be passing through the mystic, tremulous veils and shades and tints of some enchanted vestibule that led from the cold rind of the outer world into the fiery secrets of an inner life; it was like the portal and halo of the great temple of the East. And all the genii were present as we were launched on the smooth, translucent surface of this magic mirror of rarefied views and inverted impressions.

The dew is on the lotus!—Rise, great Sun!
And lift my leaf and mix me with the wave.
Om mani padme hum, the Sunrise comes!
The dewdrop slips into the shining sea!

So, we glided into the vibrating, entrancing phantasm beyond, and it seemed to me to grow less and less unreal, while the ephemeral world of goods and chattels behind us dissolved and vanished under the vaporising glow of the dazzling light and ecstatic vision. For we are, so to speak, getting on the right side of the sun; and denizens of another psychic system—we shall see further and feel deeper, and become more conscious of our transcendent spiritual powers and inheritance.

But soon it is evident, too, that in this clear and light atmosphere much else besides the mirage will appear suspended in the air, and many of our own ideas become, also, rarefied and inverted. A sort of intellectual refraction begins to operate on the spacious horizon of the mind and soul, turning upside down old thoughts and convictions and beliefs and hopes. For, after all, is the mirage less lasting

or real than anything else which we have come across ? Are these illusory shapes and views and promises the first or only representations that I have had my doubts about or that have failed me ? Is not all that we think and see—mental images as well as physical phenomena—a specious show and delusion, full of attractive snares and cleverest jugglery, of false inferences and eccentric transformations ? Is not life but a series of haphazard and fallacious occurrences ? Has one not long since realised that the whole of nature is one gigantic freak, and the world a fraud—that time is a jilt and experience a jade—and all of them ever deceiving, robbing, changing, and forsaking me and mine ?

What we call truth or certitude or order or propriety or harmony is only the little fragment of the fundamental chaos which we, in our puny outlook, have got accustomed to. Is not everything but shift and conventionalism and blindness and ignorance and make-believe ? What can stand analysis ? Behind every illusion there is another ; for all we know, the great sun borrows its light from a greater luminary. The mystery of life is greater than any account or explanation of it that has ever been given. The world is so old and complicated that almost any theory can be plausibly run about its origin and meaning, and providing for our conduct in it ; and I doubt that any man has been a complete adherent of any particular philosophy or creed, and am sure that every thoughtful, imaginative person has been from time to time guilty of every possible heresy and vagary. For the most part, we do not know whether we believe a thing or not—however we may act or speak in regard to it. The wisest of us makes but an infinitesimal approach to an understanding of the mysterious plight in which we find ourselves. Have ages of pondering got us much further than the back of the tortoise or the calyx of the lotus ? Does it matter what anyone thinks about anything, when none can arrive at a definite, ultimate conception, when none, it would seem, can correct or arrest the casual, diffused, incoherent existence which we all carry on and fill our little day with ? Nobody has said or done a right thing yet, since none has got more than the most distant and incomprehensible notion of the truth and reality.

Have I, moreover, ever thought that life was anything but a phantasmagoria ? Have I ever felt so securely based on solid ground as not to be ready to recognise that the whole world, or any part of it, was at any moment liable to enchantment ? I count on nothing, but take matters as one sees and feels them each second ; and I guess that many of our most important and influential so-called facts are mere figures of speech, having no substance or objective reality. Much more than the mirage is phenomenal. We have but seeming pictures before us of the world, of ourselves, of the future. Each lives in his own delusion, ensconced and protected by his own prejudices and folly ; and, in our saner and less practical moments, we perceive

how so much that controls our conduct has no existence whatever outside the cerebral hallucination of each one of us.

Was I not, too, approaching a land where all nature is magic and the great Lord a magician? And would not the whole universe disappear if Brahma ceased to look at it? Is it not but a wraith, or phantom-spirit, of him? And I wondered—if the mirage melted—would not the real scene fade too; for I see little difference between an object and its reflection. If the mirror moves, am I not deluded and think that the world moves? All things—all objects, thoughts, feelings—are themselves only a reflection, very blurred and indistinct, of more than we know. What word or symbol, what sight or sound, is not erroneous and misleading? The whirling disk may have many spokes, and all colours will agree in the light; and you are much wiser than I am if you know what's what. As for me, my whole faith and hope is—that things are not as they seem, that there is a world of truth beyond the senses, and that justice works unseen. O that one could pierce through and discover, grip hold of and demonstrate, the non-existence of the phenomenal!

VI

Some such vacillating and impressionist humour was not an unfitting mood and attitude for a visit to India, since you ought to see the East in a dream as it were, and not attempt to give legs to any mirage or an explanation to any illusion or actuality to any vision. Also, it is advisable to endeavour to enjoy the idea of the East, with its few primary colours, before one sets foot in Bombay, for then we shall come up against those empirical particularities which ever mar the universal vision of the imagination; and truth in all matters is a blend of these two points of view. Here, as elsewhere, I would look in the multiplex conglomeration that repels me for the idea that attracts and interests me. Out of three sounds the genius of the musician produces 'not a fourth, but a star,' since that dimension creates and is the *tout ensemble*. For the whole is greater than its parts. The organism is more than all its cells. The universe is larger than space and time; and life is more wonderful than all its affairs and details. The content is not the absolute. The spirit is more than any form or expression. The essence foils words and definitions. The soul surpasses creeds and systems. God is integrity, above all objects and distributions.

But now, Bombay is in sight, and we enter its beautiful harbour, and there arise—clear cut against the Eastern sky—the hills of the island of Elephanta, plumed with palms and their still fronds. The name of the island seemed curiously appropriate,—as though Ireland's Eye, which you see as you approach Dublin Bay, were called Piggy. But I was no longer a Paddy or near my native shore, and I had left my caubeen far away stuck into the window at home; and so, instead, I donned a sola-topee and henceforth was a sahib. KILLANIN.

WORK FOR THE WEALTHY UNEMPLOYED

AMONG women generally, and especially among unmarried women, there is a growing unrest. Popular literature betrays it, public meetings bewail it, and private confidences from girls to older women are full of it. Parents are distressed at the dissatisfaction openly displayed by their daughters over the programme of incessant pastimes which they have arranged for their benefit, but as a rule the right remedy is the last one they are inclined to approve or consider.

There is only one cure for this sort of discontent, viz.—an outlet for unused energy in some form of work. Broadly speaking not five per cent. of the women who attend Girton, Newnham, Lady Margaret, or Somerville Hall belong to the Upper Ten Thousand. The education of girls who are not going to earn their living continues to be brought to a summary close at eighteen, though their brothers are sent to college and allowed opportunities, at least, of further instruction till the age of twenty-two. In fact, for many women the private means of their parents is a curse and a handicap. It is considered *infra dig.* for them to have a profession, and they linger on at home trying in vain to be satisfied with desultory occupations and unnecessary trifles. They arrange the flowers and entertain the guests year in and year out. The very rich take refuge in excitement and society. Upon even them an awful pall falls, when after a few seasons in London they find themselves still unmarried, and with younger sisters to take their places in the social whirl. As for clergymen's daughters—those who stay at home are often miserable; visiting the sick does not satisfy every energy, and sometimes they have been well educated and are rather bored than otherwise by mothers' meetings or playing the organ on Sunday.

The mass of unused material which exists among the unoccupied unmarried women of this country would be a matter of concern to politicians if it belonged to the opposite sex. As it is, the movement which fifteen years ago was christened 'Revolted Daughters' reappears in a political form under 'Women's Rights' and the Suffragist movement. The more generous minded among men already acknowledge the 'rights' and encourage 'revolt.' Meanwhile women could, I think, help themselves in a career which no legal disqualification has blocked.

For this reason I wish to place before them the possibility of doing a much-needed work, and one moreover which will rouse less opposition and cause less dislocation in the home circle than any other of equal importance and interest. At their own doors in most places is a school. At once—to-morrow!—they could visit the schoolmistress, and ask her leave to come down for half an hour, one hour, two hours a week and give instruction to a class on almost any subject they like to suggest. Few people are aware that ladies would be allowed to give this voluntary help in State-aided schools as extra teachers on special subjects. Yet in gardening, botany, carpentry, carving, tailoring, nursing, cooking, boot-mending—any and every help can still be given for limited periods without interference from the Central or Local Authorities, provided always that no extra grant is demanded in consequence of the instruction. If all the discontented ladies who spend weary hours attending their mothers to garden parties and drinking cold tea at ‘At Homes’ could insist on leisure to perform this definite consecutive work uninterruptedly for two hours a week, they would find life far more bearable to themselves, while their assistance and sympathy would be an unspeakable boon to the lonely village schoolmistress.

All types of hand-work are specially popular, and if the words ‘Various lessons’ are inserted on the time-table a desirable element of surprise to the taught and liberty to the teacher is secured. But if the girl in question cannot undertake the gardening or cooking class, she can at any rate give a geography lesson. Here she could show the exact route she herself followed in her last tour abroad, describing the dresses, the houses, the food, explaining any differences she noticed in the type of vehicles she passed. She will find that any and every homely detail illustrated by picture post-cards will awaken enthusiasm in the little yokel whose attention wanders sadly when asked routine questions on the capitals of Europe.

Will such a one, think you, ever read of France or Switzerland again without remembering that the lady from the big house helped to pick grapes in a vineyard in that country, and that the little boys there, &c., &c. ? . . . But this is not a geography lesson.

Only, whether professionally or unprofessionally undertaken, an immense unexplored field lies open to many a woman in our country schools. The higher her social position the better : she will be able to hold her own all the more safely if she is not working for her bread and butter. Political influence has hitherto unfortunately been utilised largely for the benefit of the pockets of the ratepayers rather than the welfare of the children. If political or any other social influence could be brought to bear in this kind of way on the nearest school, the benefit to the children would be enormous, and the expense to the ratepayer nil.

In most people’s minds a great dread exists of ‘interfering,’ and

the consequence is that the unfortunate teachers are left alone to solve their own problems and propitiate their own inspectors. Very few of the latter would fail to encourage voluntary help *if regularly given* with a properly drawn up 'scheme' of its object. There is no reason, in spite of financial aid being drawn from the State and official inspection being universal, why voluntary assistance should be withheld from our village schools. If all the unprofessional but capable women of this country would attempt the work with the same zeal that some of them already devote to parish visiting, success would be assured. The fact that parish work is not under official but only under clerical inspection is no doubt the reason for the difference, but I believe any modern official of the County Council or Inspector from the Central or Local Authority would be glad to support an effort such as I have indicated—nay, more, I believe they would welcome it. At any rate, it is worth trying, and under the present conditions it is perfectly legal.

Supplementary teachers are allowed on the staff of a school (see page 34, Paragraph 1, Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools),¹ and special teachers can be employed for any subject in the way I have described.

In America boarded-out children are regularly inspected and mothered by lady visitors, who are not paid for their services. Moreover these wealthy ladies with leisure have a definite responsibility, and report on their protégés to a paid State official. If they fail to carry out their work satisfactorily and methodically they are simply dismissed. Consequently the rich lady is proud of her position: it means recognition from the State that she performs her work efficiently.

In this country it is perhaps more difficult for a patriotic motive to sustain the unassisted efforts of voteless women. But if for one year for two hours a week the women of this land would actually teach a big class in the nearest big school, the difficulty of that experience would nerve their tongues to speak home truths to all the men M.P.s who, with the exception of the representatives of the National Union of Teachers, talk and talk in the House of Commons about an educational system of which they know nothing. Let influential women get the knowledge that influential men lack, and the desire to get things altered will surely grow in force until something is accomplished.

Again, would that these fortunate folk might pause to consider a further proposition.

The ordinary elementary school teacher can by a system of scholarships obtain financial assistance for a long course of previous training, but this does not exclude those who have not had that particular type of experience. If, among my readers, there are some who desire to take up teaching professionally, say between the age of twenty-five and

¹ The Code referred to throughout this article is that of 1906.

thirty-five, to them also the elementary schools are open, and inasmuch as these ladies are constantly unaware of their own advantages and deeply conscious of their disadvantages, I wish to press upon them another point of view. The elementary schools require the assistance of people with larger means and wider opportunities than those of a bursar, a pupil teacher, or the winner of a scholarship. State nets exist to catch these fish. Why not angle in other waters? We need the assistance of young women who have escaped State supervision, and have been educated at home, in high schools, or abroad. Even if their education has been a trifle unmethodical, the home interests of cultivated people are necessarily on a broader basis than those with less fortunate surroundings. They have read more—they have travelled farther, and sheer worldly prosperity has brought them into contact with people and things that the educational drudge, however clever and successful, knows only from the footnotes of her primer.

The great drawback to all mechanical educational systems is the sameness of the product. Everybody is exactly like everybody else—method becomes a fetish—fashions prevail in 'methods'—and all methods become wrong except the one in fashion. Originality, imagination, diversity, are 'naughty' in a child, and intolerable in the teacher. Crushed by system, and bewildered by incessant inspection, the unfortunate elementary school teacher grows old early, and enjoys even her Saturdays but little, with the knowledge that Monday is near.

This yielding to official pressure and uniformity began in her plastic youth. She was moulded as a pupil teacher into the form then in fashion. With much suffering she has since changed her fashion with her inspectors, but never has she been allowed the luxury of being herself. What I say holds good of both men and women. Where men cannot succeed, how should women hope to do better? Men and women alike who pass through the 'mill' of State education often lose what I wish to see retained—their own individuality.

If women from the wealthier classes would come in uncrushed and fresh to bring their own vigour and life to bear on our country children the effect would be felt in even the town schools of the neighbourhood, and perhaps their more fettered brethren would then dare step outside the suggestions of the Inspectorate, and force the State itself into more elastic regulations, and their own Trades Union—the National Union of Teachers—into less blind belief in the miraculous effect of possessing a certificate.

A very little preparation—at most a year—will enable any average woman to pass the Preliminary Examination,² while many women

² See page 83 viii., also 83-8, *Code for Elementary Schools*, published by Wyman and procurable for a few pence, or consult *Guide to the Teaching Profession*, by Ikin and Lightfoot, published by the Normal Press, 47 Melford Road, East Dulwich, S.E.

have already in their youth taken the examinations which are accepted as equivalents to this test. This examination or an equivalent constitutes in itself a legal right to become *Head Mistress* of a country school whose average attendance does not exceed forty, provided the Inspector can report favourably upon the teacher's powers of organisation, &c.¹

Let us imagine that a lady prefers the smallest school she can get, consisting, perhaps, of between twelve and twenty children. These little schools are rapidly disappearing—I am heretic enough to regret the fact.

Although difficult to organise under red-tape regulations, the personal relationship between teachers and taught—the home-like atmosphere, the necessity that each child should study alone for part of each day, produces to my mind a more natural, more adaptive, and more resourceful pupil than the big Board School can ever turn out.

When, however, these little schools survive, great difficulty is experienced in securing teachers. The villages are usually isolated—the clergyman is sometimes non-resident—the property constantly belongs to a landlord living at a distance; besides all this, the salary is small, and the prospect of promotion smaller. And yet to my mind a cultivated lady might do worse than settle down in such a place, and would find independence and the work itself her own reward.

As a rule a cottage is given rent free—sometimes coal is also included; the salary is seldom less than 60*l.* a year. Inspectors will leave her far more to herself than is the case in town schools—she would be free within the regulations of the Code to try experiments, and, if she has a bicycle, intercourse with her own kind will not be hopeless.

I can recall several schools which I have personally visited where almost infinite scope existed for a triumphant and original school career, but the 'lack of society' constantly left such places to old ladies, and sometimes alas! to the inefficient, and failed to tempt the young and vigorous, who drift as a rule into larger (albeit to my mind more cramped) spheres.

To return, however, to the squire or clergyman's daughter who has passed the Preliminary Certificate examination already specified. (This, by-the-by, is held at various places all over England every December.) In spite, perhaps, of two hours' experience per week in teaching, and in spite of the fact that she is technically qualified to become head mistress of a small village school—I would strongly recommend her before launching into this career to pass one year as an assistant-teacher in any elementary school she likes; for, apart from teaching power, apart from educational advantages, another essential element to success lies in the technical knowledge required

¹ See page vii, chap. 2, art. 9 (b) (11), of the *Code for Elementary Schools*.

to fill up the necessary 'Forms.' When State aid depends upon statistics, these statistics must be carefully kept. The process requires care and familiarity rather than skill, but this familiarity is learnt more easily in a subordinate position, than it would be as a solitary individual who must hunt up a manager if she requires information.

I press the advisability of this year of trial and preparation because I once knew of a school where the lady teacher discharged the duties of instruction and moral training admirably, but was hopelessly deficient in power to cope with the forms, circulars, &c., with which Local and Central Authorities now deluge the teachers. Her registers were, inadvertently, not always perfect. In consequence of this the Inspector was dissatisfied, and his report led to her dismissal. The whole village suffered from this loss, and the managers were in despair, for a far less well-educated woman succeeded her. This lady, however, fulfilled to the letter the requirements of red-tape, and the authorities were pacified. It is really remarkable in the elementary school system how much more necessary the filling up of forms has become than any power to rouse interest, awake enthusiasm, or be in any sense a mother to the bairns.

Let any lady therefore seek this experience first, and the rest will be added to her. Full recognition of the work she does she must not expect. Spectacles for the near-sighted, foot-stools for the lame, toys for the babies, and love from all, can only be obtained from higher motives, and will pass unrecorded in any Blue-book. The work is a missionary work and must be undertaken in a missionary spirit: neither the Board of Education nor the Local Authority will interfere so long as the Forms are 'in order.'

Like other people, a teacher must regulate her own life. With a cottage of her own, the home-like surroundings which lodgings cannot provide will be an unfailing pleasure. Perhaps a sister, friend, or the village nurse will share it with her, and visitors are always possible.

Let her be sure, whether living alone or not, to spend thought and care on her meals. It is no use attempting to work in an elementary school with a bread-and-butter luncheon. A hot meal, properly served at midday, would save many a breakdown, while a point should be made of regular exercise, be the weather good or bad. My maiden must fight also for fresh air and open windows, and render the life of the managers unbearable until every pane of glass in her schoolroom is made to open. Let her also insist on a teaching chair for herself, and proper warmth. Lastly, let her study to bring some of the 'self-teaching' of the secondary school system into the 'being taught' environment of her elementary school. 'Preparation' is by no means waste time in a child's life. Moreover, if it be done in school, the teacher will be free to supervise the lower classes when the upper classes are thus engaged.

As for the Infant Department, let her study the 'Reports of Women Inspectors' on children under five, which appeared in 1905; also the Report of the Consultative Committee on the same subject issued in July 1908. In these, clear and simple rules and advice abound.

Again, let no teacher seek to copy servilely the suggestions of the Inspector, but rather to convert him to her own, when she has reason to differ from him; and, above all, let her out of hours read *not* textbooks but the literature of our land, so that her mind, thus daily enriched, may never grow stagnant in unreflecting solitude.

With the ordinary holidays, the certain pension in the future, and the present ever-useful routine, the life of an elementary school teacher may be one of value to herself to a degree unknown to those whose pastime is amusement only, and their aim variety.

Ladies must, however, be sure not to take less salary than their predecessors, and they must try to get the Local Authority to spend money on the premises, &c. Their own fortune should go on food and amusements. They must refrain from spoiling the Local Authority by saving them expenses. Unless they are firm in these matters they may lower instead of raise wages all round: and their arrival will be resented by their brethren. I am very anxious this experiment should be tried on a proper economic basis.

As a matter of fact, elementary school teaching can be in some aspects regarded as a sweated industry. This may seem curious, as competition is one of the chief causes of low wages in the recognised sweating trades, and competition has not until lately been excessive among elementary school teachers. The explanation appears to be that emulation is keen enough for all the well-paid posts, but it is non-existent for the ill-paid ones. Into the ill-paid ones drift single women and widows who have been left behind in the race, and there are really hardly enough of them to go round! Moreover these people are tired with life's struggle; they cannot better their own conditions, they can raise no clamour over the ill-ventilated school, the ill-drained yard, or their own inconvenient cottage. If the work was undertaken by a highly educated, wealthier class, they would be in a better position to get the comforts and recreation such a life requires, and it is undeniable that a person with social influence can often get more out of the County Council than any poorer claimant whose demands are based purely on the merits of the case.

In fact, I take it that a few rich country teachers could eventually get better terms for all country teachers, and would, in consequence of the lack of competition for isolated country schools, not oust any but the inefficient.

KATHARINE BATHURST

(*Late Inspector of Schools*).

WHAT WERE THE SERAPHIM?

EIGHT years ago I was permitted by the courtesy of the editor to discuss the question 'What were the Cherubim?'¹ and I then brought together sufficient evidence, as I considered, for adopting the conclusion that they were *au fond* and in the earliest stage of Semitic belief personifications of the four winds of heaven on which the God of the firmament was conceived as riding forth, using them as His vehicle or means of manifestation, just as in an Egyptian hymn Amun the God of Heaven appears resplendent 'in the tetrad of the winds of heaven.'² Very similar is the representation in Assyrian belief where the storm-spirits sent forth by Rimmon (Hadad), the weather god, are enormous winged creatures, which swoop on swift pinions and breathe flames which are the lightnings.³ The writer of I Chronicles states explicitly that 'the Cherubim which stretch out their wings are the chariot' (*merkâbâh*) of the Most High, a conception largely developed by the prophet Ezekiel. Familiar with the religious imagery of Babylonia, where he is writing, he represents the theophany of Jahveh as essentially elemental in character. In a tempestuous wind issuing from the north he beholds a great cloud, with a fire flashing continually (i. 4), which takes shape as four living creatures yoked together; whither the wind (*ruach*) was to go they went; their appearance was like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of torches, as of a flash of lightning (vv. 12-14), and the noise of their wings was the thunder ('the voice of El Shaddai,' the Mighty, v. 24). These elemental beings are the throne-bearers of Jahveh, and they are formally identified with the Cherubim in the tenth chapter. Milton reproduces the prophetic picture with accuracy:

Forth rush'd with whirlwind sound
The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel withdrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoy'd
By four cherubic shapes.⁴

This cherubic vehicle of the four winds among the old Aramæans

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February 1901.

² Brugsch, *Hymn from the Oasis of El Khargeh*, Sixth Century B.C.

³ Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 659.

⁴ *Paradise Lost*, vi. 749-753.

actually received divine honour, as a deity Rekûb-El, 'Chariot of God'; denoting originally that in which He rode, exactly as in Psalm xviii. 10 (Heb. *rakab*, Ass. *rakâbu*, to ride).⁵

The two features conspicuous in this phenomenal manifestation of the Divine presence are the winds and the lightnings. If the former received visual embodiment as the Cherubim we would expect that the latter, which make their appeal even more directly and powerfully to the senses, would also be envisaged in some symbolic shape. Now, intimately associated with the Cherubim, first in the Book of Enoch and afterwards in ecclesiastical tradition, which the opening verses of the *Te Deum* make familiar to all, are the Seraphim. They are only mentioned in the Bible by this name in the remarkable theophany which was vouchsafed to Isaiah (Is. vi. 1-8). The two orders of mystical beings thus paired together are closely connected and of kindred origin. That they do not come within the category of angels strictly speaking is evident, as they are never sent as ministers or messengers to men. They are rather a part of the retinue of Jehovah's Majesty, whose province it is to proclaim the glory and magnificence of their Almighty King. Both alike are the winged guardians of His sacred throne, who repel afar all that is unholy.⁶ We have a similar scene suggested in the sublime 'Psalm of the seven thunderings,' where the mighty voice of Jehovah is heard upon the waters in the rolling thunder-peals, while it also 'cleaveth the flames of fire' in the gloom-splitting lightnings, and 'everything in His Palace cries "Glory!"' (Psalm xxix. 3, 7, 9.) So in Isaiah's vision, the Palace (Heb. *hekal*, which is the Assyrian *E-kal*, the Great House) of the Lord of Sabaoth is revealed to him, and the Seraphim, who are hovering above His throne on extended wings, cry aloud 'The whole earth is full of His glory' (vi. 3). Both Cherubim and Seraphim are religious conceptions founded on the same phenomenal basis that is suggested by the Psalm, and they speak only in the sense that they utter forth the praises of their Creator. If we are correct in believing that the Cherubim were originally the storm-winds, we might be prepared to expect that their coadjutors the Seraphim are the lightnings, and there is little doubt that this is so, as I shall proceed to show.⁷

Primitive man, richly endowed with the childlike faculty of poetising common things, sees life everywhere. He imagines that everything that moves has the conscious activity which he has himself, and he freely attributes earthly and animal qualities to physical and aerial phenomena. The sun which traverses the sky is to him a brilliant soaring bird; the lazy-pacing clouds as they drift are cattle

⁵ Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 184; Maspero, *Passing of Empires*, p. 39.

⁶ In an Egyptian text quoted by Piehl a winged creature protects sanctity with her wings. (*P.S.B.A.*, xiv. 142).

⁷ I find that Professor Cornill has already adopted this view, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 21; see also Haupt, *Acts of Oriental Congress*, 1899, p. clxxiv.

being slowly driven over their azure pastures ; the dark circling clouds are a winding dragon—' Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish ' ; * and the swift lightning is nothing less than a darting serpent.

Now Serâphim in Hebrew is the plural of *sârâph*, a burning creature, from a root *sâraph*, to burn up or consume with fire (Assyrian *sharâpu*). The word elsewhere is always used as the name of a burning or fiery serpent of the desert (Num. xxi. 8 ; Deut. viii. 15 ; Is. xiv. 29, xxx. 6), which appears to have been so called from the inflammatory consequences of its venomous bite. Mr. Finn, who was formerly our Consul at Jerusalem, states that the natives of the desert west of the Red Sea call a certain serpent *meshabiyeh*, from the Arabic *meshâbeh*, a dart or arrow,⁹ from its habit of flinging itself from point to point through the air with astonishing velocity ; and he adds that they also apply to it the epithet of ' flying,' just as Isaiah does (xxx. 6). He suggests that being long and yellow when darting rapidly in the sunshine, it may glitter like a flame.¹⁰ This enables us to understand how the same word is applicable in Hebrew to the serpent and to lightning, just as in Greek *prêster*, ' burner,' has the same two meanings.¹¹ There is nothing to suggest that Isaiah is using the words in totally different senses in chapter vi. and chapters xiv. and xxx., nor would a Hebrew reader understand him as doing so.

Near akin to *sârâph*, the fiery serpent, is the Assyrian *Sarâpu*, the Burning One ; a title given to the Sun-God Nergal as expressive of his burning heat.¹² It is further to be noticed that in the Greek version of the Book of Enoch *drakontes*, or serpents, stand for the Seraphim, over whom, in conjunction with the Cherubim, Gabriel the angel of fire, presides (ch. xx. 7).¹³ Dr. Benzinger in consequence adopts the conclusion that these symbolic beings bore the actual form of the reptile, which seems highly improbable.¹⁴

It is much more likely that there lies at the root of the conception the popular mythologising idea of the lightning as a snake-like

* *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xii. 3.

⁹ So *akontias* in Greek is both a darting serpent and a darting meteor, like Latin *aculus*, the javelin-serpent, ' Swift thro' the air the flying javelin shoots '—Rowe ; which Topsell calls the ' dart,' *History of Serpents*, 1608, p. 145. Compare ' arrow-snake,' *R.V.*, Is. xxxiv. 15, which is also the literal meaning of the Arabic *tayydrah*. On the other hand, Aeschylus calls an arrow ' a winged glittering serpent,' *Eumenides*, l. 172, and the Psalmist calls arrows ' lightnings (*rishpe*) of the bow,' Psalm lxxvi. 3. Tennyson calls lightning " a flying fire in heaven "—*Boadicea*.

¹⁰ J. Finn, *Byways in Palestine*, p. 304.

¹¹ ' We find in Suidas *prêster* for the fire of heaven or for a cloud of fire carried about with a vehement strong wind, and sometimes lightnings. And it seemeth that this is indeed a fiery kind of serpent.'—Topsell, *History of Serpents*, 1608, p. 215. It is to be noted that the Welsh *sarff*, a serpent, has nothing to do with *sârâph*, but is akin to Sansk. *sarpa*, a serpent. The Welsh have a ' fiery ' viper (*M. Trevelyan*).

¹² Cheyne, *The Expositor*, 3rd Ser. 2, 819.

¹³ Cheyne, *Bib. Encyclopædia*, p. 745. See also Ewald, *Prophets of Old Testament*, ii. 70 ; W. B. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 1882, p. 218.

¹⁴ *Jewish Encycl. s.v.* ' *Seraphim*.'

creature, darting down from the sky, with a forked fiery tongue, and dealing death to what it strikes.¹⁵ Abundance of evidence can be adduced in the way of analogies which render this conclusion the most probable. In all lands, and not in those only of a primitive state of civilisation, men have seen in the phenomena of lightning a resemblance to writhing serpents, and they have seen correctly. Instantaneous photography shows that this depicture is really far more true to Nature than the sharp-angled zigzag which has long been accepted as the conventional symbol of the flash. The word ἀπόρροια, 'efflux,' which Aquila uses as a rendering of lightning in Ezekiel i. 14, accurately reproduces the stream-like flowing of the electric fluid. No less graphic is ἐλίκιας, the tortuous or twisting flash, and the line in Aeschylus which speaks of the bellowing of the thunder accompanied by the gleaming forth of the 'twisters' (ἐλίκες, *Prom. Vincit*, l. 1104), a word properly used of the coils and spires of the winding serpent. The keen eyes of the Indian tribes of Central America have not failed to discern this resemblance. In a wall-painting of the Navajos, which embodies a prayer to Omá-a, the god of the clouds, to send rain upon their growing crops, red and blue snakes darting right and left out of the embanked clouds represent lightnings, while perpendicular lines show the descent of rain. See the remarkable plates xix and xxiii in J. G. Bourke's *Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, 1884, pp. 120, 124. They bear a curious likeness to the Egyptian hieroglyphics in which the same two phenomena are depicted by waved and straight lines descending from a canopy (*pet*) which stands for the sky.¹⁶ The Algonkins also conceived the lightning as a long serpent of fire which is disgorged by Manitou, the Sky-god, and they even pretend that they find the reptile under trees which have been struck by a flash.¹⁷ The Shawnees share this belief and add that the rumbling of the thunder is the noise made by this huge atmospheric serpent.¹⁸

Sahagun, in his account of the religion of the ancient Mexicans, mentions that they worship the Tlalocs or Genii of the lightning under the form of serpents, and the golden serpent which Tlaloc, the thunder-god himself, brandishes in his hand has the same significance.

¹⁵ In ancient Babylonia *enum-gir*, 'heaven-striker,' the lightning, was sometimes symbolised by *gir*, 'striker,' 'stinger,' the scorpion.—R. Brown, *Prim. Constellations*, i. 76; ii. 141.

Some excellent reproductions of photographs of flashes showing their serpentine form are given in the *London Magazine*, August 1905, pp. 59, 60. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Chronicles of Jerahmeel when speaking of the Seraphim say 'from their faces streams down a fiery river,' ch. i. 18, ed. Gaster, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Trans. of Soc. of Bib. Archaeology*, vi. 475. The Maya hieroglyph of the atmospheric firmament given by Dr. Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 201, is very similar. Cf. *Fr. serpent*, to wind, "*la lave serpente*"—Lamartine.

¹⁷ De Rialle, *Mythologie Comparée*, p. 98; Goldziher, *Mythology of the Hebrews*, p. 185.

¹⁸ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 3rd ed. p. 186.

'Rien ne représente mieux,' says M. de Rialle, 'la foudre sillonnant la nue qu'un serpent de feu.'¹⁹ 'L'éclair semble un serpent de feu qui traverse l'espace avec une rapidité vertigineuse, et certains dieux de la foudre et de l'air portaient des serpents dans les mains.'²⁰

The Huichol Indians visited by Carl Lumholtz regarded the darting lightning as a serpent (*Unknown Mexico*, ii. 234), and the same mythological idea is found among the Zunis, the Pueblos, and other tribes of Indians, who consequently revere the serpent as a sacred animal, and as an emblem of the fruitfulness produced by the lightning and the fertilising showers which accompany it.²¹ It is interesting to note a people so remote from these as the Ainus having a legend that the lightning flashes are nothing else but a mythical serpent and his brood seen descending from the sky.²² The Mordvines in a similar way see a fiery snake in the trail of a shooting star.²³

But we need not travel so far afield to find instances of this envisaging of the phenomenon. I have myself heard an intelligent Englishwoman, as she gazed on the fitful gleams of a thunderstorm, exclaim with admiration 'What a splendid snake that was!' when an unusually brilliant jag rent the curtain of the night; and Mr. Baring-Gould reports a German peasant as greeting a vivid flash, as it struck downwards, with the remark 'What a glorious serpent!'²⁴ 'Fire drake,' the name which our forefathers frequently gave to a flaming meteor, embodied the same conception, 'drake' being an old word (A. Sax. *draca*) for a serpent or 'dragon' (Lat. *draco*).

The fiery drake alofte

Fleeth up in the air.—Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, iii. 96.

So have I seen a fire-drake glide at midnight.

Chapman, *Caesar and Pompey*, iii. 1.

Near akin and of the same phenomenal origin is the *drakos*, or atmospheric demon, of the modern Greeks, which exclaims in a folk-song,

Know that I'm the lightning's son, the daughter of the thunder.²⁵

¹⁹ De Rialle, *Mythologie Comparée*, p. 300.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 317. Robertson Smith remarks 'that the primitive man interprets the remote by the near, and thinks of heavenly bodies as men or animals like the animate denizens of the earth'—*Religion of the Semites*, p. 127. The wings which Isaiah attributes to the Seraphim were perhaps suggested by streamers issuing from the shoulders of light-deities, which in Assyrian art indicated beams, and have much the effect of pinions; moreover, they are generally six in number, three on each side, as in Isaiah vi. 2.

²¹ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 134; Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ii. 61; W. J. Hoffman, *Beginnings of Writing*, pp. 131, 160. 'He maketh lightnings for the rain.'—Psalm cxxxv. 7. A. H. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 403.

²² J. Batchelor, *The Ainus and their Folk-lore*, p. 358.

²³ Max Müller, *Contributions to Mythology*, p. 252. M. Petitot describes the phenomenon of the Aurora Borealis as 'livid serpents, with metallic gleams, gliding silently through the depths of space,' Beclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 5.

²⁴ *Book of Werewolves*, p. 171; cf. *Fortnightly Review*, 1894, p. 537.

²⁵ H. F. Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, ii. 303; L. M. J. Garnet, *Greek Folk-Songs*, p. 79.

In a thirteenth century poem Satan is styled the 'furbernynde (fire-burning) drake';²⁶ and still earlier the Beowulf knows of the *fyr-draca* (l. 2690) or 'fire-serpent.'

Turning now to the religions of antiquity, when the mythologising faculty was in its prime, we find, as we might expect, this striking feature of the storm drama envisaged in precisely the same manner. Among the Avestan worshippers the principle of fire was hailed as revealing itself, says Dr. Mills, in the 'snake-like figure' of the forked lightning as it darted from the heavens;²⁷ and the 'fiendish snake' of the tempest cloud, Azi Dahâka (Zohak), which sprang down to the earth to blight the good creation, was no doubt originally the blasting lightning-flash.²⁸ The serpentine form of the storm-fiend was suggested by the sinuosity of the lightning, and the descent of Ahriman to the earth in this guise is thus to be accounted for. And for this reason Aurvataspa, identical with Apâm Napât, 'the Son of the Waters' (of the Sky), the lightning god born in the clouds, is sometimes represented brandishing a writhing snake in his hand.²⁹ The Moki Indians believe that the water god shows himself in the lightning which takes the form of a serpent, and it is so depicted on their prayer-sticks and on rocks.³⁰

According to some mythologists the serpent which the Greeks held sacred to Athene, the goddess of the thunder-cloud, was in this connexion the lightning;³¹ and the divinised serpents of the Vedas, including the storm-fiend Ahi, are likewise of meteoric origin.³² The fire-spitting snake which illumines the darkness of the Egyptian Amenti or Hades³³ can hardly have a different meaning.

In the Babylonian Epic of the Creation (Tablet ii.) when Tiâmât arms her host for the conflict, among the various mythological serpents which she summons are 'the raging pythons,' 'with awful brightness she robed them,' and also 'fierce white snakes' (ll. 115-121), where the Assyrian word *ûmu* seems akin to the Arabic *uyum*, long white venomous serpents. Mr. Ball suggests that these represent the storm-clouds,³⁴ but they are much more likely, I think, to be the lightnings. Moreover, in a Babylonian hymn one of the seven evil

²⁶ *An Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., p. 181. ²⁷ *Avestan Eschatology*, p. 71.

²⁸ Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, i. pp. lxxii., lxxiii. In Arabic he is said to have been called Dechak 'the laughter' (M. Müller, *Chips*, iv. 285, 1907), which is also a name for the lightning. Sir R. F. Burton compares Illyrian *Azhdaja*, a dragon (serpent).—*Etruscan Bologna*, p. 226.

²⁹ Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 581; *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 6.

³⁰ M. C. Judd, *Wigwam Stories of N. A. Indians*, 55-6.

³¹ Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ii. 247.

³² De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 306; J.R.A.S., 1893, 429.

³³ Wiedemann, *Rel. of Ancient Egyptians*, p. 94. See the representation of a fire-breathing and serpentine dragon flying across the sky taken from an old French chap-book in Nisard, *Livres Populaires*, i. 110. In Esthonian folk-belief shooting stars are little dragons.—Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 1847.

³⁴ *Light from the East*, p. 8.

messengers of Anu, the Sky-god, which fly forth at his bidding, is the serpent; ³⁵ its companions being the wind, the rain, and the tempest; this must in all probability be the swift and sinuous flash.

Still less doubt can be entertained as to the meaning of the following from a Babylonian incantation in which evil spirits are described as

Great worms (? snakes) ³⁶ let loose from heaven here below,
Terrible ones, whose roarings pervade the city,
Which fall with the waters of heaven. ³⁷

In the cognate field of Hebrew tradition we note Livyâthân (Leviathan, Job iii. 8), the twisting serpent as its name implies (*coluber tortuosus*—Jerome), and 'the flying serpent' of Job xxvi. 13, which appear to be aerial phenomena, and, as some have thought, phases of the lightning. ³⁸ Goldziher has no doubt that the fiery flying serpent of Isaiah xiv. 29 is a mythologising presentment of this brilliant manifestation of power. ³⁹ Accordingly neither Semite nor savage would have any difficulty in divining the answer to Schiller's riddle:

Unter allen Schlangen ist eine
Auf Erden nicht gezeugt,
Mit der an Schnelle keine,
An Wuth sich keine vergleicht.

Not one there is of serpent kind
Such as the earth doth bear,
That in its rage and swiftness
With this one can compare.

How natural it is to conceive the wreathed lightning, with its sudden spring and deadly bite, as a flaming serpent, is evidenced by the frequent employment of this figure of speech by our own writers. 'Outleapt the flash with the spring of a serpent,' says Mr. Thomas Hardy in his *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1895, p. 292), calling the phenomena immediately afterwards 'undulating snakes of green' (p. 294). Major Leonard speaks of 'the electric element overhead running riot in vivid streaks of living fire, like fiery sky serpents, over the cloud-covered vault' (*The Lower Niger*, 1906, p. 124), and later on of 'the serpent-gliding lightning flashes' (p. 551). ⁴⁰

Similarly the German divine, Dr. J. P. Lange, commenting on Satan's fall from heaven:—'The lightnings of snake-like light, at its fall to the earth, dissolved into dark gloomy snakes with lightning-

³⁵ Sayce, *Rel. of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 463. Anu is probably meant by the Chaldean Jupiter, whose statue, Macrobius says, surmounted the temple of Belus. The veil bordered with serpents which hung from his shoulders is supposed to signify the clouds which veil the sky whence spring the serpentine lightnings.—De Rougemont, *Le Peuple Primitif*, i. 180, 288.

³⁶ *Ūmu rabû*, but see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.* p. 54.

³⁷ Maspero, *Lectures Historiques*, p. 231; Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.*, p. 451.

³⁸ Goldziher, *Mythology of the Hebrews*, pp. 184, 224.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 185.

⁴⁰ On the other hand, Coleridge says of water-snakes,

They coiled and swam; and every track
Was a flash of golden fire.—*The Ancient Mariner*, pt. iv.

like darting and with sinister gleam.'⁴¹ And, needless to say, the comparison is common in the poets; e.g.:

The lightnings pour not down, from ragged holes
In heaven, the torment of their forked tongues,
And, like fell serpents, dart and sting—not yet.

J. Ingelow, *Poems*, 1885, ii. 204.

With jet-black troughs the mad seas break at him,
And the lightning springs like a hissing snake at him.

Robert Buchanan.⁴²

Here in the night appears a flaming spire,
There a fierce dragon folded all in fire.

J. Sylvester, *Div. Workes and Weeks*, 1621, p. 33.

The worship of thunder which marks the Naga-feast, or snake festival of the Hindus held in July,⁴³ suggests that the *Naga* or serpent must have originally been the lightning.

Finally, as already mentioned, the Book of Enoch places the *drakontes* or serpents in company with the Cherubim under the presidency of Gabriel, evidently meaning the serpent-like lightnings which are the Seraphim. Sufficient reasons have been alleged, therefore, for warranting the conclusion that Seraph is really at bottom the same word as Sārāph, the fiery flying serpent, and a spiritualised embodiment of the serpent-like lightning as it flashes and darts from the dark thundercloud which Jehovah makes His chariot⁴⁴:

Those eternal burning Seraphims
Which from their faces dart out fierce light.⁴⁵

The 'wings' of Isaiah vi. 1, were naturally assigned to them to symbolise the swift motion of their wavering gleam. Maimonides explains that certain forms of the lower animals were introduced in the description of angels to mark their inferiority to the divine existence, and that the most perfect and most sublime movement of the brute creation is flying.⁴⁶ The human faces and limbs would doubtless be added to help on the personification. Thus when the Hebrew

⁴¹ *Life of Christ*, translated by M. G. Huxtable, iii., p. 417.

⁴² Compare—

Quick as Indra's forked lightning are these arrows feather-plumed,
Deadly as the hissing serpent are these darts with points illumed.

Ramayana, trans. R. Dutt, p. 106.

⁴³ Hopkins, *Religion of India*, p. 586.

⁴⁴ So Kautsch, *Hastings, B. D.*, v. 644; Cheyne; Strachan; Delitzsch, *New Com. on Genesis*, i. 174; Riehm; W. B. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 218; Ewald, *Prophets of Old Testament*, ii. 70. The Seraphim wear the form of serpents in the *Secrets of Enoch*, ed. Charles, xii. 1, and p. xxx.

⁴⁵ Spenser, *Hymns of Heavenly Beauties*, l. 95.

⁴⁶ *Guide of the Perplexed*, pt. i. ch. 49. Similarly the Zulus regard the lightning as a fabulous bird which descends in the thunderstorm.—Callaway, *Religious System of the Amasulu*, pp. 381–3. The deity of Central America which personifies the wind is conceived as a flying serpent or bird serpent—Reville, *Religion of Mexico and Peru*, p. 38.

seer in ecstatic vision beheld Jahveh like a human monarch enthroned within His palace, and wearing a royal robe with a wide-extended train which covered all the pavement, certain attendants of His Majesty appeared to the eyes of his soul as super-sensuous beings clothed in apocalyptic symbols—but symbols necessarily suggested by natural and physical objects, and especially by the visible phenomena of the meteoric firmament. Where indeed could the fittest emblems of heavenly things be sought, if not there? We are not bound to hold as an article of faith that these personifications of the winged lightnings seen in vision have a literal and substantive existence as such, any more than we are compelled to believe in the anthropomorphism of the vision as literally a fact. Both are a more or less material embodiment of beings to man invisible as they impressed themselves on the seer's entranced consciousness. 'Angels are incorporeal,' says Maimonides, 'and have no permanent bodily form independent of the mind of him who perceives them; they exist entirely in prophetic visions and depend on the action of the imaginative power.' Many will probably consider the winds and lightnings more ethereal ideals of spiritual beings than the later conception of beautiful youths endowed with pinions. Certainly there is nothing in the world of Nature more awe-inspiring in its magnificence than the sudden revelation of the dazzling flash as it makes itself visible in momentary splendour.⁴⁷ It seems a very fissure opening in the floor of heaven. To Isaiah it was a symbol of the all-consuming holiness of God which burns up (*sûrâph*) all that is unholy and purifies the unclean; and he boldly adopts the already familiar word, 'saraph' or fiery serpent,⁴⁸ without a hint that he means something essentially different. We must not let the evil connotation, which later became attached to the idea, prejudice us against its employment for celestial images.

An incidental and confirmatory proof of the fiery nature of the Seraph is suggested by the burning 'coal of fire,' which he is represented by Isaiah as carrying from the altar to the prophet. In the language of Hebrew poetry 'live coals,' or 'stones of fire,' are frequently used for lightnings, and thunderbolts conceived as kindled embers hurled blazing from the sky.⁴⁹ In 2 Sam. xx. 13, for instance, the levin is described as 'coals of fire' (*gacheleth*); and here we find the meteoric flames which, as I believe, are the idealistic basis of the

⁴⁷ It is doubtless only a coincidence that Thomson introduces Seraphs into his picture of a thunderstorm:

That very voice
Which thunders terror through the guilty heart
With tongues of Seraphs whispers peace to thine.—*Summer*.

⁴⁸ Isaiah uses it so, xiv. 29, xxx. 6.

⁴⁹ So Shakespeare speaks of 'the lightning flash' and 'the all-dreaded thunder-stone.'—*Cymbeline*, IV. ii. Milton has 'the flaming seraph' (*P. L.* v. 875), and 'celestial ardours' (*ibid.* 249); Pope, 'the rapt seraph that adores and burns' (*Essay on Man*); Thomson, 'seraphs burning round the Almighty's throne' (*Castle of Indolence*, ii. 49). May we compare 'the effulgurations of Jah' (*Cant.* viii. 6)?

Seraphim, in close connexion with the winds which are identified by the parallelism of the distich with the Cherubim. In the sublime theophany of Jahveh in the tempest

He rode upon a cherub and did fly,
Yea, He was seen upon the wings of the wind ;
At the brightness before Him
Coals of fire were kindled.—(vv. 11, 13, and 8) ;

which is more literally expressed in the words that follow :

Jahveh thundered from heaven,
And the Most High uttered His voice.
And He sent out arrows and scattered them,
Lightning and discomforted them.—(v. 14) ;

or, as Psalm xviii. 13, has it, 'hailstones and coals of fire.' In Habakkuk iii. 5-11, a passage of a very similar character, the presence of Jahveh on His sacred mountain-top is manifested by His thunder, and by the lightnings which issue forth at His side, as arrows and glittering spears, and at His feet under the semblance of burning coals. The word employed here is *Reseph*, the lightning (as in Psalm lxxviii. 48 ; lxxvi. 3), akin to Isaiah's word for 'live coal' (vi. 6), partly personified as one of the attendants or ministers of the wrathful Deity, and so virtually equivalent to the Seraph. Quite similarly in the vision of Ezekiel, ch. i. 4-6, we observe the same phenomenal agents of Divine manifestation ; the Cherubim in the likeness of four living creatures (the four cardinal winds), with cloud and whirlwind, and also 'the appearance of fire flashing continually.' In other words, they are accompanied by the Seraphim, or lightning angels ;⁵⁰ and in a later passage (Ezek. x. 7) a cherubic being is seen to take forth fire in his hand from the midst of the whirling Cherubim, exactly as the Seraph takes it in the vision of Isaiah.

In quite the same manner one of the Assyrian Deluge tablets in a magnificent inscription of a storm introduces in close connexion the *Guzalli* or throne-bearers—the Cherubic winds—which 'traverse mountain and plain,' and the *Anunnaki* or Seraphs of lightning which 'bear flaming-brands (*dibrati*) and in their wild course burn up the earth.'⁵¹

The same connexion of the Cherubim with lightnings and thunderings comes out in the obscure imagery of Ezekiel xxviii. 'thou wast the consecrated cherub that overshadoweth . . . upon the holy mountain of God thou hast walked up and down in the midst of

⁵⁰ Heywood in his *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* had an inkling of the truth,

Seraph, if we but retire
To the word's force, importeth nought save fire
Cherub, aire.—Bk. iv. p. 217.

⁵¹ Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*, p. 187 ; or, 'with their aheen lighten the world'—Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 38 ; so Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 568 ; Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia*, p. 500.

the stones of fire' (v. 14); 'I have destroyed thee, overshadowing cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire' (v. 16). This constant association of the fiery and fulminating phenomena of the firmament with the Cherubim is suggestive of their relation to the Seraphim. In precisely the same manner the four Cherubic beings in the Apocalypse of St. John, who before God's throne re-echo the 'Thrice-Holy' of Isaiah's Seraphim, have lightnings and thunderings as accompaniments of their praises (Rev. iv. 5-8).⁵²

But probably the most explicit passage for the purpose of illustration is that afforded by Psalm civ. 3-4 :

He maketh the clouds His chariot,
He goeth forth upon the wings of the wind ;
He maketh the winds His angels (or messengers),
The flaming fire His ministers.

In other words, when Jahveh displays His glorious Majesty He makes use of the winds and lightnings, which are the Cherubim and Seraphim, to herald His approach. Hence when the Psalmist calls on all the powers of Nature to do homage to Him he appropriately says 'Praise Jahveh from the earth ye serpents, fire . . . and stormy wind fulfilling His word'—Ps. cxlviii. 7, 8. It is sufficiently obvious therefore that when Isaiah mentions that the Seraphim offer the service of praise to their great Creator he is merely stating as a matter of fact what the Song of the Three Children expresses as an invocation :

O all ye winds, bless ye the Lord . . .
O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord,
Praise and exalt Him above all for ever.—(vv. 43, 51) ;

and there is as little reason to imagine articulate speech on their part as in Coleridge's *Hymn before Sunrise* :

Ye Lightnings, the dread arrows of the clouds !
Utter forth God, and fill the hills with praise !

Or in Wordsworth's :

Ye storms resound the praises of your King.

Dante⁵³ brought out the true spirit of the Isaianic vision when he spoke of

the heavens
Glad with the singing of those holy fires
Which of their six wings make themselves a cowl ;

and as in some measure analogous to the antheming lightnings we may compare the Maruts, or storm-spirits of the Vedas, which as 'singers' are said to raise their hymn (*arkā*) of praise in songs of flame to the music of the gale⁵⁴ : 'gale' itself indeed being that which *sings* amidst the trees, as does the nightingale.

⁵² See Massie, in *Hastings B. D.*, iii. 129.

⁵³ 'Col canto di que' fuochi pli'—*Paradiso*, ix. 77.

⁵⁴ M. Müller, *Vedas*, i. 78.

To find the earliest suggestion of this personification of elemental forces we have to turn back to the third chapter of Genesis (v. 24). There we find two guardian powers set at the entrance of Paradise to repel man's return. One of these is the Cherubim, a personification of the winds, the other is 'the whirling flame of a sword.' This fiery phenomenon, which strikes right and left like a keen blade, is not represented as being wielded in the hand of the Cherubim, but as a distinct and independent agent; and as the very same word which is used there of the whirling flame is used in Job xxxvii. 12 of the lightning, which 'turns round about by His guidance' (compare xxxvi. 32), we may confidently infer that the second of the sentinel powers which act as God's guards are the darting lightnings.⁵⁵ We may further compare the 'flying swords' of 2 Esdras xv. 41, which are aerial phenomena associated with fire and hail; and the fork-like waving thunderbolt which Hadad the weather-god and Marduk brandish in their hands as a weapon.⁵⁶

As strongly confirmatory of the view here advanced I would direct attention to the pair of symbolic figures which the Assyrians were accustomed to set as protecting guardians at each side of the gate of the King's palace. These are called in the inscriptions *shedi* and *lamassi*. The *shedi* or genii were the winged bulls, which, as symbolising power in motion have been identified with the Cherubim as embodiments of the winds. The meaning of the *lamassi* is not so obvious; but when we learn that this word is very probably derived from *lamas*, which means flame, and that *lamas-su*, the name of an Assyrian asterism, means 'the flaming one,' being explained on the tablet where it occurs as 'the burning-fire of the Goddess Bahu,'⁵⁷ we seem justified in concluding that these guardian *lamassi* were 'the burning ones,' and so an exact equivalent both in name and

⁵⁵ So Thureau-Dangin; Kalisch; R. S. Poole and others. *The Book of Jubilees*, (ab. 100 B.C.), amongst other elemental spirits mentions angels of the lightning (ii. 2, p. 13, ed. Charles). Chashmalim, electric or amber angels, were the fourth order (Maimonides, *Yad Has*, ch. ii).

⁵⁶ The three-forked tongue (*lingua trisulca*) commonly attributed to the serpent by the classical writers seems to have been borrowed from the old representation of the lightning as a sheaf of three-pointed arrows; 'the three-bolted thunder' of Milton, *Paradise Lost*, vi. 764; e.g. *trisulcum fulmen*—Varro; *trisulcum telum Jovis*—Ovid. Thus the flying eagle, carrying the trident thunderbolt in its talons as a symbol of the lightning, is a counterpart of the winged Seraph of the Hebrews. See D'Alviella, *Migration of Symbols*, pp. 97-99; Bochart, i. 25. Similarly in North American mythology the serpent as lightning is frequently associated with birds as winds.—Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 141. Sylvester, with more reason probably than he knew, represents the guilty pair as driven out of Eden by—

A Seraphim that bore
A warning sword, whose body shined bright
Like flaming comet in the midst of night.

Divine Weekes and Workes, 1621, p. 199.

⁵⁷ See R. Brown, *Prim. Constellations*, ii. 82; Spencer, *De Legibus Heb.* ii. 358; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, identifying *lahat*, the flame of the revolving sword, Gen. iii. 24, with *littu* (*lihittu*), the lightning weapon of Marduk (p. 143).

function of the piercing and circling flame which protected the entrance of Paradise.⁵⁸ Both alike we may identify in their ground idea with the fiery and serpentine embodiment of the lightning, to which Isaiah gave the name of Seraphim.⁵⁹

When we add that bronze serpents used to be erected at the portals of Babylonian temples as guardians, and that Nebuchadnezzar the Second, speaking of the gates of Babylon, says, 'strong bulls of bronze [*i.e.* Cherubim] and powerful snakes standing upright [*i.e.* Seraphim] I set at their threshold,'⁶⁰ nothing seems wanting to complete the proof.

A. SMYTHE PALMER.

⁵⁸ Compare Esarhaddon's account of his colossi: 'Right and left of the doorways I caused *shedi* and *lamassi* to be set up; they are placed there to repulse the wicked'—*Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, i. 43; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldæa*, 266 note.

⁵⁹ I might have mentioned above (note 21) that with the Aztecs the glittering lightning was their fire god covered with gleaming feathers like unto wings (Brinton, p. 169), and that Schwartz (*Ursprung der Mythologie*) has shown how frequently the electric discharge was assimilated to a deadly darting serpent, the reptile which, according to Porphyry, 'was held to be of a fiery nature and of incredible celerity' (Cory, *Anct. Fragments*, p. 22). The Chipeway Michabo as lord of the lightning brandishes a rattlesnake, 'the snake with feathers which moves in the waters' of the sky (Brinton, 201, 141), when God 'divides the night with flying flame' (Tennyson).

⁶⁰ Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 471; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 110, 234; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 31.

THE ATTITUDE OF CANADA

THE prevailing note in the relations between the various self-governing parts of the British Empire seems just now to be one of exuberant good feeling. So much magnanimity is there that one sometimes hears Englishmen talk with complacency of the time when, by the shifting of population, Ottawa and not London may have become the capital of the Empire and the Mother Country the dependency almost of her present dependencies. Prussia has been absorbed into Germany ; why should not England lose herself in a larger state ? A Canadian is almost astounded when he picks up *The Times* to see how much space is given to the affairs of his country. If he is old enough to remember that, twenty-five years ago, he felt something like a glow of pride when he found in a copy of *The Times* a single paragraph relating to Canada, he will not fail to be impressed by the change. Yet it may puzzle him. It is probably true that four-fifths of the people of Canada do not understand the present attitude of Great Britain towards them. They are not conscious of any considerable change in outlook. They have always believed in their own country. They have always valued the tie with Great Britain, and they are content to go along in the old way with the difference only of a somewhat stronger national feeling as Canadians. On the other hand, most Englishmen have changed their point of view. One is obliged at times almost to rub one's eyes. The old note that the Colonies may go when they like, and good luck to them, is changing not merely to a desire to retain them, but to a nervous dread lest they may go and thus bring about Britain's ruin. The Englishman has been wondering whether, since there is no immortality on earth for the individual, so also may there be none for any state, and he is haunted by the fear that the days are numbered of Britain, the oldest of the present great monarchies of Europe.

It is striking to see with what humility of spirit the Englishman is trying to meet a new situation. Of late years he has been told so often that in facing new conditions he is unadaptive and arrogant that now he distrusts himself. The national character has hardly changed—national character does not change in a generation. The Englishman still believes that his is the highest type of civilisation

in the world, and I rather think he is right. But the more thoughtful are deeply anxious to be conciliatory and to understand the point of view of other nationalities within the Empire. They are frank in admitting past mistakes and failures. In their present theory of Empire they put the Canadians, for instance, and themselves on a perfectly equal footing. When one remembers that the Briton alone has been carrying the heavy load of the army and navy, adequate to defend this Empire, it is not his arrogance but his modesty and humility that are noteworthy.

It is towards Canada that he is most wistful. Rightly or wrongly, many Englishmen have come to think that the well-being of England is bound up with Canada, and that the great Dominion will soon be the heart of the Empire. Their own population may begin to decline ; and they picture an aggressive Germany outnumbering Great Britain two to one. In gloomy moments they remember what Holland, another maritime state with only a small home territory, once was, and what she now is, and then they see that the tie with Canada will save the situation. Here is a vast and almost unpeopled land with amazing possibilities. Let but Canada and Great Britain unite their resources and the future is no longer gloomy but steadily brighter as Canada fills up. Germany, instead of outnumbering, will soon be outnumbered by this mighty combination, and Britain will be sure to remain one of the leading states of the world. Mr. Chamberlain has even dreamed of a union between Great Britain, Canada, and other states from which should be evolved 'a new government with large powers of taxation and legislation over countries separated by thousands of miles of sea.' Lord Milner, while less exuberant, thinks that an organic union to form a single body politic is possible for the British Empire. It is true that when details are required he becomes vague. But the desire for such close union is real. Were it seen to be finally impossible many a Briton would despair of his country. A recent writer, Mr. Bernard Holland, reflects a common opinion : 'If the Empire should dissolve, England would doubtless decay and decline, exhausted by the effort of creating so many new states and now impelled by her economic condition to become again a self-contained and self-supporting country.'¹

Perhaps this attitude of mind shows too much self-distrust, a quality we do not readily associate with the Englishman. Bereft of colonies and dependencies Great Britain would still have a larger population than France or Italy. But extreme militarism, the legacy to Europe of the Franco-German War, has become a nightmare. The flight of time has failed to mitigate it, and now Britain is startled at the increasing menace which this may be to her own safety. As long as the war-spirit limited itself chiefly to huge military armaments she felt reasonably secure with the sea as her frontier. But when

¹ *Imperium et Libertas*, p. 265.

Germany, already controlling a vast army, evolved plans for a huge navy too, Britain's alarm lest this navy might be used to land the army on her shores has grown, until now, with many, it has reached the point of panic. Looking round to strengthen herself she sees that she needs the daughter-nations and clings to them with a fervour almost pathetic.

And all the time the daughter-nations hardly understand the need of the mother-land. Canada at least feels herself menaced by no new dangers, and, living possibly in a fool's paradise, has no paroxysm of nerves. It has always been hopeless for her to think of armed strife with her only neighbour, for this neighbour could put a dozen men into the field to her one. From Europe, rightly or wrongly, she fears nothing, since, in case of such aggression, Canada would inevitably be backed by the United States.

It is a defect of Canadian newspapers that they are apt to be provincial in character, and give most of their space to the discussion of local issues. It thus happens that Canadians get little information about Europe. I doubt if there are two dozen people in Canada who read the daily *Times*. More of course read some less exhaustive English newspaper; but, after all, these, too, are only the few. The great bulk of the people of Canada learn the news of Great Britain only through the medium of Canadian newspapers. In former times these published the full, though of course biased, cables which went to the press of the United States. But now the Canadian press has a cable service of its own, and it is proving a doubtful blessing: Instead of the former copious cables we have now usually only a few paragraphs from the Old World. The tables are completely turned. England is growing less ignorant of Canada than is Canada of England.

The Canadians are becoming indeed a people quite different from the English. The saying of Horace, now trite enough, *cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*, is, in this relation, profoundly untrue. The European, transplanted to America, becomes, in some ways, a changed being. No doubt the extreme views of Buckle are out of date, that man's thought and actions represent simply the mechanical result of the physical forces about him. But we hardly need to be reminded nowadays that environment counts for something: The man who passes from Great Britain to Canada passes into a totally new world. Change of climate accounts for much, change of conditions for even more. In the land which he leaves there has been time to evolve definite social types and to unite them, with some precision, into one organism. English society is a unit. The Court circle, the public schools, the Universities, the clubs and drawing-rooms of London, the country houses scattered all over the land, unite to form one composite whole. In spite of concessions which rank now makes to wealth, this society is nicely graded. A hostess well understands who is to be asked to dinner and who only to luncheon

or to tea. The clubs make their distinctions sharply, and schools for the gentry draw the line at the children of a retail tradesman, though they have no objection to those of his book-keeper.

It would be untrue to say that, because Canada is democratic, she has no social distinctions. It happened not so very long ago that a gentleman, otherwise entirely eligible, was blackballed at a Toronto club because he was in some way connected with trade. Many of the 'old families' hold aloof from the *nouveaux riches*. But the lines are not drawn as they are drawn in England. In Canada social distinctions and birth count for much less, the individual for much more. There is no unity in Canadian society; there is no well-entrenched social caste favoured for its continuance by laws, such as that of primogeniture; there is no social capital or court to determine standards. Montreal and Toronto, more than three hundred miles apart, know little of each other's social life; a social magnate in one place will be almost unknown in the other. Positions are made rapidly. In twenty, or even ten, years a man may rise from wealth to great affluence. He may still remain socially obscure; but, on the other hand, if he or his wife possesses the required qualities he may pass readily into something like social leadership. It all depends on the individual. There is no gradation of rank well recognised by public opinion, and itself the outcome of a long social growth.

Thus a profound initial difference exists between the outlook of the Canadian and that of the Englishman upon the society of which he forms a part. To the Englishman the Canadian seems often raw and crude, as perhaps he is. But it is as likely as not to be the crudeness of a strength conscious of itself and indifferent to other standards. No doubt the Canadian too feels the respect for high rank, the awe in the presence of royalty, so characteristic of the homeland; like Thackeray, he would be proud to be seen walking down the street arm-in-arm with a duke. But at heart the Canadian is, ceremonially, at least, a republican. He thinks monarchy a cheap and efficient form of government, and prefers it to a system that involves the prolonged quadrennial convulsion of his great republican neighbour. But he knows nothing of courts or of any practical aspects of the divinity that hedges about kingship. There is no local magnate in his neighbourhood to whom he looks up with awe and respect; he himself is probably a landowner, in his own view equal to every other landowner. If persons of rank conduct themselves with simple dignity he respects them, but he resents sharply any arrogance or lack of tact. Any one who presumed, in the slightest degree, upon his rank would find himself face to face with a plain-spoken democrat, who had no difficulty in calling a spade a spade. I remember that, when a scion of a noble house once forgot his manners at a social gathering in Canada, he was promptly toasted to his face as 'our absent-minded friend.'

There is in truth in Canada, outside of a very limited circle, little or nothing of the social discipline that the Englishman accepts as a part of his natural atmosphere. The member of an old society knows almost instinctively the gradations of dignity from the premier duke to the last created baron. If he lives in the academic world he knows what profound difference of meaning there is between Oxford and Glasgow. He sees Glasgow itself bend the knee to Oxford and accept its inferior *status* as a part of that ordering of society which, if not recognised as divine, is at least the outcome of a long historical growth. No doubt the Canadian, too, is a little awed by the majestic traditions of the grey city on the Isis. But it is merely an emotion; these traditions are not concrete facts that have weight in his society as they have in that of England. The Canadian usually thinks it probable that his own universities will fit him or his son better for life than any in the Old World, and little or no prestige is gained in Canadian society by any brand of school or college. Even Eton and Christ Church would have but slight weight in this New World. One might draw out in other directions the contrast between the society of the two countries. But enough has been said to show that Canada has standards of her own; she is evolving her own type of social life and is supremely interested in that and not in any other. She believes in herself. A few days ago I greeted a party of friends returning to Canada after a prolonged sojourn in England. 'Thank God, I am back again in God's own country,' one of them said as he alighted at the station. I smiled as I remembered that that is precisely what many an Englishman would be likely to say on returning home from Canada. It is assuredly not strange that Canada is to the Canadian what England is to the Englishman.

Canada is not becoming Americanised, if this means that she is drawing closer politically to the United States. On the contrary, just because she has a growing confidence in her own self, she is daily growing farther away from any thought of political union with that country. She shows indeed an increasing desire to be unlike rather than like the United States. As the outcome of a long and unhappy evolution the United States has to-day an embittered racial quarrel which, if combined with lack of confidence in the courts of justice, leads to dreadful scenes of mob violence. Such spectacles Canada has never witnessed, and they fill the minds of her people with horror. The scandal-mongering American press, that most inadequate exponent of the life of a people truly great, finds, happily, few imitators in Canada. The traditions of society in the United States are not understood or regarded in Canada; the new citizen of the West is not respected as much or as little as the Boston Brahmin; it all depends on himself. Above all is Canada convinced that the machinery of government in the United States, its rigid conservatism and the impossibility of organic change, are inadequate to modern needs.

A Canadian cannot readily grasp a situation in which the man responsible for carrying on the Government can be at issue with the legislative body, as Mr. Roosevelt has been recently. In this he is at one with his English fellow-citizen. Both are accustomed to the sway of a Prime Minister, himself the creation of the House of Commons, and working always in harmony with it. The development in Britain's political methods during the nineteenth century has been thoroughly assimilated by the daughter-state, and here they stand whole-heartedly together. From the older ox the younger has learned to plough.

It is indeed probably beyond question that Great Britain and Canada are now more substantially one in outlook than at any previous period in their history. Their people are familiar with the same types of political machinery, they enjoy identical liberties. If Canada has had grievances in the past, the impression of the average man is that they have been removed, and that all is now smooth sailing. One is hardly prepared for a complaint from Canada that she has suffered, and is still suffering, at the hands of a jealous stepmother, and that there is a good deal yet to do in order to be rid of irksome leading-strings. Yet a book which appeared last year by an eminent and learned Canadian lawyer rings from end to end with the thought that Canada has nearly always been badly treated, or that she would have been badly treated but for her own strenuous and successful resistance, and that she is not yet a free state.² With great skill and ingenuity the author works up an elaborate case against Great Britain. She has checked Canada unduly in the past; she is checking her unduly still, and resisting her assertion of the privileges of the grown-up. Canada has a long list of grievances. Mr. Ewart has read widely, not, one fears, so much to see his subject as a whole, but to make points against Great Britain. Yet his bark is worse than his bite. Beginning with denunciation he ends, like a Hebrew prophet, with benediction. After all, the two countries are now getting on very well together, he admits, and he wishes them always to stand side by side.

None the less is his list of Canada's supposed grievances worth examination. The first one is that to-day, by Great Britain's fault, Canada has the nondescript title of 'Dominion' instead of being a kingdom. When Canada was federated Sir John Macdonald intended that the new state should be called the 'Kingdom of Canada.' By this title he wished to assert Canada's equality of *status* with the mother-land. She was to be an auxiliary kingdom, and, starting with a title of equality, as her population grew, Canada, without further organic change, would take naturally the position among the various states of the Empire to which her importance entitled her at each phase of development. It is easy to say that to call Canada a Kingdom would have made no real difference. But

² *The Kingdom of Canada and other Essays*, by John S. Ewart, K.C. Toronto: Morang & Co., 1908.

perhaps it is as shallow to make too little of names as it is to make too much. Two centuries ago Prussia was extremely anxious for the *status* of a kingdom. When her ruler gained his point he took equal rank with Louis the Fourteenth and other kings of his time, and the subsequent history of Prussia has not shown that this accession of dignity in title was unimportant. But Canada was not allowed to become a kingdom because a nervous British minister feared to irritate the Republicans of the United States by setting up a new monarchy on their border ; and so at his demand the proposed kingdom became the 'Dominion.' Certainly this minister at least must have thought that names were important, and now we have a note of indignant regret that Sir John Macdonald's idea was not carried out.

Mr. Ewart would still change 'Dominion' to 'Kingdom,' and thus assert Canada's political equality with Great Britain. He would have Canada definitely renounce the idea that the Imperial Parliament has any jurisdiction over her. He wishes Great Britain and Canada to stand together in a free union of perfectly equal states. He does not wish a British Empire, for to him an 'Empire' means the dominance of one central state over inferior states. Yet he is no Republican. King Edward would still be Sovereign of Canada ; indeed, the King, and the King alone, would be the permanent tie between the two countries. They would work together, without any thought that one state had control over the other. Since King Edward could not be in two places at once, it would seem as if he must be represented in Canada by a viceroy. Mr. Ewart does not say who is to appoint the viceroy. Certainly it cannot be the Government of Great Britain, which is to have no authority in Canada ; and it can hardly be the King, who can perform no political acts except through the medium of a responsible minister. Is the Parliament of Canada then to appoint him ? The question is not uninteresting or unimportant, but here we need not discuss it further.

It may be that, in regard to this title of Kingdom, Canada has a grievance, though it is not a grievance very widely known or felt. Of course it is interesting to find that forty-three years ago a British minister, with a stroke of his pen, changed Canada from a proposed kingdom to a 'Dominion,' in spite of the emphatic wishes of those who created the new federation. But for our present relations the question is whether Britain would do this now. Assuredly she would not. Yet Mr. Ewart persists that unreasonable restrictions upon Canada still endure, and he draws up a considerable list of disabilities from which she suffers. Canada could not hold biennial parliaments ; an Act of the British Parliament makes it obligatory for the Canadian Parliament to sit annually. Canada could not take a census every twelfth year instead of every tenth year. The Maritime Provinces of Canada, with their three legislatures, could not take the economical

-step of uniting under one. Canada has no power to change her own capital, or even the quorum in her House of Commons, should she so desire. She has not complete control over such matters as coinage, copyright, and shipping, even that engaged in her own coasting trade. The powers of Canada's Parliament, like those of a State in the American Union, are strictly confined to her own actual territory. Even there she is not supreme, for the British Parliament has sovereign jurisdiction in Canada, as everywhere else in the Empire; all of Canada's legislation is null and void that conflicts with that of the United Kingdom; on any Canadian measures the United Kingdom still has the power of disallowance, and an Imperial Act can at any time override a Canadian Act. If Britain declares war on any state, Canada is at war too, though her Government may disapprove of the declaration. In short, Burke's pictures of Britain 'as from the throne of Heaven she superintends all the several inferior legislatures,' is still true, Mr. Ewart seems to think, of her relations with Canada.

It looks as if Canada were cribbed, cabined, and confined. But Mr. Ewart is too good a constitutional lawyer not to know that Canada really can do what she likes within the limits of the law of nations. It is true that the Constitution of Canada was created and might be revoked by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. But it will never be revoked, and any amendments that Canada desires she can have. Such amendments are made with great ease. If the United States wishes to amend its Constitution it must go through an elaborate process of submitting the proposal to the vote of each of the States—a process so difficult that less than twenty amendments have been made in 120 years. Canada has merely to express by vote in Parliament what amendments she desires and almost automatically the British Parliament passes the necessary Bill. No doubt Canada's *amour propre* would be saved if her own enactment were alone necessary. But this might be even too easy; it is, in practice, not a bad thing that two parliaments must be consulted before a final step is taken. The method may be a little belated, but it springs out of the relation between parent and child. Be the forms what they may, the fact remains that Canada controls her own destiny. It is no reproach that forty years ago Great Britain did not let Canada do all that she wished. It is hardly a reproach to a parent that he restrained his son in youth. The restraints may or may not have been wise. What is important is that the youth's manhood should be fully recognised when he reaches that stage.

In the end the people of Canada have always had their way, and this will continue to be the case. That their own way will lead to separation from Britain I do not believe; that it will lead to closer organic union with Britain I do not believe either. Canada will steadily become more independent in her outlook, more determined to retain and develop control of her own affairs, more ambitious to

rank among the nations of the earth. She can surrender none of her authority to any political body not controlled by her own people. It is not likely that any central Parliament for the British people would be efficient. Rapid and complete adjustment to local conditions is one of the secrets of political as well as business efficiency. It is hard to see how any one can imagine that the welfare of Canada would be promoted by organic union with other states which would leave her in any respect less free than she now is to make this rapid adjustment.

One may well doubt whether organic union even between Canada and the United States with their contiguous territory would make for good government on the North American continent. I heard a wise statesman say recently that because the centralisation at Washington is already so vast, it would probably be in the interest of the United States, did Canada not already exist, that she should be brought into being. A whole continent could not be well governed in one state. If this is true of North America, how much truer is it likely to be of the widely-scattered regions that now make up the British Empire ! A common public opinion over such an area would be impossible ; and to what are we to trust for the control of an organic union if it is not public opinion ? Great Britain is nearer geographically to Canada than to any other of the larger sections of the British Empire ; yet in many things there is no public opinion common to the two countries. Great Britain does not share Canada's dread of immigration from the East, simply because to her this is no menace. Recently, when Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was profoundly stirred over the Alaska Boundary question, Great Britain was apathetic or in sympathy with the opinion that Canada was combating. There is a similar apathy in Canada now regarding Britain's alarm over the designs of Germany. Imagination is not strong enough for countries so widely separated, and with problems so different, to feel acutely the more immediate issues of each other.

Present-day exponents of Imperial theories are a little apt not to have viewed the problems in the light of the long past in which they have developed. The two supreme questions of Empire which are new and pressing with each political change are also very old — how shall burdens be divided equally, and how shall there be equality in control among those who bear the burdens ? Adam Smith wrestled with these problems when the British Colonies in America first took up arms, and found no solution that could be adjusted to facts. Subsequent thinkers have fared no better. The problems are in truth intellectually insoluble ; the uncontrollable logic of facts, the conclusions of which may not be by us foreseen, will alone determine them.

Assuredly they will not be solved by the pressure of the exigencies of Europe alone. For some reason a great continent has chosen to turn itself into an armed camp, with its various political units ready

at a moment's notice to spring at each other's throats. So stupendous is this array of power that it fills the rest of the world with awe, if not with admiration. Great Britain shares the dangers which Europe chooses to impose upon itself. Her burden is abnormal, artificial, one may hope transient. Must the scale of the individual British citizen's responsibility all over the world be adjusted to the exacting standard of Europe alone? Yes, if altruism prevailed in politics, and if the minds of the multitude could be swayed by a discerning few possessing world-wide vision. But the citizen of Canada, plain, unlettered, unimaginative, is not thinking of the situation in Europe. He does not listen expectant to hear whether the German Emperor, in an after-dinner speech, is a little more or a little less optimistic about the continuance of peace. What he is thinking of is the resources to build his own house, to construct the school-house, the highways, the railways that a new country urgently needs. Even a small tax-bill vexes his thrifty soul, for he has not yet been trained to bear heavy burdens of this kind, and he will be slow to learn the lesson. To talk of this man accepting, or remotely approximating to, the standards of Europe in regard to military equipment is absurd. The old questions are as insoluble as ever. The burden cannot be divided equally, and without equality of burden there can be no unity of control.

What then can be done? Must the great states of the Empire drift apart with the prospect of each becoming a separate nation with no relation to the others? God forbid! There are times when one grasps at the thought of an Imperial *Zollverein* as containing the solution of the whole matter. Make it the commercial interest of the various parts of the Empire to hold together and permanent union is assured. Perhaps! But one pauses before the possible effect of such a change upon the future of Britain herself. To see a Canadian traveller, returned from England, unpack his trunks is an object-lesson; there are all kinds of fabrics, durable and beautiful, bought in England for much less than they would cost in Canada, and it is a stupendous commerce in such things that keeps Britain alive. To make them even a little dearer may be to destroy a vast trade. Assuredly no voice from over the seas has any right to urge upon Britain a course that may be to her full of danger. Moreover, even were such a union possible, it could not be regarded as permanent, for each state must be left free to enter and to withdraw at pleasure. Nothing will endure that interferes with the national aspirations of the various portions of the Empire.

In regard to burdens, one may only hope for a levelling-down in Europe, and, at the same time, for a levelling-up in Canada. While Canada must repudiate the military standards of Europe as necessarily to be imitated by her, the stern truth cannot be avoided that these standards have obtained a footing both in America and in Asia. Just

because the world to-day, with its intricate relationships, represents something like a unit, both Japan and the United States have had to prepare themselves for emergencies not of their own creating. If Canada aims, as she does aim, at being a great nation, she cannot expect always to be protected by any arm but her own. After all, the basis of human well-being lies in each man's capacity to take care of himself. Canada has yet to learn this lesson of true manhood. There are signs that she has begun to learn it, and to-day no better promise of success lies before an aspirant to political leadership in Canada than in a strong appeal to the Canadian conscience on this point. But one may hope that at the same time the standard of preparedness set by Europe will be lowered. Only one state seems now to bar the way to accomplishing this, and perhaps the waste involved in unbridled militarism will before long force this state to moderate its ambitions. Then for the British Empire a simpler standard of common burdens may slowly be evolved, and in time the British and the Canadian tax-payer may have an equal share in responsibility.

At any rate, other parts of the Empire cannot expect much longer from Great Britain the admission, so frankly made at the last Colonial Conference, that she is fully responsible for their protection. Canada has never admitted that she holds it to be her duty to share in whatever wars Great Britain may undertake. Each question, she says, will be determined as it arises. Would it be unfair were Great Britain to say the same thing regarding Canada? When we ask the question, what is defensible in theory is seen to be impossible in practice. If Canada became involved in war, could Great Britain hold aloof and perhaps see the territory of Canada impaired? Would Canada see Germany overwhelm Britain and make no move to help the motherland? *The Times* recently threatened that, should Australia not do more to fill up her waste areas, she could not count upon Britain's defence if some other state undertook the task. Could Great Britain then stand by and see Japan or Germany attack Australia? One comes back again to the truth that the problems of the Empire are just now intellectually insoluble.

'An impotent conclusion after saying so much,' a reader may well say. 'Why write at all only to reach it?' Perhaps in the presence of a multitude of theories of Empire it is worth while to see for a moment exactly where we are, even though we may not quite know whither we are going. We are at the point where Canadian national feeling is already strong and growing stronger, and it must have free play. But it is in no sense hostile to Great Britain. The mischief of a book such as Mr. Ewart's is that it may tend to foster alienation; if people are told with great skill and persistence that they have grievances they are not unlikely to believe it. To say that Britain's handling of Canadian questions has been ideally wise would be absurd. She has made blunders, and her last—the tactless dealing

with the Alaska Boundary dispute—caused a resentment in Canada that is not yet understood in London. But this is not what Canada chooses to think of chiefly. She is not nursing grievances. She prefers to think of the sacrifices Britain made to win and hold Canada and of the generosity with which this splendid heritage has now been handed over freely to the Canadian people. 'As the legal ties are slackened, the moral ties are tightened,' said Lord Thring, and this is eminently true of the development of political thought in Canada to-day. She is ceasing to be a dependent, but she is more than an ally. Alliances are determined by self-interest. Not in any spirit of self-interest, but in obedience to the dictates of nature and education is Canada, the daughter-state, resolved to remain linked with the mother-land.

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THE MISSING ESSENTIALS IN ECONOMIC SCIENCE

CONCLUDING ARTICLE¹

I

IN the preceding article I analysed the theory of value which, formulated by the 'bourgeois' economists (as the Socialists are pleased to call them) and invested by Mill with its classical or accepted form, was adopted by Marx, and, being pushed by him to its strictly logical conclusion, was turned by him into the basis of attack on the entire social system which Mill regarded as being for the present the only system practicable.

According to this theory of value, common to Mill and Marx, commodities of different kinds exchange with one another (apart from some few exceptions) in proportion to the amount of ordinary labour embodied in them; and in the preceding article it was shown that, while labour in very simple states of society is really the sole factor by which the value of commodities is determined, it is not the sole or even the most important factor in society as it exists to-day. In very simple states of society labour alone determined values, because in such states of society labour alone produced commodities. It is not the sole factor by which values are determined to-day because it is not the sole agency by which commodities are produced to-day. The distinctive feature of industry in the modern world is the fact that, in addition to the muscular power by which matter is moved under the mental direction of the men by whom the muscular power is exerted, there comes systematically into play the mental direction of other men, by whose knowledge, by whose judgment, and by whose constructive ideas the minds and the muscular exertions of the labouring majority are guided, and the labouring units organised into complex productive groups. It is only through the operation of these guiding minds that the amount of commodities corresponding to a given amount of

¹ The series concluded by this article commenced in the March number, and was continued in May and August.

muscular exertion is raised above a certain minimum ; and in proportion to the efficiency of the minds by which the productive groups are directed these groups have more commodities to offer to one another ; or, in other words, the wealth of the entire community is increased. Thus that share of the value of a given total of products which is taken by the employer as his profit is not, as Mill says, and as Marx says, due to the fact ' that labour produces more than is necessary for its own support.' It is due to the fact that the labour of average men, when directed by a man whose mind is above the average, produces indefinitely more than it would produce were it operating solely under the direction of the minds of the labourers themselves. Profits represent something added to the products of labour, not something taken away from them.

I need not repeat myself here by elaborating this proposition farther. What I am about to do now is to turn to another issue, which was definitely raised by Mill, and with regard to which most Socialists either explicitly or implicitly follow him.

As will have been seen in a passage quoted from in the preceding article, Mill insists that, under conditions such as those which prevail at present, ' the question of value is fundamental.' But this question, he says, is fundamental only under such conditions, and these conditions are artificial. It would be possible so to alter them that the question of value would disappear. Competition and individualism, he argues, might be transformed into Socialism or Communism ; and in whatever way commodities were then produced, they would no longer be distributed by means of exchange or sale. Everybody would either help himself out of a common store, or be awarded so much or so little out of a common store by the State. There would no longer be any balancing of one set of products against another on the part of the men by whom the different products were produced ; and the problem of value, he continues, and all the practical difficulties arising from it would, under such circumstances, die a natural death. Such is the contention with which Mill opens the Third Book of his *Principles of Political Economy*—the Book in which he discusses value under the conditions which prevail at present. It is this statement that I here propose to examine ; and there will be little difficulty in showing that, with one unimportant exception, it is in all its details altogether fallacious ; and that, in whatever way ' social arrangements ' were altered, the problem of value would remain a ' fundamental ' problem still.

II

I have spoken of an exception. Let me deal with that exception first. There is one condition of society—it is a possible one, and examples of it survive—under which the problem of value is actually non-existent, and the truth of Mill's statement is so far vindicated.

I refer to conditions under which, in remote districts, isolated families, living under the same roof, produce the whole, or practically the whole, of the things which they consume and use. Families whose mode of life closely approximated to this existed till lately in some of the Scottish islands. Thus a family in the Island of Tyree would produce not only its own food, clothing and fuel, but even its own pottery; and, apart from the few articles of cutlery and other implements of iron used by it, it lived from one year to another without purchasing anything.

But where families live thus, none of the comforts, conveniences, luxuries, or means of knowledge, which Socialists declare ought to be possessed by everybody, are possessed by anybody. In order that the kinds of wealth which Socialism aims at redistributing may come into existence at all, this system of production by self-sufficing family groups must be broken up, and productive effort divided. One set of workers must produce one set of commodities, and another set must produce another; and as soon as this happens, production and consumption are separated in the sense that, though each producer may consume a little of his own produce, most of what he consumes is the produce of other people. Hence most of what he produces himself must by some means or other be taken from him and distributed somehow or other for consumption amongst other people; and a certain assortment of things which other people produce must somehow or other be introduced into his own home.

Now, whenever a condition of this kind prevails there is necessarily an exchange of products, no matter how effected; and when Mill declares that it is possible to eliminate from this process of exchange the element of economic value, and to conduct it on other principles, what he is saying resolves itself virtually into this. The exchange in question may effect itself in two ways—either by a direct bargaining amongst the various producers themselves, in which case the amount of clothing which A. gives to B. determines the amount of food which B. gives to A.; or by the handing over of his products on the part of each producer to the State, which will then distribute them amongst A., B., and the rest, not according to the amounts which each of them may happen to have produced, but according to what, on some totally different principle, it is held that each requires. Thus if, out of the various bread-makers—B1, B2, and B3—B2 and B3 produce more loaves than B1; and if, out of the various coat-makers—A1, A2, and A3—A2 and A3 produce more coats than A1, there will be awarded to B1 as many coats, and to A1 as many loaves as are awarded to their fellow-workers, whose output may be indefinitely greater. A society embodying an arrangement of this latter kind, even if not practically workable, is at least theoretically possible; and what Mill means is that, in such a society, were it established, the question of economic value would have no practical meaning; for value is an equivalence of products as measured by the operations of the producers, whilst the

only equivalence in this case would be determined by the requirements of the consumers.

Now what I am about to point out here is this—that even if we assume the existence of a society of the kind contemplated, and even if we admit that in such a society the laws of value would be inoperative, they would be inoperative only in the sense that they were artificially neglected; and the consequences of this neglect would give rise to as many difficulties, and to difficulties of the same kind, as now arise from the observance of them.

The reader will recollect that the analysis of Mill and Marx, according to which the value of commodities, under a system of free exchange, is determined by the amount of ordinary labour embodied in them, has been here admitted to be true as applied to those societies in which ordinary labourers are practically the sole producing class, and in which no class has been evolved of specially gifted persons, directing the labourers but separate from them. Let us begin, then, with supposing the establishment of a Socialistic community in which the two main assumptions of all modern Socialists are realised—the first of these being that the general supply of commodities and public conveniences requires a division of the population into various industrial groups; and the second being that labour is the sole productive force on the exercise of which this supply depends. Under such conditions labour will still require materials on which to exert itself, and tools or implements similar to those which would be in use otherwise. All these, however, would be the property, not of individuals but of the State, in accordance with the formula enunciated on every Socialistic platform; and the State—a body with no personal interests of its own—would take all the products as fast as the citizens made them, and for purposes of consumption would so dole them out that the portions received by all should be equal. Most Socialists, no doubt, admit that an absolute equality in distribution, though the goal at which Socialism aims, is not in their view practicable; but, since the more nearly it is reached the more completely is the ideal of Socialism realised, we may, in forming a picture of what a Socialistic State would be, suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that the equality of distribution is complete, and that all the citizens are for the moment satisfied, and have reached a condition of perfect economic equilibrium.

Such being the case, then, our society will present the following features. It will, as has just been said, consist of a number of groups, each of which produces some one class of commodity. It will be enough for us to suppose that these groups are five in number, each producing some commodity required and consumed by all. One group produces bread, another butter, another coats, another coal, and another oil for lamps; and since we are supposing the conditions with which we start to be altogether satisfactory, we must suppose that the articles of consumption are produced and supplied in

quantities which suffice, not only to keep the consumers alive, but also to satisfy their demands for pleasure, ease, and luxury. Each man has two loaves daily, whereas he could live on one, and two pats of butter, whereas he could live without any. In addition to his suit of working clothes, which alone is really necessary, he has year by year two others which adorn him in his hours of leisure. He gets coal enough, not only for the necessary fire in his kitchen, but for one, whenever he wishes for it, in his sitting-room and his bedroom also; and he has oil enough for three lamps to light him when the sun has set, whereas, so far as the necessities of his nature are concerned, he might just as well go to bed and snore till the following morning. Further, these daily or yearly rations are, from the very nature of our supposition, not secured by each man for himself by the precarious process of bargaining with his fellow-citizens, but are assured to him by the State—for this is the essence of complete Socialism. The State collects all commodities as fast as ever they are made; and either delivers, by means of its own carriers, a given quantity of each at the door of each citizen, or issues to him a demand-note of some kind, in return for which the State officials will give him a similar quantity according to his own convenience.

In the latter case, it is true, a form of purchase would be gone through; but there would be no balancing, on the part of any one purchaser, of the quantity of goods which he claimed to have produced himself with the quantity of other goods produced by other men, which he demanded as an equivalent to his own. The basis of exchange would be authority, not value. This at least is what Mill means, when he declares that individualism and competition in production need only be superseded by authority distributing in the interests of all, and the problem of value would no longer exist. It is, however, only necessary to look under the surface, in order to see that it would be the vital problem still.

For on what would the state of equilibrium—of equal economic comfort—depend? It would depend on the fact that each of the five productive groups always maintained unaltered the precise productive efficiency which we suppose it to be exhibiting at the ideal period with which we start. If each group consists of a thousand men, and if each man for the three comfortable fires which we suppose him at starting to enjoy in his own house requires a supply of twelve tons of coal a year, it is obviously necessary that the thousand who produce the coal shall hew and bring to the surface sixty thousand tons annually. If each man, in addition to one suit of working clothes, is yearly to have two other suits to adorn him in his hours of leisure, and enhance his attractiveness in the eyes of the other sex, it is obvious that the thousand men whose business it is to make clothes shall produce in the course of the year fifteen thousand suits. And the same reasoning applies to all the other commodities. It has been

possible for the State to establish a certain scheme of distribution, only because it has for its datum a certain equilibrium in production ; and if there were any decline in the products of any one of the productive groups, the State would be powerless to prevent this change from reflecting itself in the equalised incomes of the whole mass of its citizens.

Let us suppose, for example, that of the men who produced the coal one half refused to maintain the original rate of production, and contented themselves with doing two-thirds of what they had done before. In that case the yearly output of coal would sink from sixty thousand to forty thousand tons. Under such conditions, let the State do what it would, it would have in the course of the year only forty thousand tons to distribute ; and if the distribution continued still to be equal, the inevitable result for each citizen would be that, instead of having coal enough for three fires, he would only have enough for two. In every dwelling there would be one hearth extinguished. Or again, let us take the group which produced the clothes, and suppose that all the original cutters died, and were succeeded by a generation of greatly inferior skill, the result being that each garment when sewn together required a week for alterations before it would fit the wearer, and that only ten thousand suits were now producible within the year instead of fifteen thousand as formerly. This would mean that each one of the citizens would now have only two suits a year instead of three. In short, if any one of the five productive groups ceased to maintain its original maximum of productivity, every one of the four other groups would suffer. 'We all,' these four groups would jointly say to the fifth group, 'are continuing to provide you with as much as we did originally. You are defrauding us by reducing the quantity of what you give us in return. We are giving you as much superfluous butter as ever, or as much oil for those lamps which you burn only as luxuries ; and you refuse to supply us with our accustomed fires in our bedrooms, or those cool third suits of clothes—the delight of our summer holidays. Such is the situation. What is to be the remedy ? It is true that we are all Socialists, and can only act through the State ; but we are four to one, and we must get the State to assist us.'

The State, under such circumstances, might do one or other of two things. It might, if the producers of coal were the group whose efficiency had declined, allow each collier to retain only coal enough for one fire, and distribute what was saved amongst the other workers, so that each might still have three ; or it might divide the loss amongst all the workers equally, so that everybody had as much bread and butter as heretofore, but was cut down in the matter of fires from three to two. Certain people would be bound to suffer in either case. If the former course were adopted the only sufferers would be the colliers. If the latter were adopted, all the groups would suffer on

account of a decline in efficiency which was entirely confined to one.

Here we have, in everything except the name, the factor of value asserting itself precisely as it does to-day. If matters were so arranged that the colliers alone suffered, this would mean, however the intervention of the Socialistic State might disguise the fact, that the values of bread and butter and so forth had fallen as measured by coal, in the sense that the same amount of them would exchange for less coal than formerly; or else the value of coal would have fallen as measured by bread and butter, in the sense that in order to purchase the same amount of food, the colliers would have to sacrifice a larger portion of their yearly output, and would so have less left for the warming of their own houses. Thus, though in a Socialistic community the problem of value might seem to be in abeyance at some particular period when the efficiencies of all were in a condition which was accepted as a standard of equilibrium, yet as soon as this equilibrium was disturbed by the failure of any one group of workers to produce goods equivalent in quantity to those produced by each of the other groups, this problem would emerge in all its integrity; and either one group—in the case now before us, the colliers—would be clamouring to the State that the value of its own products should be raised, or each of the other groups would be insisting with equal emphasis that the value of their own products should not be allowed to fall.

It is true that in a society in which ordinary manual labour, uninfluenced by human activity of any other kind, was really, apart from nature, the sole producing agency, it is difficult to imagine that, when in all the groups alike production had once reached a certain standard of efficiency, it could in any one of the groups become substantially less productive except by a conspiracy amongst the members to become idler than the members of the other groups; and the State might conceivably cure this disease by coercion. It might whip the colliers back into their former state of activity, and the old economic equilibrium would in this way be restored. But the problem of value would still have been at the bottom of the disturbance; and the Socialistic State in quelling it would leave in the body politic as much disappointment or indignation against a supposed injustice, as ever results to-day from the failure of any ordinary strike.

So much, then, for the question of value in so far as it relates to a condition of things in which labour alone, or the exertions of manual workers directing their own muscles, produces commodities, determining by its skill and its intensity what quantity of these shall be produced in a given time. Let us now bring our conception of a Socialistic society into closer accord with the actualities of modern life, by supposing that the productivity of labour in one or more of the groups is heightened by the presence of some man of unusual talent, who by causing the labourers to exert themselves in entirely

new ways, enables them, without an expenditure of any greater effort on their own part, to produce as much in six months as they formerly did in twelve. We will still start with our original five groups in equilibrium, and suppose that such a man brings his talents to bear on the labour of the group of coat-makers. This group, if it goes on working with the same continuity as before, will now make in the year, not fifteen thousand suits of clothes, but thirty thousand. How, then, would this change affect the situation generally? There will be enough clothing produced in the course of a year to provide each citizen, not with three suits only, but with six; but the output of other commodities still remains unchanged. If the State continues its practice of equal distribution, the group which produces the clothes will receive no more food, fuel, and lamp oil than it did before, but the other groups will be receiving a double amount of clothing. This is merely another way of saying that the value of a suit of clothes will have fallen as measured by other commodities, and the value of other commodities will have risen as measured by clothes. Distribution is a question of value still, just as much as it would be under a system of free exchange; and if Mill were to maintain that Socialism affected the situation at all, he could only mean that the factor by which values were determined was not the demand of individuals dealing directly with one another, but a central authority by which the natural demands of some were disregarded in order to satisfy the desires of others. Here we have a case which is the converse of that which we were considering just now. There we had to do with a decline in the productivity of one group of producers, the loss resulting from which, were it borne by that group alone, would produce a conflict between that group and the State, similar to the conflict which at present takes the form of a strike; and which, if distributed amongst all the groups alike, would punish four-fifths of the population for the sluggishness or the incapacity of one-fifth. Here we have to do with an increase in the productivity of one group, the gain resulting from which, if confined to that group alone, would make all the other groups feel that the principles of Socialism were being violated; and which, if it were distributed amongst all the groups alike, would mean that four-fifths of it were taken away from the authors, and would exasperate them with the reflection that, in proportion as they increased their production whilst the rest of the community did nothing to increase theirs, they would, as the direct result of their own exceptional efficiency, get less than the rest of the population, relatively to what they produced.

Such are the features of the situation as at first sight they will present themselves to us. It is, however, necessary to examine them more carefully. So long as we suppose that labour, or ordinary muscular effort, is the sole productive agency, and start, as we did at first, with assuming a society in which labour of all kinds has

reached its maximum of productivity, the original productivity of any one of the groups can be altered only in one or other of two ways—either by the labourers in that group becoming less careful or industrious than they were, or else by some change beyond their own control in nature, which rendered their work more difficult. Now if the decrease in their productivity were due to their own voluntary conduct, the Socialistic State—to repeat what has been said already—could presumably solve the difficulty by the application of force; for able-bodied men who had been producing a certain amount of goods year by year in the past could presumably be compelled to continue the exercise of their known powers. But if, on the other hand, the decrease in their productive efficiency were due to some change in nature, which was beyond the control of man (a change, let us say, in climate, or in the supply of their raw materials), the loss would fall in that case on all of the groups equally, whether values were determined by the State or by a system of free exchange. The reason of all this is as follows. Whenever we suppose, in any accurate sense, that the entire wealth of a community is due to the labour of the average able-bodied man, we are assuming that, though the labourers may be partitioned into various groups, and acquire special dexterities by confining themselves to labours of one special kind, yet each man, whatever may be the kind of work assigned to him, would be equally capable, after a certain period of habituation, of performing any other. Hence, if the makers of clothes were to disturb the original situation by deliberately refusing to produce as many suits as formerly, the case of the State or of the rest of the population against them would rest on the argument that they were refusing to do, and were only being asked to do, what would be done by any group of other men equally numerous, as soon as these had received a sufficient technical training. But if the decline in the productivity of the clothes-makers were due to some change in external nature the case would be wholly different, and no such argument could be used. For in that case the decrease in productivity exhibited by the existing clothes-makers would be exhibited also by any other group of workers, who might voluntarily address themselves to the same work as their competitors, or be ordered to do so by the Socialistic State as their substitutes. It will thus be easily seen that under a system of free exchange (which means that each man does his best in his own interest) the value of any commodity (say coal), as related to any other commodity for which the producer wishes to exchange it (say coats), is not determined by what it costs the actual producer of the coal to produce a given quantity, as compared with what it costs the actual producer of coats to produce a coat. It is determined, in the case of the coal-producer, by the price at which, if his own price were rejected, the same amount of coal could be supplied by somebody else. If the actual producer is a man of such exceptional strength that he is able to produce two tons of coal in a time in which

nobody else would be able to produce more than one ton, he will be able to get from the coat-maker in the way of coats for one ton very nearly as much as any other producer would be obliged to demand, and would inevitably receive, for two tons. He would probably not get twice as much—for if he demanded that, the coat-maker might just as well give his custom to two ordinary coal-producers as to him—but he would get very nearly twice as much.

In other words, whenever the personal efficiency of any one producer is such that he is able in a given time to produce twice as much as could be produced by any other workers who are or who might be employed in the same industry, the value of each unit of the product is determined by what its value would be had no other human being been able to produce it in a time less than twice as long. But in actual life, in so far as ordinary labour is really the sole agency involved in the production of commodities, this fact gives rise to few practical problems; for in actual life, if we take any particular population, the ordinary labour of very few individuals is more productive to any disturbing extent, than the labour of the vast majority. Indeed in so far as all commodities were really produced by labour, all commodities would, under a system of free exchange, tend to distribute themselves in equal portions amongst all; and if the State were to take, as it would take under a *régime* of Socialism, the business of distribution into its own official hands, it could do no more than impart something of additional regularity to a process which virtually or roughly would take place without its intervention.

As soon, however, as we suppose our community of equally productive labourers to lose its original equilibrium, not by the failure of one group to produce as much as it can produce, but in consequence of the appearance in one group of one exceptional man, who simply by directing labour in accordance with his superior knowledge enables five hundred men to produce in a year as many commodities as were produced formerly by a thousand, the situation whilst remaining in one way the same is in another completely changed. It remains the same in the sense that there will be a greater amount of one kind of commodity, such as coats, available for distribution somehow. But the question is how, under such circumstances, would this surplus be distributed in reality? It might conceivably be distributed in three different ways. It might be distributed equally amongst the members of all the groups alike; it might be distributed equally amongst the coat-makers, and amongst them only; or it might be retained by the man directing them, to whose talents alone the existence of these goods is due. Now so far as the question lies between the coat-makers whose labour this man directs, and the other productive groups, who have no directors but themselves, the former could establish no special claim on the surplus, for they, from the nature of the hypothesis, have worked no harder and with no greater skill than before. They have done

nothing which any member of any one of the other groups could not, if similarly occupied, do just as well as they. If the particular men who supplied the bread-makers with coats were to say to the particular men who supplied the coat-makers with bread, 'We refuse to share with you our extra supply of coats, for it is our labour and not yours that has made them,' the bread-makers might truly answer, 'In that case we and the rest of us will by some means or other parcel out for the future the work of coat-making amongst ourselves, and set you to one or other of the tasks at present performed by us. You will find that in these trades you can do no more than we can, whilst we, if we take up yours, shall do just as much as you.' Hence, as was said before, even under a system of free exchange the extra supply of coats would in the end be distributed equally amongst all, and the State could only accelerate a process which would take place anyhow. But then the dispute lies not between one set of labourers and another set, but between the exceptional man and all the labourers collectively, and this is precisely the kind of answer which the labourers cannot make; for the essential fact which distinguishes the exceptional man is this, that, whereas he could presumably do everything that is done by any one of the labourers, not one of the labourers could do what is actually being done by him. The parts played by the two are not potentially interchangeable. It is not a question of whether the extra supply of coats shall be produced by the exertions of one set of men or another set, but whether they shall be produced by the exertions of one man, or not be produced at all. It is evident here that, under a system of free exchange, the exceptional man would be able to make his own bargain, and take anything short of the whole of the extra products for himself. He could not, as has been said already, permanently secure the whole; for if he demanded this, the rest of the community would gain nothing by the exercise of his talents, and it would be a matter of indifference to them whether he continued to exercise them or no; but so long as they derived from his exercise of them any appreciable advantage which they were not willing to forego—if, for example, out of the three extra coats theoretically available for each of them, the exceptional man was willing that each of them should receive one—he would be able to retain the other two for himself.

And this is virtually what happens under the conditions that prevail to-day. Any extra product (as Mill, inconsistently with his main theory of value, admits) brings to the man who is alone capable of producing it 'an extra gain.' Mill, however, contends that under a *régime* of Socialism—a *régime* which, if not immediately, he regards as being ultimately practicable—this result might be obviated, and the 'extra' products due to some one man's superior talents be taken by the State, and distributed as the State saw fit without any regard to the wishes of the man himself. But how would such a change in what Mill describes as the 'artificial arrangement of society' really

affect the vital elements of the situation? So far as mere argument goes, the State could say no more to the exceptional man than the mass of ordinary producers could say to him, if he and they were left to settle the matter for themselves. The only difference would be this—that, under such conditions, the exceptional man would technically be a State official, just as the bulk of the population would be technically State labourers; and the only reasonable meaning of which Mill's contention is susceptible is that the State would, under these conditions, be able to do what labourers, if left to themselves, could not do—namely, to force this exceptional servant to continue his exceptional services, whether he was satisfied with the reward which might be allotted to him by the State or no; just as, if any one set of bakers refused to go on baking unless they received more than their fellows, the State could undoubtedly solve the difficulty by whipping them, or otherwise chastising them if they failed to do as much.

Indeed that such is the case has recently been admitted by an American advocate of Socialism in discussing the nature of the process by which he anticipates it will be realised. The Socialistic State, he says, if it is not to lapse into poverty, will require, just as much as it can possibly require to-day, the services of those men who have proved their exceptional efficiency by the manner in which we find them directing the labour of the country now; and the first thing which the Socialistic State, when once it has been established, must do, may be shown by what would happen, for instance, in the case of the Pennsylvania railroad. Before it attempted to effect any other alteration, the State would address itself to the administrators, engineers, and controllers of every grade, and say to them, 'You are all of you to remain in your present positions, and go on doing precisely what you are doing now. The only change in your case will be a gradual reduction in your salaries, or in the dividends which you receive on any capital which you have saved out of your salaries and invested. Little by little all or most of the exceptional rewards which, in either of these ways, you have been allowed to enjoy hitherto will be taken away from you by means of progressive taxation, until the rewards of all men are at least approximately equal.'

And it is no doubt conceivable that in the case of those particular men whose talents at any moment are developed and actually operative, such a procedure might be successful, for such men have shown what they are able to do, and have thus betrayed to others how much they may be compelled to do. But even in the case of such men it is doubtful whether any external authority, consisting of other men incapable of such work themselves, could permanently constrain them to maintain their old standard of productivity; and even if, with regard to these, such a *tour de force* were possible, the main difficulty of the situation would still remain untouched. The main difficulty of the situation

would arise out of the inevitable fact that the existing generation of exceptional men would one by one die off, and unless the wealth of the community were to decline in proportion as they did so (which would mean a decline in the income of every individual citizen) these men, as they died, would have to be replaced by others, whose exceptional powers are at present undeveloped and untried, and can never be known to exist by the State or by anybody else, except in so far as their possessors shall voluntarily exert themselves to develop them. The only means by which the State could secure their development would be, not by coercion (for coercion would be absolutely ineffectual), but by making possible the attainment of a reward by the hope of which the ambitions of these men would be stimulated ; and what the nature and extent of this reward would have to be could be determined only by the desires of these men themselves. The ordinary able-bodied man can be forced to perform any ordinary kind of labour that may be prescribed to him, because it is easy to know the kinds of labour of which he is capable. But nobody can tell, in the case of the exceptional man, what the nature or the extent of his capabilities is until he himself chooses to develop and exhibit them.

The exceptional man, therefore, in striking his bargain with the State, is always master of the situation in the sense that he himself, or his own natural temperament (which is only stimulated by the hope of such and such a reward), must always ultimately determine the minimum of which the reward shall consist ; for, if the reward which the State proposes to make possible falls below this, his faculties fail to respond to an insufficient stimulus ; and the State thus losing his potential services, loses that portion of his extra products which it would otherwise obtain for distribution amongst the community generally. This is virtually what takes place to-day, when, after a man of enterprise has established some new industry and provided subsistence for workmen who would otherwise have been unemployed, these workmen strike, and demand that their wages shall be raised to an amount which the employer is unable or unwilling to pay, and consequently removes his business to some other country. Up to a certain point the strikers may gain by striking ; but, when that point is passed, instead of gaining more, they lose everything. Similarly the State, in attempting to curtail the rewards which the most efficient producers, under a system of free competition, would naturally retain for themselves, would be merely a body of strikers called by another name, striking not against any one employer, but against all ; and as soon as the process of curtailment were pushed too far, it would, instead of appropriating more of the employers' surplus products, end by discovering that there was no surplus to appropriate. An artificial alteration of what Mill calls 'social arrangements' would alter the form of the problem, but would not alter its essence.

III

Mill's whole contention, then, with regard to the present question is based on a false antithesis between the laws of production and distribution. 'The conditions and laws of production,' he says, 'would be the same as they are if the arrangements of society did not depend on exchange, or did not admit of it.' These laws and conditions depend 'on necessities arising from the *nature of things*.' On the other hand, he proceeds, the 'conditions and laws of distribution' depend mainly on 'necessities *created by social arrangements*.' But on what does he suppose that these 'social arrangements' depend? The answer to his argument is that those 'social arrangements' which determine the laws of distribution depend on 'necessities arising from the nature of things' no less than do 'the laws and conditions of production.' Just as the primitive production of a harvest by scratching the ground with a stick depends on the nature of the soil, of rain, air, light and seed, no less than does the production of a harvest by the latest methods of agriculture, so does the distribution of the harvest depend on nature of another kind—not on physical nature, but on human nature. The primitive cultivator, or tribe of cultivators, only produces a crop in order that he as an individual may consume it, and not any other individual; or that they as a tribe may consume it, and not any other tribe. If it were not for the prospect of a distribution of this particular kind, there would be no production at all. The two processes are indissolubly linked together. It is true that under primitive conditions the question of value is in abeyance, because amongst primitive producers production is not divided. Each individual or group is the direct producer of what he or it consumes. There is no exchange. But the question of exchange value, though it complicates the original situation, does not alter its nature. What each producer desires is that his productive efforts may bring to himself, whether directly or indirectly, the largest possible products. What he desires is an equation, not between products and products, but between effort and products.

When a man labours alone, like a savage who goes hunting and brings home such game as he catches to his family, the problem of whether his effort has met with its just reward, or the largest reward possible, solves itself. As soon as he has to give a portion of his own products away in return for portions of the products of other people, which are produced under different circumstances and by other kinds of labour, calculations become necessary and differences of opinion may arise for which previously there was no place; but what each party desires remains the same—namely, that the composite total which is distributed to him for his own consumption shall be as truly the equivalent of his own productive efforts as it would be if

this total were produced directly by himself. No doubt each producer might wish, were it possible, to get more than this ; but, since it is obvious that all cannot get more than is produced by all, this wish cannot, without absurdity, be developed into a general claim.

And now, to sum up the conclusions which have been here elucidated; let me begin by recurring to a fact that I have pointed out already. Whatever difficulties may be inseparable from the problem of distribution as soon as the problem of value is created by the division of industries, these difficulties could conceivably be solved by a Socialistic State, and an equal reward could be allotted to each producer, so long as all the producers were labourers approximately equal in capacity ; so long as the extent of their capacities was measurable by some external authority ; and so long as the conditions under which the various labourers worked were, in general estimation, substantially equal also. The State, under such conditions, could conceivably equalise the distribution of products ; but only because such a distribution would be that which would substantially be established by the natural ' higgling of the market,' or the free action of the citizens if left to fight things out for themselves. All the State could do which could not be done by the citizens would be to obviate accidental inequalities which otherwise might here and there, and perhaps frequently, arise. It must, however, be noted that, even without the introduction of any productive force other than labour of hand and muscle directed by the intelligence of the labourers themselves, the power of the State to secure an equality of distribution would begin to diminish as soon as any labour developed itself of an exceptionally skilled kind, and the community began to any important extent to demand products which such labour alone could produce. The State could bring up any number of boys as masons, and compel them to perform whatever work might be required of them ; but it could not so secure for itself even craftsmen of very rare skill. Still less could it so secure great original artists. It could not secure such men, because it would have no means of identifying them, unless it promised them rewards which would tempt them to reveal their talents. It would be equally impossible for the State—and in the sphere of ordinary production this impossibility would be fraught with far more extensive consequences—to know that any man was capable of inventing uninvended machines or processes, of initiating and carrying to completion enterprises not hitherto attempted, or of doing anything greatly in excess of what can be done by anybody.

But before we dwell upon this point further, let us go back again to the case of average labour, excluding all manual skill, whether of the craftsman or the artist, which is the natural monopoly of a minority, and is not the mere result of habituation on average faculties. In so far as such ordinary labour was the sole form of productive effort in operation, the State, it was said, might ensure an equal

distribution of the products, thus satisfying equally all the practicable demands of everybody ; but a certain condition, which we have not yet dwelt upon, was mentioned as essential to the full realisation of this result. That condition was that the labours of the various groups of producers should not only be equal in respect of the capacities required for the prosecution of them, but should also be equal in respect of the estimation in which the workers held them. As a matter of fact, however, it is certain that, whenever industries are divided, different industries will differ so widely in their circumstances that the workers in some groups, though they work no longer than the others, and are called on to exercise no greater intelligence, may be tempted to complain that their own work is of a specially disagreeable kind ; and that this inequality should be redressed by the payment to them of higher wages, or else that their working day should be shorter than that of the rest of their fellow-citizens.

This, indeed, is a point on which Socialists themselves very often insist. For example, Professor Ferri, a well-known Italian scientist who has in his mature years become a convert to Socialism, and has written a book a translation of which has been issued by the English Labour party, mentions the getters of coal as an important class of labourers who might justly demand preferential treatment of some kind, not because the work was exceptionally hard, but because it was exceptionally distasteful. He accordingly proposes that, in order to meet the Socialistic demand for equality, the producers of coal shall not receive more wages than other workers, but shall be required for the same wages to exert themselves for a shorter time—for two days in the week, he suggests, instead of six. And since even Socialistic professors, not directly interested in the matter, are moved to advocate this kind of preferential treatment, we may be sure that any group of workers who could persuade themselves that a preference was due to them would demand it of the State with no less energy and conviction.

Let us suppose, then, that in a Socialistic community composed of different groups of labourers from all of whom the State demands at the outset the same hours of work, and to all of whom it distributes an equal amount of products, the producers of coal, taking Professor Ferri at his word, should demand a special increase of wages or shorter hours of labour. If either of these demands were conceded, a situation would arise of which Professor Ferri appears to have no conception. The amount of wages or products which the State has to distribute depends on the amount produced ; and we start with supposing, firstly, that this amount is the maximum which the labour of the community can produce, and, secondly, that it is at present apportioned in equal quantities. If, therefore, any one group secures an addition to its original wages, it can do this only by a lowering of the wages of all the other groups. On the other hand, if the producers of coal adopt

Professor Ferri's suggestion, and, instead of securing each week a larger amount of products, secure the privilege of working for only two days out of the six, the rest of the workers will suffer to a still greater degree. Their coal will cost them three times as much as formerly, or they will have to put up with one-third of the former quantity.

That is to say, if we start with a given number of labourers, equal in productivity, working for an equal number of hours, and receiving as their reward equal shares of the total product, no one group of labourers could augment their own gains in any way except by a successful attack on the gains of all the others. This obvious fact is sufficient to show that, however, so far as form went, an individualist community might be socialised, all the elements of industrial conflict would survive in it; and the transformation of such a community from a condition of freedom into one of Socialism would, instead of modifying this fact, merely bring it into greater and wider prominence. The only way in which the position of any group of equal labourers could be improved, except at the expense of the prosperity of all the rest, would be by the advent of some exceptional man or men, who by taking the labour of this group—say, the coal-producers—under his own control, and thus bringing superior knowledge to bear on it, should enable them to produce more than as much in two days as formerly they produced in six. As soon as this was done, it would then be possible for the coal-producers to enjoy the privilege of reduced hours of labour, and for the rest of the workers to obtain an undiminished supply of coal. But all this would depend on the continued activity of the exceptional man. He, like the labourers under him, would demand his special reward; the only essential difference between him and the labourers being that, whereas their special reward would be drawn from the effects of other people, his would be drawn from a surplus which he had produced himself; and if the State refused to concede him this, thereby causing the cessation of his special productive efforts, the whole community would relapse into the condition from which it had just emerged, and either the coal-producers would have to forego the leisure for which they had been struggling, or else the rest of the community would be impoverished by a diminution in its supply of coal. Thus the bargain which a Socialistic State would have to strike, in the interest of the majority, with its exceptionally efficient citizens, would be in its essentials a bargain of the same kind as that which such men virtually make to-day with the great mass of the community under a system of free exchange and competition.

W. H. MALLOCK.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

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*UNIONIST OPPORTUNISM AND IMPERIAL
DEMOCRACY*

SIX months ago the victory of Tariff Reform seemed assured. For more than three years a small group of Mr. Chamberlain's followers, both men and women, who had caught something of their leader's fighting spirit, had carried on the attack which he himself was no longer able to direct. These 'Stalwarts' were not wanting in courage. To them the overthrow of the Unionist party at the General Election meant little more than that Unionism had failed because it had not been true to Tariff Reform. They therefore pushed ahead with their campaign in more or less friendly independence of the Unionist party. Of those who at the outset paused to give thought to their relations with the official party organisation some discovered Unionism to be a very catholic belief, providing precedents in the tenets of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain, which entirely satisfied their consciences; other bolder spirits were prepared to form a new Tariff Reform party. All agreed in considering Tariff Reform, for the time being, their single objective. Their strength of purpose was irresistible; recruits flocked to their ranks from all groups of political thought, and within a short time they had won their first great victory at the polls. Success upon success followed rapidly.

They ignored the overwhelming Liberal majority in Parliament; they also ignored the small Free Trade minority over which the leader of the Unionist party still held his ægis. The following of the Unionist Free Traders was dwindling so rapidly, and their policy of negation was so feeble a rival attraction to the constructive proposals of Tariff Reformers, that they did not seem to merit more than academic interest. Not only was there a clear issue between these two sections, but there was a profound incompatibility of temperament. To the onlooker it was evident that the breach between them widened daily as the accession of various progressive elements to the band of 'Stalwarts,' and the avowed sympathy of the great body of Colonial opinion, confirmed the Tariff Reform ideal which aimed at the union of democracies throughout the self-governing dominions of the Crown.

Imperial democracy¹—the logical outcome of Mr. Chamberlain's statesmanship—received a kind of formal sanction as an Imperial creed from Mr. Deakin's eloquence at the time of the Imperial Conference. The published proceedings of the Conference contain many striking expositions of the newer Imperialism, none more eloquent than those in which Mr. Deakin swept aside the petty party bickerings which clouded the minds of Liberal Ministers. Those who were privileged to hear him speak one evening at a private meeting, at which most of the 'Stalwarts' were present, will never forget the profound impression which he created, and the simple words in which Lord Milner emphasised the new outlook which he presented. These were indeed stirring times when faith seemed to have been restored to politics in England, and great intellects were willing to bow to the inspiration of an ideal.

During the last few months a remarkable change has come over things. The 'Stalwarts' are, for the most part, no longer proud of their nickname. Many of them are devoting greater energy to the quest of the line of least resistance and to the spinning of subtle compromises with Unionist Free Traders, than to the pursuit of the newer Imperialism. The broader outlook of Imperial Democracy is for the moment lost. Tariff Reform has become a mere local counterblast to Socialism: it is no longer an aim to be achieved for itself. But it still remains the means by which the Unionists hope to return to power. Unionists and Tariff Reformers have, therefore, a common interest, on the eve of another General Election, in discovering why they are in a less favourable position to-day than a few months ago. And more is to be gained by endeavouring to make this discovery now than by analysing the causes of defeat after the event, as in 1906; for Englishmen seem nowadays to profit little from the lessons of disaster.

The history of the Tariff Reform League, founded by Mr. Chamber-

¹ The growth of Imperial democracy was discussed by the writer in *The Nineteenth Century* of March 1907, under the title 'Conservative Opportunists and Imperial Democracy.'

lain, is the history of the Tariff Reform movement. In 1906 the League was the organisation to which all Tariff Reformers looked for assistance and guidance. It has never been entirely independent of the Unionist party organisation. It has indeed rather occupied the position of an *imperium in imperio* in relation to that organisation. Immediately after the General Election the League had to choose whether it would be satisfied with this position or would become a political organisation in the fullest sense, with its direct representatives in Parliament and its own whips. The negotiations which then took place between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour have been summarised in the famous 'Valentine' Letters of 1906. The decision arrived at renounced for the moment the right to create an independent Tariff Reform group in the House of Commons. The 'Stalwarts' were thus at this critical period without the support of a complete political organisation. This in itself was bad enough, but it did not represent the full weakness of their position, for whatever hopes they had that their efforts to convert the electorate would be seconded by Tariff Reformers in Parliament, with the full weight of their authority, were immediately dissipated. On the occasion of the debate on the Kitson Free Trade motion, soon after the opening of the new Parliament, it was plainly shown that the strategy of Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Unionist party, and of Mr. Chamberlain, the founder of the Tariff Reform League, differed fundamentally. It was not only a difference in their tactical methods, great as that was; it was a difference in their objectives. Mr. Balfour had conducted the preceding election campaign with the aim of uniting the party. It is true that he had not been able to discover any very effective grounds of union, but he appealed to the fear of Home Rule and to the dread of a reversal of his educational policy which he hoped existed in all loyal hearts at the moment. Mr. Balfour's speeches during the election campaign are worthy of study by those who wish to find the key to his strategy then and now. His objective was and still is party unity under his own leadership. Mr. Chamberlain was not a whit less interested than Mr. Balfour in the fortunes of the Unionist party. He possesses in an extraordinary degree all the zeal and the bigotry of the 'party man,' but he is an Imperial statesman as well as a national politician, and his desire was to create a homogeneous Unionist party supporting his Tariff Reform policy and to employ all the methods of party warfare in the House of Commons for the furtherance of that policy. Mr. Balfour's strategy prevailed, and even before Mr. Chamberlain's last appearance in the House of Commons the vigorous advocacy of Tariff Reform in the country and the strategy of the Unionist party in Parliament had little in common.

Tariff Reformers, nevertheless, carried on their work energetically throughout the constituencies, accepting *faute de mieux* such representation in Parliament as was afforded by the Unionist party under

Mr. Balfour's leadership, not troubling overmuch about what was going on in the House of Commons so long as their hands were full with the missionary work which faced them. The progress of the movement among the electorate exceeded all hopes.

The victories won were gained in the name of the Unionist party, and secured for it support, irrespective of social class, from all the virile progressive forces of the country. The movement was a democratic one in the sense that its success depended on the efforts of the rank and file and not on the direction of the leaders. This no doubt added to its popularity in the country. It was also democratic in the sense that it united in a common aim elements which in other lands are often socially antagonistic, discordant and revolutionary. Such a union of classes, saving, as it has often in the past saved England from revolution, bestowed overwhelming strength on the Unionist party. It was therefore to the interest of the opposing party, though not to the interest of the nation, to break up this union. In this task it was assisted by the Unionist leadership; it found a ready dupe in the proverbial foolishness of official Conservatism and willing allies in the Free Trade opportunists within the Unionist ranks.

From the moment that they perceived that they were gaining ground in the country, some of the leading 'Stalwarts' had begun to take stock of the general situation. They found that the main body of their army was routing the enemy, but that it was many marches ahead of the wing that was under the command of the accredited leaders. Had Mr. Chamberlain still been in the fighting line, this would have mattered little. He would have led his followers on from victory to victory, and the Unionist party would have had to follow or to give way to a new party of Imperial democracy. But the 'Stalwarts' were leaderless, and it seemed to them of paramount importance that they should bring the official leaders of the Unionist party into line with the Tariff Reform army. Had there been any man of commanding influence ready at this moment to take his courage in both hands, to sacrifice what seemed his own personal interest and to place himself at the head of the Tariff Reform movement—somebody with the courage of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, but without his responsibilities—nothing would ever have been heard of the verbal duel which now took place between Mr. Balfour and the 'Stalwarts' with such disastrous results. It seemed necessary to the 'Stalwarts' that, in order to bring the Unionist leaders into line, a formula should be invented which would express Tariff Reform in terms acceptable to Mr. Balfour. Here was made the initial mistake which is the direct and immediate cause of the troubles which have now befallen the Tariff Reformers and the Unionist party.

The 'Stalwarts' deserted their plain statement of policy in favour of generalisations. The weakness of generalisations is that they are open to a variety of special interpretations, and the Free

Trade Unionists were quick to perceive that it was greatly to their interest that the accepted formula should be open to an interpretation in sympathy with their objection to the Food Duties. But the Food Duties are the *sine qua non* of the Imperial side of Tariff Reform. In his 'Valentine' Letter Mr. Balfour had gone so far as to say that in his opinion a duty on corn was not objectionable, and yet the Free Traders, continuing to believe and to preach that it was objectionable—the most objectionable thing in Mr. Chamberlain's proposals—nevertheless claimed, through Lord Hugh and Lord Robert Cecil, past-masters in this art of interpretation, that Mr. Balfour's statement could be interpreted so as to be not unacceptable to them, or at any rate so as not to give them insurmountable cause for refusing to follow his leadership. By his 'Valentine' Letter Mr. Balfour was understood by every simple-minded person to have crossed the gulf separating him from Mr. Chamberlain, and to have left the Free Traders on the other side, and yet here they were, after many months, sullenly and pertinaciously insisting that they still belonged to the Unionist party, had a right to influence its policy, and possessed a special claim on the consideration of its leader. They had no positive constructive policy to offer as a rival to Tariff Reform. Loyally and ably supported by the *Spectator*, they therefore searched for a popular negative cry. 'No Popery!' is perhaps the only one which will still arouse the passions of Englishmen; the Papacy at the moment not being exceptionally militant in England, the Free Traders had recourse to 'No Socialism!'

Surely such a condition of things—showing up in an unpleasant light against the historical parallel afforded by the action of those Liberals who differed from Mr. Gladstone on the question of Home Rule—surely this condition of things should have warned the 'Stalwarts' to trust to actions, not to words, to the strenuous conduct of the Tariff Reform campaign in the country, not to the devising of a formula. But they fought for the formula they had invented, and they got it. Mr. Balfour gave it to them at Birmingham on the 14th of November, 1907. His pronouncement was accepted as satisfactory—not without emphatic protest from a few of their number—by the majority of the 'Stalwarts,' who believed that at last they had brought the Unionist party into line with the Tariff Reform army, and that the cause was won. Some of them began to take their pace from the Unionist leader, paying attention to every reason that was advanced for delay, whereas formerly they had turned a deaf ear to all but counsels of vigorous attack on the enemy. Committed by their acceptance of the formula, they no longer protested against the lukewarm Tariff Reform strategy in the House of Commons; they preferred loyally to seek to excuse it. Having bent their thoughts to the advantages of a united front, they began to consider without impatience the attitude of the Free Traders. These defec-

tions mark a turning-point in the history of the Tariff Reform movement.

A few weeks later a debate took place in the House of Commons on the question of unemployment, when the Labour party attacked the Government for having failed to do anything to deal with the fundamental causes of distress. One of the national objects of Tariff Reform—it is now preached by official Unionism as the main object—is to provide greater industrial stability and wider industrial opportunities, and thus to strike at the very root of unemployment in England. Had the Unionist party joined forces temporarily with the Labour party at this moment, the Government would probably have been defeated, an appeal to the country would have followed, and an overwhelming Tariff Reform majority at the polls would certainly have ensued. This was the action which Tariff Reform interests dictated, but the Unionist party in Parliament were not prepared for it. Such were the firstfruits of the great achievement of bringing the Unionist Leaders into line.

In spite of all these set-backs, however, the work that the Tariff Reformers had done in the country still remained the one asset of the Unionist party. Liberals who had formerly jeered at Tariff Reform, who honestly believed that the Kitson motion of March 1906 had pronounced its funeral oration, were the first now to recognise that the forces set in motion by the 'Stalwarts' would sweep the Unionist party into power unless they were met by a strong counter-movement. Their Liberal instincts told them that these forces were inspired not so much by the Tariff Reform proposals themselves as by the ideals associated with the newer Imperialism and its positive and constructive outlook.

Imperial democracy is not a negative conception; it is *pro* many things, it is not *anti* anything. It aims at uniting all classes in the consolidation and defence of the Empire. It recognises the welfare of the whole as dependent on the welfare of the class and the individual, but it ignores the attempts of classes or individuals to benefit themselves at the expense of the whole. If it were *anti* anything, its energy would be dissipated in attempts to suppress the selfish class tendencies inseparable from human nature, instead of concentrating itself on the promotion of a common purpose based on common interests and on common needs. It is neither anti-landlord nor anti-Socialist. It is inconsequent and illogical, like all that depends on the British character for its fulfilment, and it has neither the ability nor the inclination to pursue or to render intelligible, if that were possible, the most modern of all chimeras, the logical theory of Socialism. It ignores the blatant individuals who seek advertisement by preaching revolution and anarchy in the name of Socialism. But it knows that between this extreme of so-called Socialism and that represented by the organisation of a great

modern State verging on autocracy, such as Germany, there lies, somewhere near the autocratic extreme, a sphere containing a vast mass of individuals who may call themselves Socialists, but who are striving after national organisation and unity and who are determined to wipe out the greatest blot on the fame of England—the poverty which harbours vice and the distress which hovers on the verge of starvation. Tariff Reformers are in sympathy with the ideals of Imperial democracy, and they make social reform the most prominent feature of their creed. If the fact that Mr. Chamberlain, the founder of Tariff Reform, was also the greatest social reformer since Disraeli, were not in itself sufficient to ensure this, they would have been compelled to it by their alliance with the Imperial statesmen of the oversea dominions.

A movement such as this, depending for its strength on the union of classes, could only be broken up by an appeal to class selfishness. The Liberals produced their Budget and made that appeal.

Had the Tariff Reform League at this moment been a complete political organisation, had the Tariff Reformers not been tied by their acceptance of a formula uniting them to the Unionist Free Traders, this Liberal attack could have been defeated by the proverbial English tactics of 'sitting tight.' But the very concessions which the 'Stalwarts' had made in their acceptance of the Birmingham formula had strengthened the other party to the compromise. The Unionist Free Traders had gained where the Tariff Reformers had lost. The Tariff Reformers had retreated and the Unionist Free Traders had advanced. All the forward impetus was therefore on the side of the Free Traders, and it was consequently their influence that determined the means by which the Liberal attack should be met. It was to be repelled by no positive constructive policy but by an appeal to anti-Socialism, and so the Budget Protest League was founded on 'non-party' lines. The Liberals had succeeded for the moment in breaking up the union of classes which the Tariff Reformers had accomplished.

What is known on the cricket field as a 'rot' then set in on the Unionist side. It was started by some who, having scored freely in minor ventures, had secured a place on a superior side, but who now ran away from the first fast ball. Then followed six black weeks. The rot which had commenced in the Press spread to all but an insignificant number, though fortunately not the least powerful, of the Tariff Reform newspapers. The Liberal strategy met with brilliant success; it wiped out the past record of unparalleled blunders, and the ridicule with which the Government's collective intelligence had been formerly treated by Tariff Reformers was turned into respect. It had been designed to undermine the union of classes achieved by Tariff Reform, and it succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. Panic reigned among Tariff Reformers. The selfishness of class interests raised its head among Unionists; it sought for support

wherever it could be found and in whatever party; in a few weeks more money was subscribed for its defence than had been at the disposal of Mr. Cobden in the early days of his great Free Trade campaign. Tariff Reformers saw the Unionist party falling away from their creed, and in the despair of the moment joined in the general scramble for 'unity.' They forgot that real unity can be achieved on no artificial basis, that it can rest on no negative political programme; they lost, in the heat of the moment and under the irritation of outraged class feeling, the clear vision that had hitherto enabled them to perceive the true foundation of unity in their ideal of a union of classes, a union of Nation and a union of Empire.

Tariff Reform was for the moment 'side-tracked.' It was saved—if it has been saved—by the Liberals over-reaching themselves in their tactics. The Budget League was started in opposition to the Budget Protest League. As in the case of most Liberal institutions its *personnel* was organised on principles of merit rather than of predilection. In consequence it made short work of the initial efforts of the Budget Protest League. Thanks to its Liberal rival the Budget Protest League very soon learnt that to attack the Budget without putting forward any alternative constructive policy was to popularise it by concentrating attention on those very features which had been designed for the purpose of appealing to the instincts of greed and spoliation. The Liberal Government was playing the part of a policeman holding a benevolent wayfarer while a beggar stole his purse; the Budget Protest League was vainly calling upon the beggar to aid benevolence against the abuse of authority. The absurdity of the position became so evident under criticism that the Budget Protest League reformed its methods. It had been taught its lesson and adopted Tariff Reform. But the mischief had been done. Liberals had not joined the League. It was in no sense a 'non-party' organisation, and the Unionist party had to bear the full onus of its original abandonment of Tariff Reform. The effect throughout the country was disastrous, and laid the Unionist party open to the charge of insincerity with regard to its 'first constructive policy.'

But even worse things happened. Infected with the prevailing mania for artificial unity, the 'Stalwarts' had been led into direct negotiation with the Unionist Free Traders. Lord Selborne, who was taking a brief rest in England after his arduous and brilliant achievements in South Africa, took up the cudgels for Lord Robert Cecil. Proconsuls are popularly, though quite erroneously, considered unfitted to play a part in British politics after a protracted residence abroad, however long may have been their subsequent study of home interests. Public opinion may therefore be left to judge of Lord Selborne's qualifications, however excellent his intentions, to compose, while on a short leave in England, the deep-rooted and long-standing differences between Tariff Reformers and the bitter enemies in their own house.

His action merely directed attention to the personal issues involved. Lord Robert Cecil is opposed to the Food Duties; the Food Duties are essential to all the Imperial aspirations of Tariff Reform; Tariff Reform has been formally accepted as the first constructive policy of the Unionist party. The elementary deduction is that Lord Robert Cecil cannot claim membership of the Unionist party any more than Mr. Chamberlain could continue to be associated with the Liberal party when he differed from Mr. Gladstone on the question of Home Rule. But Lord Robert Cecil allowed his principles to be stretched on the rack of compromise. The few 'Stalwarts'—and they could be numbered on the fingers of one hand—who refused to assist in turning the screw were called disloyal and un-English. They were even deserted by their own friends who, having entered upon the downward path of compromise when they forsook their own plain statement of principles for the Birmingham formula, were now prepared to strike a bargain with the leader of the Free Trade Unionists. 'Unity' was nearly achieved, at the cost of the votes of thousands of working men who had been led to believe in the real unity offered by Imperial democracy, and who had given their adherence to the full Tariff Reform creed, national and imperial.

Viewed in the rush and turmoil of present events, that is in outline the history of the past three years as it concerns the fundamental political issue which is agitating England. The Unionist party, as represented by its leaders, has so far found the task which it inherited from Mr. Chamberlain too great for it. It has staggered under the burden into the present chaos and uncertainty. Tariff Reform victories at by-elections may do something to put new heart into the 'Stalwarts,' but unless strong action is now taken the same tendencies will in the future reign supreme within the party.

No one would any longer venture to dispute the fact that a great change in our fiscal system is impending, has indeed begun. Will it come as Tariff Reform, as part of the great policy of Imperial democracy, or will it be introduced by the Liberals and Unionist Free Traders in the form of full-blooded Protection, departing entirely from whatever is natural to the genius of the English people in the Free Trade ideal and shirking the Imperial responsibilities which the nation has inherited? That is a question which the 'Stalwarts' have to answer, and to answer quickly. Ample evidence has been forthcoming recently that the objection to Unionist Free Traders is deep-seated among the electors in the different constituencies concerned, and the electors are calling to the 'Stalwarts' to come to their aid. The sacrifice of many interests will no doubt have to be made and made whole-heartedly; every great cause demands it. But a firm stand may yet turn the tide.

A General Election is imminent. Tariff Reformers, if they are to remain in full association with the Unionist party, and if they now

insist on a full acceptance of their principles, have everything to gain from that election. At the worst, the Unionists will return with additional strength and will be in a position to force another General Election within a few months. Then, if without compromise Tariff Reformers can still follow the Unionist leadership, by the Unionist party will victory be won. But the question of party is not supreme. Parties are but instruments in the hands of statesmanship, and there are already signs of a breaking-up of the old party system and of a readjustment of political principles. Those who mean to achieve Tariff Reform at all hazards may find that the Unionist party will fail them again. The lessons of the last three years will not have been in vain if Tariff Reformers have learnt that they must be prepared for such a contingency. If they are inspired by the ideals of Imperial democracy, and, without turning to the right or to the left, work through Tariff Reform to its realisation, their instrument will forge itself, their party will develop in the strength of their resolution. It may be the present Unionist party, it may be another; but it will be a party that will make for the greatness of England among the States of the Empire.

FABIAN WARE.

THE FINANCE BILL

WE are now approaching the end of October and the Budget is not yet through the Report stage in the House of Commons. Yet no one can say it was debated at undue length. On the Report stage there were forty-six folio pages of amendments, some 250 of which were put down by the Government themselves. Many of these, no doubt, were verbal, but, on the other hand, many were important. As Lord Rosebery truly observed, the Bill amounts to a revolution. On country life especially the effect will be far-reaching and disastrous.

The enormous increase in national and municipal expenditure must necessarily involve heavy sacrifices. It is therefore most important that the amount should be raised equitably, should be spread over the whole community, and be obtained in the manner which will, as little as may be, dislocate industry, check enterprise, and disturb confidence. The Budget, on the contrary, contravenes all these principles.

It would be impossible, of course, within the limits of a single paper to deal with all the problems raised ; I can only refer to some salient points.

I will not, for instance, enter into the question of the additional taxes on alcohol and tobacco, and will only express my doubt whether it will not be found that as regards these articles the practical limits of taxation had already been reached.

FINANCE

The bankers and merchants of the City of London scarcely ever as a body intervene in politics, but they felt so strongly as regards the proposals of the present Budget that they drew up and presented to the Prime Minister a remonstrance, in which they expressed their conviction that

The great increase and graduation of the death duties—already materially raised but two years ago—and of the income tax coupled with the super tax, will, we are confident, prove seriously injurious to the commerce and industries of the country.

In conclusion we would point out that, though the taxes to which we have taken exception will in the first instance fall with excessive severity on capital, they will also in our opinion tend to discourage private enterprise and thrift, thus in the long run diminishing employment and reducing wages.

Never before in the history of the nation have they held a meeting to condemn any Budget. But they did so this year. They invited no great statesman. It was purely a business and City meeting. But the great hall at Cannon Street was crowded. Lord Rothschild presided, and was supported by the leading bankers, merchants, and others intimately associated with the trade and commerce of London. Almost every important City house and institution was represented. The chairmen of the great banks and insurance offices were present, and the following resolution was unanimously passed :

That this meeting, while recognising the necessity for increased taxation, is of opinion that the cumulative effect of the proposed heavy charges on both capital and income will be to discourage enterprise and thrift, and will prove seriously injurious to the commerce and industries of the country.

A subsequent meeting in support of the Government only showed that, though the presence of the Prime Minister attracted, of course, a good audience, as it would anywhere in London, scarcely any of those who represent the trade and commerce of London are in favour of the Government proposals.

THE LAND CLAUSES

Nor do the bankers and merchants stand alone in their opposition to the Budget. Those concerned with the management of land are equally emphatic in their condemnation. The proposals will involve enormous expense both to the nation and to individuals, and will subject landowners to the possibility of constant inquisitorial interference by officials, and demands for returns which will involve elaborate and expensive inquiries.

The Bill creates four separate land values : 'total value,' 'site value,' 'new site value,' and 'assessable value.' To determine them an army of officials will have to be employed at the cost of the general taxpayer, and another army by the landowners. It is very doubtful whether the 'undeveloped land' tax will bring in as much as the cost of collection, and, as the *Spectator*¹ truly says,

When this has all been done, what will result ? A series of taxes so partial in their operation as to create a bitter sense of injustice, so uncertain in their incidence that no one will know whether he will be exempt or taxed. If, for example, land is let to a golf club, it is to be exempt from the new taxes ; if the same land is let to a small holder to produce food, it will be taxed.

For hundreds of years land has been bought and sold like any other property, and it is difficult to understand how it is possible to

¹ *Spectator*, 16th October 1909.

reconcile special taxes on the present owners with the cardinal principles of justice. The proposed taxation, moreover, not only takes a considerable part of the net income, but lowers the value of the rest of the property which, for the present at least, is left to the owner.

Why is land to be treated with such exceptional severity? It is already taxed more heavily than other property. Income derived from land pays more income tax than other income, land bears heavy rates which do not fall on personal property, and yet it is treated in this Budget with exceptional and excessive severity. Moreover, even on land the burden is very unequally distributed.

UNDEVELOPED LAND DUTY

The proposal to take $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the capital value of what is called 'undeveloped' land will fall not merely, as is often said, on urban land, but on all land worth more than 50%.

The Prime Minister, indeed, has told us that

I believe we all agree that agricultural land in the true sense of the word—by which I mean land which is economically applied at the present moment and under existing conditions to agricultural purposes—ought to be exempted from the operation of a tax of this kind.

Clause 7, however, which professes to exempt agricultural land, though it does not really do so, does not apply to the 'undeveloped land' duty, but to the 'increment duty.' The 'undeveloped land tax' does apply to agricultural land, though it is true that in assessing the value of this so-called 'undeveloped' land, which is a euphemism for land not built over, the purely agricultural value, without including buildings, timber, or 'other things growing thereon,' is to be deducted.

All land, however, near towns and villages is worth rather more than its agricultural value, because it is hoped that sooner or later it, or parts of it, may come in for building; and all such land, though still purely agricultural, will be subject to the tax, which, especially with the necessary expenses of valuation, will amount to a heavy deduction from the rent, and in some cases leave little to the present owner.

Take, again, the question of the so-called unearned increment. It is surely very unjust to appropriate a portion of the increase if the value rises, and not to bear any part of the loss if the value falls.

Why is this to be done in the case of land? Why is land to be so exceptionally treated? Such a proposal would be generally recognised as intolerable in the case of any other property. What reason does the Prime Minister give? He said at Sheffield, and has since repeated in the House of Commons, that 'the reason for dealing specially with land is this, that whereas in those other cases the unearned increment is incidental, exceptional and abnormal, in the case

of land, or certain classes of land, it is normal, regular, continuous and progressive.' But this is an extraordinary delusion. It is so far from being the case that the Royal Commission appointed by Mr. Gladstone in 1894 reported that, taken as a whole, the value of English land had fallen by many millions.

The Trafford Estates have issued a statement which may be taken as a typical case. Twelve years ago they purchased a property adjoining the Manchester Ship Canal. This they have been developing at great expense, and as yet they have not received a penny of interest. If, however, they should now make any profit, Mr. Lloyd George calls it 'unearned increment,' and will take one-fifth. It is really, however, merely back interest.

Expert opinion is almost unanimous against the land proposals in the Budget.

The Law Society appointed a committee to examine and report upon the Bill. This committee have made a valuable report criticising the Bill severely. They say that

they regard them (*i.e.* the Land Clauses) as unjust in principle, in that they are specially directed against owners of a particular class of property and one which already bears its fair share of Imperial and local burdens, as unnecessary from a purely financial point of view, as seeking to bring about under the pretext of taxation results which, if deemed desirable, should be openly pursued by substantive legislation, and as calculated to cause dislocation of business and to augment unemployment.

And, again :

A change of such importance ought not to be brought forward as part of a financial measure. If for purposes of public policy the owners of land are to be deprived of part of their property, it should be upon terms of payment of a reasonable price, and not by taking the property without compensation and calling the process taxation.

The Law Society of Ireland have expressed very similar opinions, and they add that some of the proposals 'will weigh with special severity on the tenant-farmers of Ireland.'

The Land Agents' Society have issued a memorandum in which they point out that the 'so-called unearned increment' 'does not, and is never likely to, exist, except in the shape of accumulated interest on locked-up capital'; that 'the Ministerial estimate of 2,000,000*l.* as the cost of the valuation of the land . . . is wholly inadequate.' They believe

that the view is held in some quarters that the increased burdens imposed upon land by the Bill will affect large landowners only. Nothing, in their opinion, could be further from the truth. On the contrary, in many respects—such as, for instance, valuation—the cost to a small owner must necessarily be relatively very much greater than to a large owner. In the opinion of the Committee no landowner, however small, will be able in prudence to dispense with the services of a skilled valuer.

The Society of Auctioneers, which was founded more than a hundred years ago, express the opinion that

The cost both to the nation and private owners will be enormous, and altogether out of proportion to the revenue obtained. The valuations will be very complicated, and in many cases there will be conflicting interests in connexion with the same property.

The effect of the Bill will be to create distrust and uncertainty with regard to the tenure of land and will lead capitalists and others to abandon land as a subject for investment.

The Surveyors' Association have issued a statement, in which they point out that

At the present time, owing to the great decrease in the value of property, the margin on many mortgages has been reduced below the statutory one-third, and the imposition of the proposed duties will cause a still further reduction, so that trustees and others who have hitherto regarded mortgages as one of the soundest forms of investment will be compelled to call in their capital and invest it in other securities; the result being great hardship on and expense to the owners of property, and restriction of the capital available for investment in land.

The Finance Bill has already had a deterrent effect on the letting of building land, and some of the signatories have experienced instances where contracts which were on the eve of completion have been annulled on account of the cumulative taxes proposed, and the cancelling of these agreements will cause an enormous amount of unemployment in the building and allied trades.

The Valuers' Association sent out a circular to all their members, and received 421 replies. Of these 411 condemn the land clauses and only ten support them.

The Building Societies will also be very adversely affected. For instance, the Secretaries and Surveyors of the Bradford Equitable in their report to the Society point out that

The Budget suggestions for land taxation are so complicated and apparently unworkable that there appears to be no possibility of making any useful suggestion for their amendment, and the probability of further legislation on similar lines, increasing the amount of the taxes, will for a considerable time seriously unsettle the property market and reduce the selling value of all real estate far beyond the amount of the proposed taxes. This state will certainly continue until buyers can estimate with a fair amount of accuracy the full effect of such legislation.

The Government proposals were put forward with the view of encouraging the building trade. But what has been the result? The London builders have issued a manifesto in which, after saying that they have had a long experience and employ many thousands of workmen, they add that their business has been paralysed by the Budget.

Since the Budget proposals have been placed before the public no one of us has taken up any land for building purposes. The reason for this is that while we, as traders, are as desirous as ever we were to do business, we are unable to entertain proposals which could result in nothing but a serious loss. The

increment duty of 20 per cent. and the 100 per cent. increase in stamp duties are, perhaps, the direct causes of the paralysis of our industry and the demoralisation of those who have been accustomed to invest their money in building. Beyond this, the little man who buys a single house, frequently paying for it in instalments, will no longer dream of investing his savings, or committing himself financially, by dealing in house property. The actual result is that with an immediately diminishing number of workers we are merely completing existing contracts; and seeing that not one of us has bought a single estate since the Budget was introduced, the outlook for the winter months, so far as the worker is concerned, is grave beyond any possibility of exaggeration. . . .

We are anxious to continue business; we are wishful of finding further work for our men, some of whom have been with us many years; but this is impossible; and we give this warning of the general collapse in the building trade in the hope that something may yet be done to avert what cannot but prove to be a terrible industrial calamity.

There is, in fact, a most remarkable consensus of opinion amongst those best qualified to judge, that the effect of the proposals will be disastrous. Those who have issued these protests against the Land Clauses are not millionaires or large landowners, but hard-headed men of business speaking of what is within their own knowledge.

MINERALS

In the Bill as introduced there was a tax on 'ungotten' minerals. This was too ridiculous, too obviously unjust, and indeed quite impracticable. To tax a man on minerals he had not got, and might never get, could not be maintained. Moreover, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not say what were and what were not minerals in the sense of the Bill.

But what shall we say of a Government which brought in so important a proposal with so little consideration?

Professor Hull, one of our most eminent geologists, who was for forty years on the staff of the Geological Survey and is the author of the standard work *On the Coalfields of Great Britain*, in a memorandum on this part of the Bill which he has been so kind as to send me, states that

no one who knows the uncertainties of coal-mining, the irregularities and breaks of the strata and the variations in thickness and quality of the seams of coal, could possibly give estimates of the quantities of coal at great depths, except as mere approximations to the reality—or, in other words, by guesswork.

It is, he says, 'absolutely inconceivable that such demands as those contained in Clauses 15 and 16 could have been inserted in an Act of Parliament by a serious politician.' The present proposal is no doubt an improvement. Yet I do not see the justice of a special tax on royalties. Take two men, each in receipt of 1,000*l.* a year, one from railway shares, the other from a royalty. Both pay income tax on their incomes; why is one to have another income tax imposed on him in the name of a tax on royalties?

DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION

Next as to the proportion between direct and indirect taxation. The Prime Minister, in his speech at Sheffield (the 21st of May 1909), estimated the produce of the new indirect taxes at 6,100,000*l.* and of direct taxes for the present year at 6,850,000*l.* That, he urged, was a fair proportion. But mark the words 'for the present year.' That may be all the direct taxes will bring in this year; but next year, without any change, the amount will be much heavier. Lord George Hamilton, in an excellent letter in the *Times* of the 22nd of May, shows that the direct taxes will bring in over 25,000,000*l.*, or more than three times the amount stated by the Prime Minister. If 6,850,000*l.* was fair, it is obvious that 25,000,000*l.* is very unfair.

INCOME TAX

I now come to the income tax. Till recently we have regarded it as a war tax. It was a great resource for the Chancellor of the Exchequer in times of need. We could raise an additional income with perhaps less dislocation of national industries than in any other way. It was, in fact, a national reserve.

But in some respects it is a most unjust tax. Income derived from wasting securities is charged as if it were permanent.

Take, for instance, a man who has a landed estate of moderate dimensions, but beneath which there is coal, giving him an income of 5000*l.* a year. He will have to pay a shilling and eightpence income tax, a tax on his royalties, a tax on any increase in rent, and heavy death duties. But the coal is being year by year diminished, and the probability is that if, as a prudent man, he were to set aside enough to replace the value of the mineral removed he would have no available balance of income at all. In fact, he is paying income tax not on income but on capital.

It is quite indefensible to charge wasting securities at the same rate as permanent income. Of course the injustice is not new, and no doubt the remedy is difficult, but it is a strong reason for keeping the tax low; and the present great increase in the rate aggravates and intensifies the injustice.

THE SUPER TAX

The weighty remonstrance which was addressed to the Government by the bankers and merchants of London placed in the forefront as a subject of condemnation and 'alarm the increasing disproportion of the burden which is being placed on a numerically small class of the community.' This criticism is fully justified by the facts. The Prime Minister in his speech at Sheffield told us that there are in the year only 274 estates proved for death duties at over 100,000*l.* The number of

persons with 5000*l.* a year are estimated at only 10,000. These persons are to be taxed with special severity; but, however much may be extracted from them, the amount—though it may be very unjust to them—would make comparatively little difference to the national income.

It may be said that an extra exaction of eightpence in the pound is not serious. But it must be remembered that everyone has various calls on him which, even if not legal liabilities, are moral obligations. The taxable income is a very different thing from the spendable income, and even of the spendable income practically there is much which is beyond a man's control. Hence the sudden increase of taxation is especially burdensome. Moreover, if the principle is admitted, who can say that it will stop at 6*d.* or at 5000*l.*?

THE DEATH DUTIES

As regards the death duties it would certainly seem that we have already reached the limit which can safely be imposed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that 'undoubtedly a very considerable proportion of property passing at death had escaped taxation within the last ten years,' besides which he adds that the effect has been to 'stimulate and encourage a healthy man to distribute his property long before he anticipated his dissolution.'

The Government seem to consider that it is a complete answer to their critics to say that the objections urged against their proposals as regards the death duties were also urged against Sir W. Harcourt. No doubt they were, and they were as true then as they are now. The difference is that the present proposals are more extreme.

One result of these proposals must inevitably be to drive capital out of the country. The Prime Minister, indeed, ridicules the statement that capital is leaving, and will leave, the country. I ask, he says, a question 'which I have put before, but I have not got an answer to it: Where is it going to?' He himself, however, gives the answer in the very same speech. He says: 'It is a fact that we have sent millions of British capital into the uttermost corners of the earth.'

The Prime Minister ignores the effect his Budget will have on foreign capital. Until now much foreign capital has been sent here for security—to the great advantage of this country. The Budget will, of course, tend to check this. Capital will go where income tax and death duties are lowest or do not exist, to countries which have a wiser and more far-seeing Government.

Moreover, the reduction in the value of land and other property due to the Budget will have a great effect in reducing the proceeds of the death duties in future.

Another strong objection to high death duties is that the Government takes capital and spends it as income.

GRADUATION

I now come to the question of graduation. It has always been objected to by the highest authorities, because, if the principle is admitted, where are you to stop? There is no logical or natural limit.

Mr. Lecky, a careful and gifted student of economical questions, well said in his work on *Democracy and Liberty* that

It is obvious that a graduated tax is a direct penalty imposed on saving and industry, a direct premium offered to idleness and extravagance. It discourages the very habits and qualities which it is most in the interest of the State to foster. . . . It is at the same time perfectly arbitrary. . . . Highly graduated taxation realises most completely the supreme danger of democracy, creating a state of things in which one class imposes on another burdens which it is not asked to share, and compels the State into vast schemes of extravagance, under the belief that the whole cost will be thrown upon others. . . . Yet no truth of political economy is more certain than that a heavy taxation of capital will fall most severely on the poor.

Another very high authority, John Stuart Mill, himself a strong Radical, lays it down in his work on *Political Economy* (Bk. V., chap. ii., sec. 3) that

to tax the larger income at a higher percentage than the smaller is to levy a tax on industry and economy, to impose a penalty on people for having worked harder and saved more than their neighbours. It is a partial taxation, which is a mild form of robbery. . . . A just and wise legislation would abstain from holding out motives for dissipating rather than saving the earnings of honest exertion.

How true these views are experience has shown.

Moreover, where is it to end?

This is the second graduation of income tax and the third of death duties. The Attorney-General and other Ministers already foreshadow a fourth. The scale proposed by Government is, they tell us, very moderate and low.

Graduation, again, not only takes an undue part of a man's property, but lowers the value of the rest. It necessarily creates a want of confidence and a feeling of insecurity, and is therefore unwise and unjust. At present the limit of the super tax is taken at 5000*l.* a year. Why 5000*l.*? There is but one answer. There are only 10,000 persons—at least, so we are told—with an income of over 5000*l.* a year. Being so few they can make no resistance, so the Government say 'Let us tax them.' I might have used a stronger word. How do the Government attempt to justify it? They assume that a man with 5000*l.* a year can afford to pay not merely more, but more in proportion, than one with 4000*l.* a year, because they say he is richer. But this does not follow. A bachelor with 4000*l.* a year is better off—I mean, of course, only financially—than a man with a wife and family who has 5000*l.* And yet the man who is really the richer of the two will pay less income tax. The man with 4000*l.* a year may support the Government

proposals now, and deem himself fortunate in escaping the super tax which the man with 5000*l.* has to pay. But how long will he escape? His turn will inevitably come; then that of the man with 3000*l.*, and so on.

As regards the death duties, again, graduation acts most unjustly. Let me give one illustration. A man dies leaving 20,000*l.* and one son, who takes the 20,000*l.* subject to a payment of 5 per cent. Another man leaves 100,000*l.* and five sons. They each get 20,000*l.*; the same as in the other case, but they have to pay twice as much to Government—10 per cent. instead of 5 per cent. This is a gross hardship. They inherit the same amount from their father, but each has to pay 1000*l.* more to Government. If two men inherit the same amount it is contrary to justice and common-sense that one should have to pay twice as heavy a tax as the other.

THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The majorities by which the several clauses of the Finance Bill have been carried in the House of Commons have not been such as to give the Bill any moral weight. The system under which the House of Commons is elected is by no means satisfactory. Twice in recent elections a minority in the country has secured a majority in the House of Commons. At the last General Election, on the contrary, it so happened that the majority in the country obtained a far larger proportional majority in the House.

In 1906, according to the poll-book issued by the Liberal Publication Department, the Radicals polled 3,041,000 votes and secured 428 representatives, while the Unionists polled 2,100,000 and only obtained 139 representatives. 'If,' says the Report, 'the Government only held as many seats as this vote majority entitled it to proportionately, this seat majority would be 94. As a fact it is 354.' That is to say, the Government have 260 more votes in the House of Commons than they are entitled to by the votes given in the country. But their majorities in the Budget divisions have never reached to anything like this figure. They have ranged up to 180 and fallen below 40. If, then, the Government had only a majority in the House of Commons corresponding to their majority in the country, they would have been unable to pass the Bill. So far as arithmetic goes, we are entitled to say that the country is against the Bill.

THE POSITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

It is admitted on all hands that the House of Lords have the right to reject any Bill; and it is surely evident that if the House can reject the Bill as a whole, *à fortiori* they can reject part of a Bill. No measure can become law unless it is passed by the House of Lords.

Moreover, parts of the present Budget—the Land Clauses, for instance, which are no fewer than twenty-eight in number—are really

a Bill in themselves tacked on to the Budget Bill. If the contention of the Government were correct, any measure could be passed over the head of the House of Lords by simply tacking it on to a Money Bill. Moreover, it must be remembered that if the House of Lords alter the Bill the effect will be not to increase but to diminish taxation. It is no doubt unusual for the House of Lords to amend a Money Bill, but it is unconstitutional to insert legislative proposals in a measure which ought to be confined to finance.

To throw out the whole Bill would indeed put an end to much existing taxation which must necessarily be reimposed.

The rejection of the new proposals need have no such effect. I attempted in the spring, not indeed to construct a new Budget but to show that the expenditure sanctioned by Parliament required no such extreme proposals. Sir R. Giffen subsequently expressed a similar opinion (*Quarterly Review*, July 1909), and the Chancellor of the Exchequer practically admitted my contention when he said at the Holborn Restaurant (June 24): 'We have provided, as we believe, not merely for the needs of the year, but for the needs which are in front of us—for the redemption of the pledges we have given.'

Parliament, however, has not yet sanctioned these 'pledges,' and I submit that Mr. Lloyd George is putting the cart before the horse. The money should not be raised till the expenditure is authorised.

If, then, the House of Lords determine to throw out the clauses containing the very novel and arbitrary proposals of the Chancellor, and thus give our countrymen the opportunity of expressing their views, it is clear that the House of Lords will be showing their confidence in the people, that they will be taking the democratic side, and the Government that of autocracy.

Mr. Gladstone, as Lord Curzon has recently pointed out, in his Budget Speech of 1861 said :

The House of Lords have never given up the power of amendment ; and I must say I think that they are perfectly right in declining to record against themselves this or any other such limitation of their privileges, because cases might arise in which, from the illegitimate incorporation of elements not financial into financial measures, it might be perfectly wise and just to fall back upon an assertion of the whole breadth of their privileges, according to the just view they have ever taken of them. I think I am strictly correct in saying that the House of Lords have never abandoned by any corporate and formal act of their own the right of making amendments in a financial measure sent to them from this House. The powers of this House must remain greater than those of the House of Lords ; but I believe the infringement of the privileges of the House of Lords or their functions would be as fatal to the balance of the Constitution as would be the loss of the privileges of the House itself.

Here Lord Curzon stopped, but what follows is even stronger.

So far, indeed, from regarding this as in any way derogatory to the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone went on to say : ' In my opinion the House of Commons would be very much safer if the House of Lords

did claim and exercise the power of amendment.' And for this opinion he gave weighty reasons. Moreover, this was no off-hand remark; for, as Mr. Bowles has reminded us, he emphasised the statement in a subsequent speech.

'The honourable member,' he said, referring to Mr. Newdigate, has again fallen into an error which I hoped would have been avoided after the discussions we have had. He said that the House of Lords may not alter a Money Bill, but may reject it. I should like to know where it is that the honourable member has learned that the House of Lords are possessed of a power of rejecting in any sense in which they are not possessed of a power of alteration.

If I might say for my own part, though anxious to vindicate the privileges of this House against the House of Lords where need may arise, yet I think that the House of Lords is right and wise in avoiding any formal surrender of the power even of amendment in cases where it might think it justifiable even to amend a Bill relating to finance.

Sir W. Anson has emphasised these considerations in a recent letter to the *Times* (October 22).

The Unionist leaders may indeed consider it wiser to leave on the Government the responsibility of providing funds for the enormous expenditure they have incurred. We do not, however, yet know the exact form in which the Bill will finally emerge from the House of Commons. No one yet can say what course the Peers will think it right to adopt, and the violent attacks made upon the House of Lords by members of the Government only show how difficult they find it to justify and defend their proposals.

THE INCIDENCE OF THE NEW TAXES

And now let us consider for a few moments on whom these duties will fall. This is one of those cases in which the momentary and permanent effects are not only different but opposite. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to think that to diminish wealth is to diminish poverty.

No doubt the Government consider that this Budget is to benefit the poor—a noble and charitable object. But will this be the effect? It is not in the power of any Government permanently to alter the incidence of taxation. The effect is being constantly modified by changes in wages, in hours of work, by special allowances, and in other ways.

If the Budget passes, employment will certainly be diminished. As already mentioned, much capital will leave the country; indeed, the very proposal has driven out much already, not merely British capital, but foreign also, which used to regard this country as a safe asylum. My friends who are also engaged in business would, I know, confirm me in this statement.

Let me take a case. Suppose a foreigner, or for that matter an Englishman, who has money to invest. He favours railways, and considers whether he should buy British or American railway securities.

If he chooses British he becomes liable for heavy death duties ; if he takes American he has none. Can any member of the Government deny that this is a great encouragement to the extension of American as against British railways, and must therefore tend to deprive British workmen of employment ?

The same argument applies to all factories and manufactures.

Socialists profess to be indifferent or even hostile to capital. They regard the capitalist and the workman as having opposite interests. The very reverse is the case. How is the workman to find employment except by the aid of capital ? If a railway is to be constructed, a tramway to be laid down, a dock to be made, a ship to be built, capital is required ; the work cannot be undertaken unless capital is to be had. Whether the works are undertaken by a private firm or a local authority makes no difference ; capital is equally necessary. Moreover, many a work can be undertaken—if capital can be obtained at 3 per cent.—which would be a loss if 5 per cent. had to be paid. By driving capital abroad this Bill is depriving the workman of employment. But perhaps it may be said that capital is not necessary ; credit will suffice. But what is credit ? Credit only enables you to use another man's capital. But this Bill has lowered and is lowering our national credit.

Mr. Hobhouse, in answer to Mr. Lane Fox, was obliged to admit that in the last twelve months the securities of almost every other civilised country have risen, and ours on the contrary have fallen. He added the singular remark that he believed 'it is owing to some feeling of uncertainty as to whether the Budget would pass.' Surely he is in a fool's paradise. It is fear lest the Budget should pass which is driving away capital, shaking confidence, and lowering the value of securities.

One object the Government have had is to encourage building. Their idea for the future seems to be to make England one great city, to do away with 'undeveloped land'—i.e. with country—and convert Britain into a wilderness of houses each with a garden of one acre enclosed in a wall. But, so far from encouraging building, the Budget is doing and will do the very reverse, and, as I have already shown (*ante*, pp. 747 and 748), it has paralysed the business, thus throwing thousands out of employment, and in this way also injuring the working classes.

Again, the Budget is a discouragement to thrift and industry. As men advance in life they naturally begin to consider when they should retire from work, whether what they expect to make will repay the effort. But if Government are going to take 8 per cent. for income tax, naturally men will retire earlier. The whole nation will be the poorer, and in this way again the employment of artisans will be diminished.

The attempt to delude the working classes into the idea that these

taxes fall exclusively on the rich will have another unfortunate effect. It will tend to promote extravagance and discourage economy. We have seen the malign influence of the compound householder on municipal expenditure, and are paying heavier rates because so many electors are under the impression that they have no interest in economy. In the same way, if Parliamentary electors are persuaded that it is in the power of Government to throw taxation on the rich, it will become even more difficult to resist excessive national expenditure.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the end of his Budget speech, said: 'This is a war Budget! It is a Budget for waging implacable warfare against poverty.' It is no doubt a war Budget; but it is not, I think, against poverty that it wages implacable war. If he had said 'against the poor' he would have been nearer the mark; for if you wage implacable war, as this Budget does, against energy and industry, confidence and thrift, the whole nation will be the worse off, but it is the poor who will in the long run be the greatest sufferers.

AYEBURY.

PHANTOM MILLIONS

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACTUAL AMOUNT OF THE ANNUAL INCREMENT OF LAND VALUES

THE IGNORANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT AS TO THE FACTS

THE importance of the issues raised by the more controversial parts of the Budget of the present Government will not end either with the passing or with the immediate rejection of that measure. Should it pass, its provisions are valid for one year only. Should it be rejected all the parts here referred to will come up again for discussion in connection with such substitutes as may be proposed for them. Whatever, then, may happen in the near future, there never was a time when it was more requisite than it is now to examine these parts carefully in relation to the alleged facts which their advocates put forward in defence of them.

This observation applies more especially to those parts of the Budget which relate to the special taxation of land. That these depend alike for their theoretical and practical justification on the actual facts of the case is admitted by the Government themselves; for, whether the facts of the case are correctly understood by them or no, their entire defence of the position which they have taken up always resolves itself into a series of assertions with regard to them. When Mr. Lloyd George delivered his speech at Limehouse, examples of alleged facts formed the basis and indeed the substance of his argument. Mr. Asquith, when defending the increment tax in the House of Commons, takes his stand on assertions as to what the amount of the increment is. The unfortunate thing is that none of the leading advocates of the Budget ever commit themselves to assertions of a definite kind without being guilty of some very surprising inaccuracy; nor have their inaccuracies the merit of being in approximate agreement with one another. Thus Mr. Asquith estimates on one occasion 'the annual rise in value of land here in London' at 1,000,000*l.* On another occasion he implicitly throws this computation to the winds. Mr. Masterman tells the Liberals of Oxford that the Peers own one third of the country.

Mr. Lloyd George tells a foreign reporter that the Peers own the whole of it.

I am not insisting on absurdities such as these in any spirit of need-less acrimony. I mention them only to show that, whilst on their own admission the justification of their proposed new land taxes depends on a number of definite business facts, the inventors and defenders of these taxes have not been at the trouble to acquaint themselves, or even to attempt to acquaint themselves, with these facts as they really are. It is impossible, no doubt, for anybody to ascertain them with absolute accuracy, but material is available for arriving at certain conclusions sufficient to reduce all the estimates put forward by the present Government to nonsense. Let us now examine the facts soberly in the light of such evidence as is open to us.

II

THE EVIDENCE AT OUR DISPOSAL

The general assumption underlying the Government's proposals as to land is clearly enough summed up in Mr. Asquith's assertion that land is the only form of property which exhibits a continuous and necessary increase in value. It is curious that a man of Mr. Asquith's attainments should ever have committed himself to a proposition which is, at all events in this unqualified form, so monstrously at variance with notorious and officially attested facts; for one of the best known and most widely used publications issued annually by the Government of this country shows that, during the course of the past twenty-eight years, the agricultural rental has not only not increased, but has exhibited an unbroken decline, being less to-day by about 25 per cent. than it was in the year 1880. Moreover, the selling or capital value has exhibited a decrease of a still more striking kind. The *Times* has published on two occasions, first in the year 1889, then in the year 1897, a record of all estates of more than thirty acres sold in London during certain specified periods from the year 1780 onwards; and these records show that the average price per acre in the years 1893-96 was 25*l.* (or 49 per cent.) less than it had been in the years 1871-80, and was 7*l.* 10*s.* less than it had been in the years 1781-1800.

In the face of facts such as these the Government, without explicitly acknowledging their original error, have nevertheless acknowledged it by the shame-faced method of implication; for their main proposals relating to agricultural land have been dropped, not out of deference to dukes, but out of deference to facts which could not be permanently disguised. They have exempted agricultural land, however, from their doctrine of a 'continuous increase' only to reassert this doctrine yet more vehemently as to building land. Here, they say, we have

a form of property at all events which does grow in value continuously and at an ever-accelerating rate, thereby differing from property of every other description. Here, they say, we have an increment which, alike in its origin and its magnitude, is marked out as a subject of special super-taxation; and with this doctrine they also associate another which finds its embodiment in one of the most remarkable of their fiscal projects. Vast as the annual increment of the value of land used for building and for allied purposes is as matters stand at present, this value, they say, is nothing to what it would be if it were not for the conduct of landlords who deliberately hold back areas which the public is longing to 'develop,' or in other words to cover with new structures. They accordingly propose to put a special tax, not only on land which, by being built upon, exhibits an actual increase in value, but also on land which conceivably might be built upon, and which would exhibit such an increase if the hypothetical structures covered it.

Now it is true that in any country which is increasing in wealth and population new dwellings continually have to be built, and premises used for business have to be enlarged or multiplied, and whatever may be the case with such land rent as depends upon agriculture, there will be a certain increase in the aggregate of the rent of land used for building. The question is, firstly, one of degree, or of the actual amount of increase, and, secondly, of the conditions by which this amount is determined.

Of the manner in which these questions are approached by the present Government it would be flattering to say that it resembles the manner of children. Their general procedure is to pick out isolated facts, such as the sale by some landowner, preferably a duke, of some plot in or near a town for a sum sensationally in excess of its agricultural value, and then to declare 'that this sort of thing is going on all over the country,' the actual number of such transactions and the aggregate increment resulting from them being conveniently left to the imaginations of the British public. There is no attempt to ascertain how far such transactions are typical, and even these very transactions are reported by them with so gross an inaccuracy that a sum of about 5000*l.* has been magnified by Mr. Ure into 150,000*l.* Even when, as in Mr. Asquith's case, one of them affects to draw from particular facts some broad conclusion of a more or less definite nature, the figures to which he commits himself are, as will be seen presently, so remote from facts as to have practically no connection with them. I have referred already to Mr. Asquith's estimate for London. 'The value of land here in London increases,' he said, 'by 1,000,000*l.* a year.' A similar increase, he added, is taking place in our great towns generally, and the increasing movement of factories from the great towns to the country will soon make the increase in rural land-values equal the increase in urban. I refer to these utterances for a second

time merely to emphasise the contrast between the reckless guess-work of the Government and the kind of results that will emerge from any careful consideration of facts and figures which are accessible to anybody who cares to study them.

Let us begin, then, with a survey of the materials which we possess as guides to us in our investigation.

In the first place, the following truths will be patent to, and will be admitted by everybody. If the building land of a country exhibits, as a whole, any increment in value at all, this increment must be due to one or other, or else to both, of two causes: the increase of the population in numbers; or the increase in wealth amongst a population which in point of numbers is stationary; or an increase of the population in point of numbers accompanied by an increase in wealth which is greater than the numerical increase, and which thus renders the population relatively as well as absolutely richer. If a population of a thousand people having 100*l.* a year each grew into a population of two thousand people each having this same income, a thousand new houses would have to come into existence, and a thousand new plots of land thus used as building sites acquire a value greater than that which they had possessed as minute fragments of turnip-fields. If a population of a thousand persons having 100*l.* a year each came in time to be the possessors of 200*l.*, the probabilities are that, though they might not require more houses they would wish for houses which were larger, and would furthermore require additional premises for the extended businesses to which presumably their increased incomes would be due. In this case, just as in the former, there would be a conversion of agricultural plots into building sites, and a consequent rise in the value of them, though the number of the population was no greater than it was before. If a population of a thousand people with 100*l.* a year each grew into a population of two thousand, each of whom had an income of 200*l.*, the increment in land values would, it is evident, be proportionally greater. But if the population in question always remained a thousand, and if none of the persons composing it ever had more to spend than the 100*l.* a year with which all of them, as we suppose, started, no fresh houses would be required, there would be no spare money to build them with, there would be no fresh conversion of agricultural soil into building sites, and there neither would be nor could be any increment in site values whatsoever.

It must therefore be plain to even the meanest intelligence that whenever any increment of the kind in question develops itself, this is due to some increase in the numbers or the wealth of the population, or to the joint operation of both causes, and it is equally plain that it must bear some definite relation to such an increase, and cannot be arbitrarily inflated by any artificial means. Apart from the few persons rich enough to have more houses than one, if there are a thousand more families in a country to-day than there were a year

ago, the addition to the number of dwellings wanted and susceptible of occupation cannot by any possibility be more than a thousand. Therefore the amount, not only of land built upon, but also of the land which the present Government describe as 'ripe for building,' is limited by the number of the population and the rate at which it increases.

And now, bearing in mind these self-evident general truths, let us turn to actual and officially recorded facts relating to buildings, to building sites, and to the rents arising from them in this country. It will be enough if we give our attention to the past fifteen or sixteen years. Amongst the facts with regard to which we have detailed and official evidence are the following—the number of persons added each year to the population, the number of new premises built in each year, corresponding to them, the main classes into which these premises divide themselves in respect both of their purposes and value; and the total annual rent of buildings and sites combined. There are, moreover, a number of further facts by a study of which we can broadly, if not in particular cases, discriminate between the ground-rents and the rents of the actual structures.

III

THE RECORDED ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF BUILDINGS

Let us begin with the simplest of these, namely, the annual growth of the population, and the increase in the number of buildings.

The population of the United Kingdom in the year 1898 was about 40,000,000, and the number of dwelling-houses, exclusive of Ireland, about 6,300,000. Ten years later, in 1908, the population was 44,000,000, and the number of dwelling-houses was about 7,500,000. The population increased by about 4,200,000, the number of dwelling-houses by 1,200,000.

The average yearly increase in the population has been 420,000; the average yearly increase in the number of dwellings has been about 129,000. This gives an average of two new houses built for every seven new persons added to the population.

These rates of increase for the period here in question are somewhat greater than they had been during the previous ninety-eight years. From the year 1801–1898 the average number of persons to a house never sank below five, and never rose to six, which shows that, over extended periods, houses and population increased in almost unvarying proportion. If, however, we examine the figures for the last ten years more closely, we shall see that the provision of new houses has been in excess of the demand. This fact is illustrated by a comparison of the number of houses built in each one of these years with the records of unemployment in the building trades, published by the present Government in its Blue-book on Public Health and

Social Conditions. The years in which most new houses were built were the years in which unemployment in the building trades was at its minimum. Each of these periods of activity was followed by a marked reaction. Unemployment in the building trades increased with almost unbroken continuity from 1897 to 1908. In 1897 144,000 new dwellings were built, or 14,000 above the average. In 1898 the number built had sunk to 114,000, or 16,000 below the average. In 1889 the number built was 147,000, or 17,000 above the average. The annual number then fell continuously till 1902, when it was 9,000 below the average; it reached the average during one subsequent year, 1905, but then sank again, being 20,000 below the ten years' average in 1907-8. It has thus been impossible to find even a probable market for more than 130,000 new houses annually, and that even this has been in excess of the requirements of the population is shown by the fact that in the year 1905 7,000,000*l.* had to be deducted from the assessed value of houses (Schedule A) in respect of premises for which no tenants could be found. The average value of all premises being about 23*l.* it thus appears that there were over 300,000 premises unoccupied. The number of new houses, then, required by our increasing population has been less during the past ten years than the number actually built, the average number required year by year reducing itself from 129,000 to something under 120,000. If we extend our observation from a period of ten years to a period of fifteen, we find that between the years 1892 and 1897 the annual increase of the population was 360,000, and the annual increase in houses 85,000. If we divide the following ten years into two quinquennial periods, we find that, whilst the increase of the population was throughout about 430,000, the average yearly increase in houses was 137,000 between 1897 and 1902, and that between 1902 and 1907 was 123,000. According to Mulhall, in the year 1897, which was one of the record years in the annals of new buildings, the number of unoccupied houses was even greater than it is to-day, which goes to illustrate the fact that the decline in the rate of building during the last of the above three periods merely represents a readjustment of supply to the natural demand.

Let us now turn from private houses to business premises. The number of these is about one eighth of that of the dwelling-houses, though their average value per building is incomparably greater. During the first of the three quinquennial periods just mentioned the average yearly increase in their number was 20,000 a year; during the second—the period of exceptional increase in houses—it was 21,000 a year. During the third period it sank to 17,000 a year.

Putting together, then, what we have seen thus far, we shall find that the average annual increase in the number of buildings does not exceed, and has not for ten years shown any tendency to exceed, 140,000. In connection, therefore, with the utterances of the Govern-

ment as to land which is 'ripe for building,' we may provisionally illustrate the meaning of this figure by expressing it in terms of a general average for Great Britain. It means that the land which annually becomes ripe for building is as much land as would be required in each county for about 1550 new dwelling-houses, and 220 new shops, warehouses, or works of one kind or another.

IV

THE RECORDED ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE VALUE OF BUILDINGS, SITES INCLUDED

So much, then, for numbers. But numbers alone will tell us very little of what we want to know. We must take the increment in the number of buildings with the increment in values which is represented by it.

From the point of view of the Government the question of value is everything. I have dwelt at length on the increase in the number of buildings merely to show how this number is limited by general circumstances; but, the number of buildings being given, the ultimate point at issue is what is the increase in value which they give to the soil on which they stand, as compared with its value when used for agricultural purposes.

Now of this increase we have no complete or systematic record. We have, however, at our disposal a great variety of evidences which only require to be reasonably put together to enable us to arrive at certain general conclusions, the approximate correctness of which will not be open to question.

The most obvious of these evidences relates, not to the value of the building areas by themselves, but to the value of these areas and the value of the buildings together.

This joint value is given year by year in the Statistical Abstract. Let us, then, again go over the period of fifteen years with which we have been just concerning ourselves, and compare the joint increase in the value of buildings and building land with what we have just seen to have been the increase in the number of the buildings themselves.

This increase, in the course of the fifteen years under review, has been at an average rate of 4,300,000*l.* annually. Only three times has this average annual increase been greatly exceeded by actual increase in a year, and in each of these cases the figures for the year following have abruptly sunk to a level below the average. The greatest increase took place in the year 1903. The increase for the years 1904 and 1905 fell to less than a half of this. Just, then, as the number of new structures required annually amounts, as we have seen, to about 110,000, so does the gross value of structures and sites together amount annually, if we take any several years together, to about

4,300,000*l.* The practical question, then, which the present Government have raised, by their proposal to place a special tax on what they describe as 'the unearned increment in land values,' reduces itself to the question of how much out of a sum of 4,300,000*l.* is represented by an increase in the value of land areas as such, and how much by an increase in the value of the structures which are placed on them.

The increase in the value of the land areas taken as a whole obviously arises in two different ways, and consists partly of an increase in the value of certain areas built upon already, but from one cause or another offering enhanced advantages to the occupier, and partly from an extension in the acreage used for building, which, though raising the new acres acquired to something more than their previous value, has in itself no necessary tendency to raise the average value per acre of building sites as a whole.

We could find at any moment a number of individual cases with regard to which a discrimination between the site rent and the gross rent would be easy. But what we require is not individual cases, which may or may not be altogether misleading. What we require is the cumulative result of all the cases together. Now, as I have observed already, no direct and systematic inquiry with regard to the proportion of the joint rent of sites and structures which arises from the sites as such, or the proportion of the gross increment which is due to the increasing utility or convenience of the sites, as distinct from any increment arising from improvements in the character of the structures, has yet been made with regard to the country as a whole. With regard to various large parts of it the evidence is, however, abundant, and with regard to one most important part of it we have already an estimate of a systematic and comprehensive kind. This estimate is the result of an inquiry instituted by the London County Council when the Progressive party was in the ascendant, and if the conclusion arrived at was affected by any party bias, such a bias could only have the result of representing the ground landlords as exacting more rather than less of the whole than they did as a fact take. The conclusion was that, of the gross rental value of the metropolis, the amount represented by land values is 33 per cent. Other inquirers have arrived independently at a figure which, though less than this, approaches it. Let us take, however, the highest estimate possible, which is something slightly less than a third of the gross rateable value. The gross rental of London—all buildings, public and private included—divided by the number of inhabitants, gives an average rent per head of about 9*l.* a year. A third of this comes to 3*l.* a year for ground rent, whilst the remaining 6*l.* represents the rent of the buildings themselves.

Let us now take fifteen of the largest provincial towns in England and Wales, the combined populations of which are equal to that of London. Whilst the gross annual rental of London is about

46,000,000*l.*, the gross annual rental of the fifteen other towns is about 30,000,000*l.*, which gives an average annual rent of 6*l.* 4*s.* per inhabitant.

Thus the gross rental of London and these other great towns, containing between them a population of 10,000,000, amounts to a total of 76,000,000*l.* The gross house rental for England and Wales amounts to about 185,000,000*l.*, the total population being 35,000,000. There thus remains a rental of about 109,000,000*l.* to be divided amongst a population of 25,000,000.

Now, if the ground rent per inhabitant in London is one-third of the total, which is 9*l.*, it is obvious that in the fifteen other great towns, where the total is only 6*l.*, ground rent cannot bear to the total a proportion so great as this, for in that case the structure rent per inhabitant would be greater in London by some 50 per cent. than it is in towns such as Liverpool, Leeds, and Manchester. That it is considerably greater is no more than we might expect, regard being had to the higher rates of wages and larger relative amount of public buildings in the metropolis; but facts show that the difference cannot be so great as this. If structure rent per inhabitant is 6*l.* in the metropolis, it cannot in the great provincial towns be less than 4*l.* 10*s.*, which leaves a ground rent per inhabitant amounting to one-fourth of the total—that is to say, 1*l.* 10*s.*

With regard to the smaller towns and the rural districts, where the total average rent is 4*l.* 5*s.*, general considerations alone make it obvious that the proportion borne by ground rent to the whole must be smaller still, and well-known specific facts lead to the same conclusion. For example, in the case of agricultural cottages, which represent a population of some 5,000,000 persons—or one-fifth of the 25,000,000 persons here in question—the ground rent is practically *nil*. These 25,000,000 persons include, however, the population of some seventy towns the population of which is between 100,000 and 50,000; and the whole body thus divides itself into three classes: (1) the inhabitants of these towns, about 5,000,000 in number; (2) the inhabitants of districts partly urban and partly rural, about 15,000,000 in number; and (3) the purely agricultural villagers, about 5,000,000 in number. Now in the seventy provincial towns of the second class there is ample evidence to show that ground rent is on an average substantially, if not very greatly, less than it is in the fifteen provincial towns of the first class. We may, in fact, set it down at 1*l.* 5*s.*, as against 1*l.* 10*s.*, whilst in the urban and partly rural districts numbering less than 50,000 inhabitants the total rent, and consequently the ground rent, is smaller again, and will not exceed 1*l.* per head. As the total rent per head paid by the agricultural villagers does not exceed 1*l.* per head, the ground rent per head, if any, is a practically negligible quantity.

In round numbers, then, we get the following broad results with

regard to the rent of building land, as apart from the rent of the buildings, in England and Wales :

	Total £
A metropolitan population of 5,000,000 at 3 <i>l.</i> per head . .	15,000,000
Fifteen great towns, population of 5,000,000 at 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per head	7,500,000
Seventy other towns, population of 5,000,000 at 1 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per head	5,250,000
Rest of country, population of 20,000,000 at 1 <i>l.</i> per head . .	20,000,000
All England and Wales present total ground rent about . .	47,000,000

These figures cannot, of course, be exact, for even whilst they are being collected the actual figures change, and those at present available do not take us beyond the year 1907 or 1908. They represent substantially, however, things as they are now. At a time when the total house rent for England and Wales amounted to 185,000,000*l.* (see Income Tax, Schedule A, and Tables of Inhabited House Duty, Statistical Abstract, 1909, pp. 41-42 and 46-47) the above figures give us an aggregate ground rent amounting, as a maximum, to about one-fourth of the whole.

My reason for here taking England and Wales only when going into these details is the fact that the present Government has recently issued a Blue-book, 'Public Health and Social Conditions,' containing a table which bears directly on the foregoing estimates, and in that table only England and Wales are dealt with. The table analyses the population into four classes: (1) that of London; (2) that of eighty-four towns comprising those of the first and second class, as given in the above division; (3) the population of the smaller urban and partly rural districts; and (4) the purely agricultural population, as represented by a few selected counties, apart from the boroughs contained in them. Thus, although this table does not discriminate between the provincial towns of the first and those of the second class, it corresponds with sufficient closeness to the division that has been made here. It will be enough for the moment to consider the figures for the last seven years dealt with—namely, 1901 to 1908.

The total increase of London during that period has been 260,000, or an average annual increase of 37,000 persons.

The total increase of the eighty-four greater towns has been 1,180,000, or an average annual increase of 168,000 persons.

The exclusively rural population has not increased at all.

The population of the rest of the country has increased by 1,400,000, giving an average annual increase of about 200,000 persons.

Let us now apply these figures as to the annual increase of the several classes of the population to the estimates already given as to the several grades of ground rent.

	Average annual increase in population	Ground rent per head	Total annual increment
		£ s. d.	£
London . . .	37,000	3 0 0	111,000
Large towns . .	168,000	1 10 0	250,000
Country . . .	200,000	1 0 0	200,000

According to these estimates the annual increase in ground rent should be 560,000*l.* for England and Wales, or for the United Kingdom about 620,000*l.* These estimates, as they stand, however, assume that the sole cause of increment in the value of building land as a whole is the extension of its area as a consequence of the increase of population, the average value per acre remaining a constant quantity. But this assumption, though it covers the larger part of the question, does not cover the whole of it. Facts indicate, when we examine them closely, that besides the annual increment in ground rent due to increase of population and the proportional increase in the area required for buildings, there is a certain rise in the average rent per acre, which it is necessary to add in any given year to the mere multiplication of acres at the price then current.

That such is the case is shown in a clear and very interesting way, by comparing the average rent per head from one year to another. Thus the average rent per head was about 4*l.* in the year 1896-7, and was 4*l.* 8*s.* per head in the year 1906-7. This means an increase of total rent per head of 8*s.* in the course of ten years, or about 9½*d.* annually. A portion of this, however, is due to the general increase per head in the value of structures—an increase partly due to the general improvement and cost of private houses, sanitation, and so forth, and partly to the immense development of public and other non-residential buildings. A curious illustration of this fact is afforded by a computation made twenty years ago, which showed that the number of bricks used annually per head of the population had increased by 60 per cent. between the years 1821 and 1888. Indeed, it seems probable that the increase in structure rent, arising from the general improvement in structures of all kinds, tends to become greater than that of the average rent per acre of the sites. If this should prove to be the case, the site rents, which at present represent one-fourth of the whole, would be slowly sinking to some smaller proportion. We will, however, set this consideration aside, and accept one-fourth for site rent as a quantity that still promises to maintain itself. On such an assumption, if the total average rent per head is greater now by eight shillings than it was ten years ago, we must ascribe two shillings per head for ten years, or 2½*d.* annually, to an average increase per acre in the site values taken as a whole. If we take the seven years dealt with in the recent Blue-book just mentioned, and more closely representing the conditions which prevail to-day, this rate of increase is reduced, the gross rental per head having increased only by 8*d.* per head annually, and the ground rent by only 2*d.* This will give us an annual increment due to the average increase in the value of sites per acre amounting to something like 360,000*l.* If we add this to the total already given for new sites annually built upon, we get a gross total of 980,000*l.*

Now from certain figures put forward on one occasion by Mr. Asquith, it appears that he himself does not expect that the special tax

which the Government propose to place on this one kind of increasing income will yield a revenue of more than 50,000*l.* According to the foregoing computation it would yield 49,000*l.*, whilst, if we make allowance for unoccupied premises, it would yield 47,000*l.*

We may assume, then, not only that the foregoing computation is correct, but also that it would be admitted to be so by Mr. Lloyd George himself, when he descends from the realms of fancy, in which he disported himself at Limehouse, into the chilling atmosphere of fact.

THE GOVERNMENT'S DREAM OF MULTIPLYING THE CURRENT
INCREMENT BY TAXING 'UNDEVELOPED LAND'

But this question of what we may call the current increment in site values is, when taken in connexion with the proposals of the present Government, only the smallest part of the practical issues raised by them. Even Mr. Asquith has been constrained to admit that, if we consider it by itself, the taxation of this current increment would yield a revenue so paltry as not to pay for the expenses of collection. He contends, however—and this is the special doctrine of Mr. Lloyd George also—that though the increment may be paltry and not worth specially taxing, as matters now stand, its paltriness is due altogether to artificial circumstances, and that, if these circumstances are altered, it will be rapidly and almost indefinitely amplified. Its limitation is due, it is contended, to the conduct of opulent and more particularly of ducal landlords, who reduce the number of obtainable building sites to a minimum, partly by refusing to part with some areas altogether to a number of persons anxious to be lessees or purchasers, and partly by putting on others a price so high that the public can afford to acquire only such as are absolutely necessary. Hence the proposal to tax not only the enhanced rent of sites actually built upon, but also the enhanced rent which would—though at present it does not—arise from farther areas, if they were not withheld from a multitude of hypothetical would-be builders by the landlords who will neither let nor sell.

These areas, which the Government have christened 'land ripe for building,' it is proposed to tax, not on the enhanced rent they yield—for at present they yield none—but on their value capitalised on the assumption that the landlords could derive from them an enhanced rent if they chose, and that, if they had to pay taxes on the land as though it were used for building, they would be compelled in self-defence to let or sell it for that purpose. The idea is ingenious, but, so far as the yield of the proposed tax is concerned, it is a matter of indifference whether $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound is put on the capitalised value so long as no enhanced rent is yielded, or 1*s.* in the pound—the amount

would really be somewhat less—on the increment which actually arises as soon as the houses are built.

The practical questions, then, which we have to consider are as follows: (1) Is there in reality any appreciable area which annually becomes ripe for building, but which fails to be built upon because withheld by the landlords? (2) If so, what is the extent of this area?

The ideas of the Government with regard to this point appear to be even more extraordinary than those with which they set out as to the increment which takes place under the conditions now existing. What these ideas are, when reduced to their most moderate form, has been clearly enough betrayed by Mr. Asquith, on the occasion of his candid admission to the House of Commons that the proposed increment tax, as matters now stand, would not yield a revenue of more than 50,000*l.*, for he at once hurried on to say that, though the yield of the tax on the increment which now annually arises would be small, the yield of the tax on 'undeveloped land' would be more than three times as great. Whilst he put down the former at not more than 50,000*l.*, he declared that the latter would amount to 175,000*l.*

Now let us consider carefully what this estimate means. The proposed capital tax, to which Mr. Asquith here refers, on land undeveloped, or 'ripe for building,' but not yet built upon, would, as we have just seen, be roughly equivalent to a tax of 5 per cent. on the rent, due to the fact that buildings were actually placed on it. Indeed, as soon as the buildings were erected and tenanted, it would automatically change its form and become a tax on rent. In order, therefore, to extract a revenue increasing every year by 175,000*l.* it will be necessary that the ground rent of the country shall not only increase, as at present, by something under 1,000,000*l.*, but that a further increment of 3,500,000*l.* shall be added to this. Now the present increment of something under 1,000,000*l.* coincides with the annual building of about 140,000 new houses. In order, therefore, to produce a taxable increment yielding the extra revenue which Mr. Asquith mentions, it would be necessary that some 400,000 should be built annually, in addition to those which, during the past fifteen years, have on an average been annually built hitherto. Now all allowance being made for such of these as might be non-residential, 400,000 houses would accommodate at least 1,600,000 persons; but the annual increase in the population of the entire country is, on an average for the past fifteen years, not in excess of 420,000, nor even in those years in which the actual increase was greatest has it exceeded the average by more than 5 per cent. Moreover, the new houses built annually under present conditions provide a constant surplus in relation to the current demands of the 420,000 persons who are actually added to the population year by year. Where, then, are the 1,600,000 persons to come from who are longing to build new houses all over the country, if only sites at a fair price were procurable? To this question

there is no possible answer. If a population increases naturally at the rate of about 420,000 a year it cannot be forced to increase at a rate of something like 2,000,000.

Perhaps, however, it will be said by Mr. Asquith and his friends that they do not rely on an increase in the number of houses only, but also, and still more, on a general improvement in their character, and an increase in the spaces attached to them for purposes of health and recreation. It appears, indeed, from one of Mr. Asquith's utterances that such an idea plays a large part in their computations. Building land and its adjuncts will rise in value, he has said, in the country as well as in the towns, because there is an increasing tendency to remove factories and other centres of business from urban to rural districts, where populations now congested will be able to expand themselves over the square miles of garden cities, and hence he would probably argue that the missing 1,600,000 persons who will year by year be postulants for new houses will be drawn, not from the natural yearly increase of the population but from the millions now imprisoned in our cities who will annually transfer themselves to the fields. But, whatever importance we may attach to this aspect of the problem, *the fundamental difficulty will remain altogether unchanged.*

Let us go back to a point which I have dealt with in detail already. The site values of this, as of any other country, when they increase at all, do so only for one or other or both of two reasons—that the population grows richer per head, without becoming more numerous; that it becomes more numerous though its riches per head remain stationary; or that it yearly grows richer per head and more numerous also. In this country the increment is due to both causes, and the foregoing inquiries will have shown us approximately how much is due to each. If we take as our starting-point matters as they stand to-day, and suppose that, while the population increases at its present rate, the wealth of the country does no more than keep pace with it, the average income per head remaining what it is now, the annual increment in land values would be about 620,000*l.* If, on the other hand, the population were stationary as to numbers, but if wealth increased per head at the rate at which it increases now, the annual increment would be about 360,000*l.* As a matter of fact both these increments are united; but Mr. Asquith's estimate of the enormous addition to the total which would result if the undeveloped land tax should bring an increasing area into use for building, relates and can relate to the latter kind of increment alone—that is to say, to the kind of increment which arises, not from the fact that houses are multiplied in proportion to the increasing number of inhabitants, but that each inhabitant will each year pay more and more in respect of the ground on which his habitation stands.

There is no getting out of this. If by a diffusion of the population over districts that are now rural an increased area could be secured

for each house and its adjuncts, the average price of building land per acre or square yard might be lessened ; but the area to be paid for by each individual would increase ; and unless this latter fact more than counterbalanced the former, so that the average ground rent per head was year by year greater than it has been the year before, no artificial acceleration of the present growth of building areas would produce any fresh increment at all.

The yearly increase of ground rent per head, at its current rate of about 2*d.* per head, or 10*d.* per family, yields, as we have seen, an increment of about 360,000*l.* If the Government placed their proposed special tax on this, an addition to the revenue would result of 18,000*l.* If, as Mr. Asquith and the Government would have us believe, their tax on undeveloped land would raise this revenue from 18,000*l.* to 175,000*l.*, the increment would have to be raised from 360,000*l.* a year to very nearly 3,600,000*l.* In other words, the increase in ground rent per head would have to be raised from 2*d.* per head annually to very nearly 1*s.* 8*d.*, or from 10*d.* per family to very nearly 8*s.* 4*d.* It will be thus seen that the proposed tax on undeveloped land, when viewed in the light of the results which the Government hope to obtain from it, should be properly called a *tax for causing the ground rent of everybody to increase each year at the rate of 7½ per cent. instead of that which obtains now—namely, ¾.*

Whether such a result, if the Government could bring it about, would be hailed with much joy by the great majority of the population is a question which the reader may be left to settle with his own common sense. The important question is whether such a result would be possible, let the Government do their best or their worst to make it so.

For an answer to this question we need merely consult facts. The present rate of increase in the average value of building land per head or per acre, as apart from the multiplication of heads and acres, is not only due to the increase in wealth per head, but has also borne hitherto a practically constant proportion to it. Thus, if we take the annual increase in the value of houses, as given in the Statistical Abstract for the years 1893–1907, there are only three years out of the fifteen in which the average was very greatly exceeded. These were the years 1898, 1901, and 1903. Now for the two years following the year 1893, the gross amount assessed to income tax exhibited a continuous decline, and had in the year 1896 not so much as recovered its previous level. In 1897 it exceeded this by 30,000,000*l.* Next year the increase in the value of houses rose to nearly twice the average. Two years later, in 1900, the gross amount assessed to income tax showed an increase on the previous year of 42,000,000*l.* The year following, the increase in the value of houses exceeded the average by more than 50 per cent. Again, the yearly increase in the gross amount assessed, having sunk in 1892 to 13,000*l.*, more than doubled itself in the year

1903 ; and the increase in the value of houses exceeded the average in almost exactly the same proportion.

But not only do the figures thus show us the close connexion between the increase in the total income and the increase in the gross value of houses. They also show us that with each fall in the increase of gross income the increase in the gross value of houses in a similar way falls. Thus after the record increase in gross income in 1897, with the record increase in the value of houses that followed it, the annual increase in the gross value of houses sank to one-half of the maximum to which the record year had raised it. In the year 1902 the same phenomenon repeated itself. The increase in gross income was 42,000,000*l.* in 1900, and 33,000,000*l.* in 1901. In 1903 it was not more than 13,000,000*l.* The increase in the gross value of houses was, in 1904, less than one-half of what it had been in 1903, and was appreciably less than it had been in 1896.

These facts show that the amount which the population will consent to spend in house rent, and consequently in that part of the rent which represents the value of the ground, is limited by the amount per head which the population has to spend on its wants and enjoyments as a whole.

In addition to these facts, let me indicate certain others, though it is not possible now to submit them to minute analysis.

As I have observed already, what are technically called 'houses' in the official records comprise not only dwellings, but business and other premises as well. It is interesting to note what, during the past few years, has been taking place with regard to dwellings as distinct from premises of other kinds. Since all the money which is expended on private dwellings is derived from business of one sort or another, and since the value of business premises depends on the prosperity of business, we shall naturally expect to find that the rental value of business premises and of dwellings will more or less closely rise and fall together. And such a conclusion, if we take biennial averages, has, till recently, been strikingly borne out by facts. Where the increase in the value of dwellings has been above the average, the increase in the value of business premises has been above the average also. But since the year 1903 the annual increase in 'house' values has exhibited a new feature. During the three years following, the total increase in the value of houses consisted entirely of an increase in the value of dwellings, the total value of business premises exhibiting an actual decline. The total value of dwellings rose by 7,600,000*l.*—i.e. from 118,000,000*l.* to 125,600,000*l.* ; but the value of the lower class of business premises (exempt from duty), though higher in 1906 than it had been in 1904, was less by 3,000,000*l.* in 1906 than it had been in 1903. It was 83,000,000*l.* in the one year. It was 80,000,000*l.* in the other. The case of the higher class of business premises (charged to duty) is still more remarkable. The total value having been

34,000,000*l.* in 1903, it sank in 1904 to 27,000,000*l.*, and during the two years following it remained stagnant at the same figure.

What is the explanation of this anomaly? Let us turn to that portion of the Statistical Abstract which deals with foreign investments, specified as such, under Schedule D. In the twelve years—1893–1905—these specified investments increased in annual value by 17,000,000*l.*, or at an average annual rate of 1,400,000*l.* Between 1904 and 1906 they increased in value by 12,000,000*l.*, or at an annual rate of 6,000,000*l.* And here we have only a type of what in the case of foreign investments generally is now going on on a very much greater scale. Here, it would seem, we have an obvious clue to the riddle. If the value of houses has increased, and the gross assessed income has increased, whilst the value of business premises has decreased or remained stationary, this can only be because the increase in the total income is derived to an increasing degree from businesses which are conducted by our countrymen out of our own country, and which, though yielding an income that comes into this country and is spent in it, have their parent premises elsewhere. Hence there is an increasing expenditure on ‘houses’ of one class—namely, dwellings—and a decreasing expenditure on ‘houses’ of another class—namely, those used for purposes of manufacture or of production generally.

Is it possible to suppose that manufacturers whose works are in this country would be induced to spend more on their ground rents, relatively to their total receipts, than they do or otherwise would do, merely because the Government forced more ground into the market? One might as well suppose that a man who spends 20*l.* a year on trousers would suddenly begin to spend 60*l.*, merely because his tailor had three times as much stuff to offer him, and was willing to reduce his prices by half-a-crown a pair. With regard to sites of those premises in which money is made, even Mr. Asquith himself would hardly maintain such an absurdity; and what is true of the premises in which money is made is equally true of the dwellings on which money is spent. From the point of view of the tax-gatherer the yield of any special tax placed on the increment in land values depends not on the rate of increase in this or that district taken separately. It depends on the *increase of the aggregate*; and the aggregate can be made to increase faster than it does now, only by *making the population, out of every pound of income, spend more than it does now* on one selected commodity—namely, the area on which its houses stand. This amount, as we have seen—the average amount spent per head on sites—does every year exhibit a certain appreciable increase absolutely to the extent of about $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; but it shows no tendency to increase relatively to the total income made or expended in the country, nor is there any reason for believing that it ever will or ever can do so.

The present Government and its henchmen, when they teach the

contrary, are at best, if they believe what they teach, the victims of an optical delusion. They concentrate their attention on certain picked pieces of land which exhibit from time to time a startling increment in value, and proceed to argue as though these plots were representative, whereas the truth is that such increments are wholly due to the fact that the plots themselves, and the circumstances attending their transfer, are not representative but exceptional. They fix their vision, for example, on narrow strips of land on the bank of the Clyde or Tyne, or on some dairy farm of twenty acres in the neighbourhood of some town, and find that a strip with 200 yards of river frontage has been leased at a sensational rent to a great firm of shipbuilders in the one case, or that an acre of grass land has been sold for a lunatic asylum at a sensational price in the other; and they argue as though all the 'undeveloped' frontages of whatever river may be in question, or all the acres of the dairy farm, had suddenly acquired a value equal to that of the lots disposed of.

The truth is that the rest of the 'undeveloped' land by the river would not rise in value at all, unless another great firm of shipbuilders could be created for the special purpose of buying it; and there is no reason for supposing that any one of the nineteen other acres of dairy farm will acquire the value of the acre sold for the asylum, until the number of county lunatics is doubled, and a second asylum has to be built for their accommodation. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ure might just as well argue that, because Mr. Sargent gets 3000*l.* to-day for a picture for which at one time he would only have got 1000*l.*, the value of all paintings is rising at the rate of 2000*l.* apiece, and that every artist who can barely get to-day 5*l.* for a landscape will get for similar work 2005*l.* to-morrow.

Let me say once more, then, that unless the inhabitants of this country become willing to *spend more per head, relatively to their means*, in respect of the ground on which their houses stand than they show or ever have shown any inclination to do, Mr. Asquith's supposition that an increased ground rental, yielding to special taxation a correspondingly increased revenue—according to his own calculations the increase would be tenfold—can be called into being by forcing the pace at which land is used or offered for building, is a mere chimera. The proposed tax on 'undeveloped' land could bring about the result which he and the Government contemplate only by sites dearer for everybody; but since site values cannot exceed the maximum which the public is willing to pay for them, and since they are paying the maximum which they are willing to pay already, the result which Mr. Asquith contemplates would not be produced at all.

And now let me recapitulate the conclusions to which the foregoing inquiries lead us.

The annual increment in the aggregate site values of this country is due to two causes—an annual increase in the acreage used for

building, which depends on the increase of the population numerically ; and an annual increase in the average value per acre, which depends on increase of the population in respect of wealth per head. The increment due to the former cause is about 620,000*l.* annually. The increase due to the latter—about $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the total rental for any given year—is about 360,000*l.* ; and apart from his illusory scheme for multiplying this latter sum by ten, even Mr. Asquith himself has been unable to give an estimate appreciably larger. The special taxation which the Government propose to place on this would not yield, according to Mr. Asquith's own admission, a revenue of more than 50,000*l.* annually. The sum in reality would be even less ; and even in order to obtain such a trivial result as this, the Government would have to reverse all their previous canons of taxation, and abolish, in respect of this particular form of wealth, all the abatements and exemptions by which they have hitherto lightened the burdens of the recipients of small incomes. If, on the other hand, they adhere to the existing system, by which assessments are graduated in favour of these classes, it is easy to compute approximately how the above result would be modified. The exemptions in favour of incomes under 160*l.* a year, and on small incomes above that figure (Income Tax, Schedule A) allowed under the existing system, amount to more than one-sixth of the total. If we deduct, therefore, as we must, this proportion from the total increment of ground rent, the revenue yielded by the Government's proposed tax will sink from 47,000*l.* to something like 39,000*l.* Here we have a sum which is not seldom exceeded by the State or by private collectors in the purchase of a single picture ; and it was in order to secure a result of this ludicrous kind that the Government originally proposed to force on the landlords the enormous expense of a new valuation of the country. As a matter of business the Government would behave far more wisely, and as a matter of principle they would not behave more unjustly, if they forced the landlords to pay them 1,000,000*l.*, as kings once extorted ship-money, and then invested this sum in the Canadian Pacific Railway or acquired with it a preponderating interest in the Civil Service Stores or in Harrod's.

W. H. MALLOCK.

P.S.—Before taking leave of the subject of the present Government and land, let me briefly call the attention of practical politicians and others to the fact that the Government is itself incomparably the largest landlord in the kingdom. The largest private landlord in point of area in this country is the Duke of Sutherland. He is probably the largest in Europe. The rental derived by the Duke from more than a million acres in Scotland forms but about one-eighth of the rental of the landed estates of the Crown. Of these lands the Government are practically the landlords. Mr. Lloyd George is one

of them. Let them experiment for themselves with 'land ripe for building.' They can offer it to tenants in any quantities they please, without compelling themselves to do so by taxing themselves for not developing it. Let them also note carefully the difference between the gross and the net rental. If Mr. Lloyd George learnt nothing else from a consideration of facts lying at his own door, he would at all events learn that out of a gross rental (fines on renewal of leases included) of 660,000*l.* a year, 142,000*l.* is swallowed up in outgoings—or more than 21 per cent. A consideration of this fact might lead him to take a more moderate view than he appears to do at present of the actual wealth of those iniquitous owners of land, for whom he said in his Limehouse speech that he was preparing 'a day of reckoning.'

W. H. M.

*THE CASE OF FRANCISCO FERRER:
A CONFIDENTIAL FRIEND'S TESTIMONY*

FROM time to time the conscience of the civilised world is moved by some great clerical crime which rouses it from its indifference and torpor. It was so in the Calas case, and in the Dreyfus case; and now the recent trial of Ferrer has again roused this emotion in the hearts of men. Everyone knows the facts concerning Calas; whilst in regard to the Dreyfus case the events are of such recent date that no one has forgotten the passions roused by it. The case of Ferrer is on all-fours with the other two. The remarkable feature of these trials is the contempt displayed for all the forms of justice; the systematic refusal to the accused of all the means of defence; the production against the victim of forged documents, the discussion of which is not allowed; and, finally, the calumnies intended to deprive him of the support that is found in the sympathetic opinion of his contemporaries.

In the trial, or rather the semblance of a trial, that has just taken place at Barcelona all these conditions were seen in combination.

Don Francisco Ferrer Guardia was the son of working people—a self-made man in every acceptation of the term, one of those children of Catalonia whose activity is always at the service of justice and truth. While still a young man he received his republican baptism amid those valiant Iberian populations so profoundly stirred by the events which occurred in Spain between the years 1868 and 1875. Don Manuel Ruiz Zorilla, during the long conspiracy he conducted against the Alphonsist Restoration—that is to say, from the time of the *pronunciamientos* of Pavia and of Martinez Campos till the day when he returned to his native land to die—had found in Ferrer a faithful and devoted servant. It is to this period that belong those revolutionary proclamations which Ferrer had apparently drawn up, and which, in any case, are nothing but the manifestations of the exuberant enthusiasm of his youthful ideas. These proclamations were, however, brought up against him at his trial, and treated as proofs of his guilt, as though it were not opposed to all the rules of morality to allege as grounds of complaint against

a man of fifty the immature thoughts of his twentieth year. Even if a man had committed a crime at twenty years of age, and had escaped detection, his crime would have been covered by prescription if no prosecution had occurred within the lapse of ten years since its perpetration. Even a criminal who had been tried and condemned and had evaded punishment would not be disturbed after the lapse of twenty years. Nor, indeed, would the laws of any civilised land invest the government with power to use ancient facts against a prisoner brought up for trial on a new charge; and yet, in this case, where there had been no previous prosecution and no conviction of crime, but only the bare expression of personal opinion, the Spanish Government is to be allowed to rake up what a man ~~th~~^{he} said or wrote thirty years before, in order to deduce therefrom damning conclusions respecting his present conduct!

In a land where, during several consecutive centuries, the Inquisition placed human thought under interdict, it is conceivable that this method of procedure may find panegyrists. These age-long oppressions leave, indeed, in the minds of men traces too deep to be wiped out by the revolution of a day. It cannot be, however, that in this free England, so profoundly wedded to the impartial administration of justice, where the magistrate himself is the first to insist that the rights of an accused man must be respected, such a *procès de tendance* will receive the sanction of public acquiescence. Whatever a young man may have written in his twentieth year, his ideas are easily capable of modification in the course of six lustres. In order to ascertain whether his thoughts of yesterday can furnish to the prosecution, I will not say proof, but a presumption of his participation in the crimes alleged against him to-day, the slightest regard for justice would indicate that inquiry should be made as to whether he still entertains the ideas he held so long ago. I say *presumption*, and not proof, because even an impenitent revolutionist, or even a terrorist, may very well be innocent of participation in a given insurrectionary movement or of a particular crime.

In the Ferrer case the question does not present itself in this guise, for ever since the days when he acted as the lieutenant of Don Zorilla, Ferrer's point of view had undergone profound modifications. The successive checks to all the Spanish conspiracies in which he had been involved, and his deeper study of the domestic quarrels which had ruined the Spanish Republic of 1873, had imparted a new direction to his political ideas. He had arrived at the conclusion that the employment of violence is useless; that, despite its apparent swiftness, it is the slowest method in the end. Without going to the lengths of accepting the doctrine of resignation, or adopting the passive resistance theory of Tolstoi—he was far from that—he believed that the surest and quickest road to progress was that pacific way which consists in transforming by means of education the conceptions

of one's contemporaries. With a view to securing the triumph of liberty and social justice—for he was an ardent socialist and free-thinker—he had formed the conception of a kind of *Kulturkampf* based on private initiative, analogous, albeit undertaken from a totally different point of view, to that which Bismarck had already put in operation against the Centre party in Germany.

I am better qualified than any other man to speak of this evolution in the thought of Ferrer. Having myself formerly placed all the means at my disposal at the service of Ruiz Zorilla to assist him both in his attempts toward creating a republican revolution and to protect the Spanish refugees against the hardships to which they were subjected by Jules Ferry, I became, and have still remained during the last thirty years, the most intimate friend of the Spanish republicans. As Ferrer remained for many long years in sojourn in France, I was more closely acquainted with him than any of his compatriots, with the result that a personal affection of the warmest character was grafted upon our political friendship. Our relations became of the most fraternal character, so that for a long time I was the confidant and depository of his thoughts.

Now his ideas on certain points were quite different from my own. For instance, I do not believe that in countries like Russia or Spain—that is to say, in countries where national representation is a deception and where liberty is a snare—the transition from the old world to the new can be accomplished by pacific means. The possibility of progress by peace and education is a theory that can be defended, so far as England and France are concerned. But if the people of these two lands are free, we must not forget the efforts by which their liberties have been won. The turbulent records of 1648 and 1793 are not yet effaced from universal history; and these two epoch-marking dates, bloody and terrible, when the cradles of our English and French liberties were rocked by violent hands, have nothing analogous to them in the history of Spain. It would certainly seem that in order to uproot all the deadly prejudices which survive in Spain as the legacies of the Inquisition, progress through revolution is even more necessary in that unhappy land than was the case in France and England. I am convinced that force placed at the service of right can alone overcome force placed at the service of iniquity. It was my broaching of this theory of mine which enabled me to discover the idea of Ferrer, in the course of the numerous controversies which were waged between us owing to the divergence of our views on this point. I communicated this crucial fact to his noble defender, Captain Francisco Galcerán, who, it appears, was never allowed to read my letter any more than the others that were received from England and France in exculpation of his client. When I maintained against Ferrer my theory, justifying the winning of political rights by violence, Ferrer used to reply to me with the utmost

calmness: 'Time only respects those institutions which time itself has played its part in building up. That which violence wins for us to-day, another act of violence may wrest from us to-morrow. Those stages of progress are alone enduring which have rooted themselves in the mind and conscience of mankind before receiving the final sanction of legislation. The only means of realising what is good is to teach it by education and propagate it by example.'

And my noble friend never yielded an iota in holding these ideas. Every day they were rooted deeper and deeper in his mind. Every day he was alienated more and more from the idea of revolutionary action, confining himself more completely than ever to the work of the *Escuela Moderna*, and to the publishing house which he had founded at Barcelona in order to place at the disposal of the new teaching the books which seemed to him indispensable to the carrying out of his idea. I confess that the success attained by his school, on the model of which other similar schools were created in every part of the peninsula (ninety-four of these schools were recently closed by one edict!), furnished an argument well calculated to strengthen his belief in the soundness of his doctrine. Sometimes, indeed, my faith in my own theory was shaken in presence of these facts. But I knew the meaning of all that the hate of the monks implied, and I trembled at the thought of what the priests were capable of attempting against the *Escuela Moderna* and against its founder, as soon as they felt that their position was really menaced.

The events which followed the crime of the Calle Mayor at the time of the marriage of the young King entirely justified my fears. The bomb flung by Morral provided the propitious occasion, and the chance of turning the event to account was not missed. At the time the crime was perpetrated at Madrid, Ferrer was at Barcelona, and was so little apprehensive of danger that, instead of seeking shelter in flight, he went, on his own initiative, to give information to the judicial authorities concerning Morral. As a matter of fact Ferrer had no knowledge of Morral except in the latter's capacity as translator for the publishing house of the *Escuela Moderna*. Morral had never confided his projects to Ferrer, but that was of no consequence. Ferrer had known him, had given him work. It was clear that Ferrer was his accomplice. Without any more ado my friend was transferred to the *Carcel Modelo* of Madrid on the charge of attempted murder. His property was sequestered and he was kept in prison, though they were unable to adduce the slightest proof of criminality against him. The conscience of Europe, however, was stirred. It was soon recognised that what Ferrer had really attempted to destroy was not the lives of the King and Queen of Spain, but the dominating power of the Church. It was clearly perceived that the question at issue was the existence of free thought, and that an endeavour was being made

to crush its development. The result was that the whole civilised world was moved to resentment ; Rome, London, Paris, Brussels, the Spanish Republics of South America protested, and, to borrow an expression which Victor Hugo applied to Napoleon the Third, 'Les bourreaux eurent peur, ne pouvant avoir honte.' Ferrer was acquitted. The monks and the priests had lost the trick.

Now, it would be to display entire ignorance of the spirit of these men to believe that they could be capable of bowing before facts or of accepting their defeat. The insurrection at Barcelona gave them the eagerly awaited opportunity, and they seized it as they had seized the first. This time the victim would not be able to escape. They would put him forward as the promoter and organiser of the wholly spontaneous movement which arose at Barcelona, a movement which no one was capable of preparing, because no one was capable of anticipating the events by which the insurrection was to be engendered. The patient and pacific educator was accordingly transformed, by way of meeting the necessities of the prosecution, into a builder of barricades, an incendiary of convents and churches, and, travestied in this fashion, no one, it was thought, would be willing to speak a word in his defence. At the time of the attempt by Morral they had closed the Escuela Moderna at Barcelona. This time they would close all the schools that had been created on the lines of that institution, and they would shoot the promoter of this admirable pedagogic movement. Ferrer being dead, and free thought expelled from all the schools of the peninsula, the Jesuits would be able to sleep with tranquillity for a lengthy period. Happily the Jesuits have been deceived ; they have not succeeded in flinging dust in the eyes of the nations.

The political executions that take place after civil war and the punishments meted out by the conquerors to the vanquished are and always have been odious. We can condemn them all the more freely, we who are French, because we had experience of them in 1848 and 1871. We know that in times like these justice is banished and hatred and vengeance reign in its stead. Every free people knows this as well as we do. These massacres can obtain the sanction of approval only from the criminals by whom they are perpetrated. The judicial form which is lent to these proceedings increases rather than diminishes their criminality. We can understand summary executions in the moment of struggle, when the intense excitement of both sides makes reflection impossible, but it is difficult to comprehend on what grounds the successful combatants of to-day should be invested with the privilege of posing as the judges of their opponents of yesterday, in order to condemn them in cold blood. If the fortunes of war had turned against them and their conquerors had shot them, they would have protested, and with good reason. It is clear, therefore, that they,

being victors, are in the wrong in doing that very thing which they would have stigmatised had they been marked as the victims. Despite their Christian professions they appear to forget that evangelical principle which prohibits us from doing to others what we would not that they should do unto us.

Even if the alleged participation of Ferrer in the Catalonian insurrection had been overwhelmingly proved, that fact would not have excused his summary execution by court-martial conducted under forms of law devoid of all the guarantees of ordinary civil justice. It must not be forgotten that the manifestations which have taken place have not been organised exclusively in favour of Ferrer. They have been equally directed against the terrible repressions exercised by the Spanish Government of Señor Maura (now happily hurled from power) acting under the orders of the true masters of the situation, the descendants of the Inquisitors.

The case of Ferrer is still more disquieting since he never committed the crimes of which he is accused. In striking him down his enemies have struck down an innocent man. I am convinced of his innocence. Convinced, do I say? It is not merely conviction, it is certitude. I know he is innocent, for he kept no secrets from me. If he had prepared the revolutionary movement I should have been apprised of it. He would have confided his plans to me all the more readily because I should have approved his intentions. But he was far from that, he had done nothing of the kind. Even the revolutionists of Barcelona had no idea that any such movement was in preparation. The insurrectionary movement, like all others of the same kind, was the outcome of a profound excitement of public opinion acting under the influence of some unforeseen event. These, indeed, are the only risings in which the people ever succeed in becoming the masters of a town or in holding the authorities in check. Revolutionary movements which have been carefully engineered, as Barbès or Mazzini engineered theirs, or as Eudes prepared his in Paris in the early days of August 1870, never attain the proportions of a riot; they seldom develop into more than a scuffle with the authorities. The mere fact alone that the rising in Catalonia was so general proves its spontaneity. Is there anyone rash enough to think that it could have been organised in advance? Could anyone have foreseen the death of General Pintos at Monte Gurugú and the calling out of the Reservists, which in fact fired the powder? It is madness to accuse Ferrer of this. There are certain mental attitudes so irreconcilably self-contradictory that the one point of view absolutely shuts out the other. It is clear, for example, that a revolutionary who stakes all his hopes on the result of an armed rising would not adopt a *modus operandi* the results of which can only be seen after a prolonged period of waiting. Such a man would not have founded the Escuela Moderna at Barcelona

and consecrated his whole life to its development. Such a man would not have created a publishing house to continue the spread of rationalist teaching by means of literature. When, again, as a result of odious persecution his schools had been closed, he would not have placed himself, as Ferrer did, at the head of an 'International League for the Rational Education of Children,' with Haeckel as Vice-President, and have endowed this league with an organ, the review *L'école renouée*. A man who does these things has, by that fact alone, clearly demonstrated that if ever he had placed his hopes in violence this idea has now and for ever been renounced by him. Popular education, if left to work out results untrammelled by obscurantist Governments, such as that which darkened the horizon of Spain, would, no doubt, effect such a transformation in the mental character of a people that the necessary consequences would be a recasting of the national institutions. But this work of regeneration would require one or perhaps several generations, and the man who, as a result, would expect a violent upheaval to occur at an early date would be the victim of a strange delusion.

On the other hand, the man who appeals to violent revolution does not spend his time and money in the founding of schools, the results of which will not be garnered except after a quarter of a century. The most he will do is to establish political newspapers from whose work he will expect to reap a more or less immediate result. Moreover, why should such a man organise schools? If his revolution succeeds, his schools will be useless, since at that moment public initiative will be substituted for private initiative, and with infinitely greater power for good. On the other hand, if the revolution should fail, the schools will be destroyed by the reactionary forces before they have had time to produce any effect. In this manner money will be frittered away that might have been more usefully spent in the purchase of rifles or other weapons.

Now, as soon as Dame Fortune had smiled upon Ferrer he lavishly expended his income, and even his capital, not in buying arms or explosives, but in conducting that scholastic work to which he was devotedly attached and to which he had wholly consecrated his life.

In the eyes of every man of honesty and commonsense there is a radical antagonism between, on the one hand, the activity which is placed at the service of the schools, or used in the formation of a publishing house, or for the formation of a league for the education of the young and the founding of pedagogic reviews (I speak in the plural because the *L'école renouée* appeared in several languages) and, on the other, the declaration of the military judges at Barcelona, who fixed upon Ferrer the charge of preparing and directing the events which, in July last, flooded the streets of Barcelona with blood. The fact that Ferrer could take the first of these courses proved the

impossibility of his taking the second. The one attitude absolutely excludes the other.

This negative proof is not the only one forthcoming. Men who are preparing for armed revolution in any country require, as much as possible, to be located in that country. When, in 1883, Ruiz Zorilla conspired, and Jules Ferry, in order to please the Spanish Government, had the weakness to launch against him a decree of expulsion, he sought refuge in London—on this English ground which has the honour of being unacquainted with measures of this kind. This banishment threw him into despair. London was too far from Spain; he was no longer able to correspond with his accomplices with sufficient rapidity.

Now, Zorilla was engaged in preparing a military pronunciamiento, and all he had to do was to correspond with a few of his chiefs. As for Ferrer, if he had prepared the Catalonian revolt he would have had a much wider field of operations, for it was no longer the question of a military rising but of a popular revolution. His distance from the scene of operations would, in these circumstances, have been more disastrous to him than it was to Zorilla.

Now, during his domicile in Paris, where he was living quite undisturbed—that is to say, at the time when he was free to go to the Spanish frontier, and had the right, even, of living in Spain—he went, on his own accord, to visit London, and stayed there from the 21st of April till the middle of June; in other words, a period of two months. He left London only when the illness of his sister-in-law and of his niece, as well as the need of supervising his publishing business, necessitated his presence in Catalonia. It was precisely during these months, so close to the time of the insurrection, that Ferrer would have felt the most urgent need to return to Spain. His presence in London instead of his own native land would have augmented, in great measure, the difficulties of organising insurrection. Despite this, he stayed in London without being under any necessity to remove himself from the scene of future operations. The theory of his accusers is inadmissible. On the other hand, this journey to England appears the most natural thing in the world when it is considered that Ferrer was engaged not in fomenting an insurrection but in promoting the interests of his league. This league being of an international character, he was necessarily obliged to visit the places where he desired to establish his various centres of action. In June, it is true, Ferrer, for the reasons mentioned above, returned to Spain, and his enemies have not scrupled to insinuate that the illness of his relatives was only a pretence. But his niece is dead, although his sister-in-law has recovered. Death is surely the last unchallengeable evidence of illness. I saw him in Paris on the eve of his return to Spain about the middle of June, but never thought, alas! that I was gazing upon his face for the last time. On that occasion he declared to me that his return would not be long

delayed. In July, on the very eve of the events, he wrote to our common friend Stackelberg, then at Nice and about to return to Paris, stating that he (Ferrer) would precede him there. On the 7th of that month he wrote to me from the little village of Mongat, where he was staying, to communicate to me the death of his niece and the improvement in the condition of his sister-in-law. He told me of the difficulties he and his wife had experienced in getting a maid at Mongat, where the curé had placed his house under interdict, and added: 'I must tell you of the comical surveillance of the authorities of Barcelona, who send two gendarmes every day to watch my comings and goings, and of the police officers who wait for me at the station and dog my footsteps wherever I go. I do not attach any importance to that, accustomed as I am to it since my trial at Madrid, and engrossed as I am in the organisation of my publishing business.' This is scarcely the language of a revolutionary who is on the eve of fighting a great battle.

The following fact is even more significant. A friend of Ferrer had begged him to take advantage of his presence in the Catalonian capital in order to ascertain for him the value of the shares of the '*Société d'Electricité de Barcelona*,' and to communicate the results of his inquiries. In a postcard dated the 26th of July, which only reached its destination on the 29th, Ferrer apologised for the time he had taken to reply to his friend's communication, and as the 26th of July was the opening day of the insurrectionary movement he spoke as an eye-witness of the heroism of the women, of 'the want of all definite direction or purpose on the part of the people, and also of the total eclipse of the leaders.' This statement is, to say the least, singular on the hypothesis that he was the leader and that the work of organisation was his. No, the truth is that he knew nothing of the recent events, that he was enveloped by them in the course of a journey undertaken for a totally different purpose, and that the clerical *Camarilla* were determined to utilise the occasion. They seized the coveted opportunity to take revenge for the check received at Madrid, and to rid themselves of an enemy all the more redoubtable inasmuch as he had fought his battle on legal grounds and was approved and admired by the whole of Europe.

In order to kill two birds with the one stone they tried to befoul his honoured name by pretending that he was a gambler on the Bourse, and that he provoked the massacres with the vile and cruel intention of enriching himself. We in France have long been accustomed to these dishonourable tricks of the reactionaries. These devices succeeded in 1848 as well as in 1870, but all the world knows about them to-day, and is aware that legends of this type only serve to dishonour their authors. As stated with splendid breadth of view by his advocate, Francisco Galcerán, before the Council of

War, if these allegations had not been false the prosecution would have produced in evidence the accounts of the stockbrokers concerned, instead of confining itself to insinuations.

It may be objected, in reference to all these arguments, that the facts I have adduced are simply presumptions of innocence and not proofs of it. I accept this criticism, but must point out that there are presumptions which are so powerful as to be almost equivalent to material proofs, and this is the case with the presumptions in Ferrer's case. Be this as it may, I would feel more inclined to yield to this criticism if the prosecution had furnished material proofs; but none were produced. The prosecution confined itself to bringing up pretended presumptions entirely void of value. I have already expressed my view as to the resort to writings of twenty or thirty years ago, which are only interesting for the proof they afford of the evolution which had occurred since that period in the mind of the founder of the *Escuela Moderna*.

The prosecution, however, went a step farther. It seemed to recognise the danger attending the admission of documents of this nature, especially in view of the fact that these had not prevented the triumphant acquittal of Ferrer at Madrid. To use them again without the support of something of more recent date and of more decisive character would be to stab the conscience of the civilised world. These proofs had to be found. The proofs adduced were the proclamations which seem to have been 'found' at Ferrer's house. What are we to think of them? Let me quote the words of his brave defender: 'These proclamations were discovered in the course of a search conducted by the police at *Mas Germinal*, without the presence of anyone who could be relied upon to furnish a guarantee of the genuineness of the discovery. On no other occasion were the searchers rewarded by any results. These proclamations, of which my client denies the authorship, are full of such colossal errors that the mere sight of them would suffice to prove that they were issued anterior to the latest events and were written at another period and for quite another object.' Captain Francisco Galcerán goes on to remark that, even if the said proclamations had been composed by his client, the fact of his having written them and of his having put them away in a file of papers, and leaving them afterwards unpublished to the world, cannot constitute a crime. The crime, if crime indeed there was, would solely have been that committed by the Conservative journals that spread the document broadcast by thousands of copies, without permission of the pretended author and in spite of the magisterial secrecy attaching in Spain to documents discovered in the course of magisterial investigations.

These proclamations, found during a search conducted under suspicious circumstances, while nothing was discovered as a result

of the searches carried out in the regular formal way, formed the basis of the prosecution. One of these proclamations was type-written, but had two corrections in writing. The first of these concerned the abbreviation 'Vd' and the other the letter 't.' The experts declared that this abbreviation and this letter *might have* been in the writing of Ferrer; more cautious than the experts in the Zola case, they confined themselves to an affirmation of probability. Even if they had been emphatic in their affirmations, their declaration would not impair my view of the matter. For since the Dreyfus affair honest men have passed their judgment on the science of the expert in handwriting. It is disgraceful that reports drawn up in the name of this pretended science should still be regarded as judicial evidence. In the Ferrer case, it would seem that the experts felt some sort of diffidence, but that did not affect the issue. They could not say that it was impossible for the letters 'Vd' and the letter 't' to have been written by Ferrer. That sufficed; for the court-martial, doubt is equivalent to affirmation. Therefore, the handwriting was that of Ferrer even as the famous *bordereau* of Esterhazy was in the writing of Dreyfus!

As regards witnesses, there were none excepting those who were carefully 'nursed' by the *juge d'instruction*. Even these witnesses, such as they were, were not permitted to give their testimony in presence of the prisoner. His advocate was not even allowed to read the letters which he had received from a number of Ferrer's friends abroad. The prosecution even went the length of denying to the defence the right to consult and produce the books published by Ferrer, so that it might be impossible for the advocate to refute the statement that Ferrer had published only anarchist books. The work of the defence was thus hampered in every conceivable manner. Yet people call the result a conviction!

It is not enough to say that a particular procedure is legal in order to consider it legitimate. When a procedure, however legal it may be, inflicts an injury to civilisation, it becomes a disgrace to the legislation of which it forms a part, and to the nation that tolerates it.

At the moment when I was writing the foregoing lines I was interrupted in my task by the fatal news. Ferrer has been shot. This great citizen, this great educationist, this good and noble man, no longer lives. He died innocent of the crimes imputed to him; he died without being allowed to defend himself, without any opportunity of sifting the charges or examining the witnesses brought up against him.

I do not weep for him: we are all under sentence of death from the moment of our birth, and to die, like Ferrer, sacrificed for the most exalted sentiments of humanity is to escape death in order to enter

into immortality. Ferrer will live for ever enshrined in history like all those who have fallen for the enfranchisement of human thought—the men like Giordano Bruno, Etienne Dolet, John Huss, and all the martyrs of the Inquisition of which he is the last in order of date, but not in glory. Victor Hugo has said :

L'échafaud, c'est le lieu du triomphe sinistre—
Le piédestal dressé sur le noir cabanon,
Qui fait tomber la tête et fait surgir le nom—

and it is true.

ALFRED NAQUET
(*Ancien Sénateur de France*).

RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN THE 'PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF SPIRITUALISM'

IN the programme of subjects for study laid down for itself on its foundation by the Society for Psychical Research, the investigation of those phenomena which, since the introduction of modern spiritualism from America about the middle of last century, are generally known as the 'Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism,' occupied a prominent position. Among the incidents reported in connexion with the spiritualist movement was the occurrence, in the presence of certain persons known as 'mediums,' of various material manifestations—raps on tables and elsewhere without apparent contact, movements of objects without any ascertainable physical agency, and even appearances of hands or faces, or occasionally of fully developed human figures, to which have been given the name of 'materialisations'—all of which were attributed by believers to an intervention of 'spirit' energy. It was to an apparently spontaneous outbreak of phenomena of the first-named class, the famous 'Rochester Rappings,' which occurred in 1848 in the presence of the Fox Sisters, that the inception of the whole movement was due. Once started, the infection soon spread and a crop of other 'mediums' appeared, in whose presence similar and even more remarkable manifestations were alleged to take place, and a vast literature grew up descriptive of their performances.

While much of this literature was not worth the paper on which it was written, there were certain observations made by men of repute which merited serious attention, the most important among these being the account by Sir William Crookes of his experiments with the most famous of all these mediums, 'D. D. Home, and also a privately printed account by Lord Adare (now Lord Dunraven) of a long-continued series of sittings with the same person, in many of which the Master of Lindsay (now Lord Crawford) also took part. It might be reasonably expected that the task of ascertaining whether or not manifestations of this kind did in fact occur, and whether or not their explanation was to be found in mere fraud on the part of the 'medium,' or in hallucination on the part of those who reported them,

would not have proved a task of exceptional difficulty, and it was largely to an attempt to gain definite information on this question that the first founders of the Society for Psychical Research devoted their earliest attention. The result, however, in fact has been that there is no branch of the Society's work upon which opinion still remains so hopelessly divided or in which so little real progress has been made.

The reason for this failure to reach any generally accepted conclusions as to the authenticity and objectivity of these phenomena is not very far to seek. In the first place, since the early force of the spiritualist movement first spent itself, the number of persons through whose agency they are reported to occur has been much restricted, and has, since the disappearance of D. D. Home, been almost entirely composed of people of a more or less uneducated class who worked their gifts, whatever they may have been, for gain, preferring rather to please and astonish their own admirers, against an equivalent in cash value, than to lend themselves to serious and exact examination. Most of them, even if we assume their original honesty or the occasional display by them of powers superior to mere conjuring, succumbed to the temptations of their trade, and finding that the bulk of their adherents were as well satisfied with conditions which admitted opportunity for deception as with conditions which did not, chose the easier and more profitable course of fraudulent mediumship—a calling, by the way, which has this singular advantage over any other, that, while its value depends wholly upon a profession of powers superior to those of ordinary mankind, a disclosure that they are nothing of the sort appears rather to enlist the sympathy and encouragement of the victims than to excite their indignation and reproach.¹ There have, it is true, been a certain number of private persons possessing, or reputed to possess, the powers in question, but they have for the most part either regarded them as too sacred for investigation, or too wicked for exercise, or else they have professed themselves too indifferent to the whole matter or too anxious about the possible consequences to their health, to care to submit themselves for observation. I am of course generalising, and there are exceptions, but if one takes it broadly, between the deceptions of the one class and the difficulties raised by the other it has been possible in this country to do but little. The Society is told by its critics among convinced spiritualists that the fault is largely its own, and that its unsympathetic attitude has been the cause of its ill-success. Whether or not there is any justice in this complaint, when failure has followed upon failure, when fraud upon fraud has been discovered—I need not here recite the dreary catalogue—a body of investigators, as well as a single individual,

¹ For a good idea of the dimensions which this conspiracy of fraud has reached in America, see David P. Abbott's *Behind the Scenes with the Mediums* (London: Kegan Paul), and H. Carrington's *Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism* (London: Werner Laurie).

would be more than human if they resisted the current of their experiences, and were able to continue to approach the examination of fresh cases with the same sympathy and hope as at first.

In the year 1894 a break came in the chain of negative experiments. Attention on the Continent had for some time before been directed to Eusapia Palladino—daughter of an Italian peasant, illiterate, unable to read, or to write more than her own name—and to the remarkable phenomena said to take place through her mediumship. She had already been the subject of investigation by certain spiritualist groups of observers, and had by them been brought to the notice, in the first instance, of the Spanish Professor Acevedo, and later of Professors Lombroso, Tamburini, and others. Shortly afterwards a series of experiments were conducted by a further group of scientific men in Milan, including Professor Schiaparelli, the well-known astronomer; Professor Richet, of Paris; Professor Gerosa, and Dr. Ermacora. Further experiments followed in Warsaw by M. Ochorowicz, and eventually, in the year I have named, 1894, Professor Richet, whose interest had been specially stimulated, invited some of the leading members of the Society, Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, Mr. Myers, and Sir Oliver Lodge, to attend a series of experiments in the South of France. Sir Oliver Lodge's report was printed in the *Journal S.P.R.* for November 1894, and amounted to an expression of his conviction, in which Mr. Myers concurred, of the possession by Eusapia of some supernormal power affecting matter, by which she was able to produce movements of material objects without any ascertainable material agency, and, still more, produce matter itself or the appearance of matter, without any ascertainable source of supply.

The report was subjected to much criticism, notably on the part of Dr. Hodgson, who made a detailed analytical study of the record of the experiments, with a view to proving that it did not of itself show that possibilities of fraud had been excluded. This study appeared in the *Journal* for March–April 1895. I need not discuss it, except to say that it always appeared to me more ingenious than convincing, and I felt, balancing improbabilities, that the improbability of the truth of the phenomena, preposterous as they were and preposterous as the observers had themselves stated them to be, was less than the improbability of such an eminent group of experimenters having been deceived in the manner suggested by Dr. Hodgson.

In any case, it was felt that further experiment was necessary, and Eusapia came to Cambridge in the summer of 1895 for an extended series of séances. The result, to any one who has at all followed the work of the Society, is well known. The only issue of the experiments was to establish fraud. Eusapia cheated, not once or twice, but apparently continuously and deliberately, and although, from reading the unpublished records, it would appear that there were a few phenomena for which the ascertained trickery was insufficient to

account, the committee, among whom were several who had taken part in the earlier experiments in France, felt unanimously that the results of these Cambridge sittings were so unsatisfactory as to preclude any judgment in favour of Eusapia's supernormal attributes. Not only this, but so much doubt seemed to be thrown on the whole investigation that it was decided to be inopportune to publish the report of the former experiments. Eusapia was dropped, and so far as any official investigation of her by the Society was concerned, her case was considered at an end.

It appears, however, that the whole character and conduct of the Cambridge sittings differed markedly from the best séances among those which had preceded them, or at least from the best of those in which I have myself recently taken part. They differed in three ways. First, that for the most part they took place either in complete darkness or in light so poor as to be useless for purposes of observation, all attempts on the part of the experimenters to secure better light being resisted by Eusapia, or her 'control.'² Secondly, that the phenomena instead of being varied and remarkable were monotonous and of small account; and thirdly, that Eusapia herself interposed so many difficulties in the way of reasonable control that the observers ultimately abandoned any attempt at effective control whatever, and, in order to study further the methods already detected, allowed her opportunities for cheating, of which opportunities she took the fullest advantage.

The Cambridge experimenters did not discover any new method of tricking, the possibility of which had not been known before to experimenters on the Continent. The chief fraud ascertained by them was the trick of substitution of hands, which Eusapia is extremely clever at effecting when it is dark enough to enable her to bring her two hands close together and make the two persons holding them believe they are holding different hands, while by manœuvring she has contrived to get them each to hold different parts of the same hand, thus having her other hand free. This trick, which can only be successfully done in the dark, had been actually noticed and published by M. Torelli Viollier, a Milanese journalist, three years before the Cambridge sittings, and had already been the subject of some discussion. There is, further, clear evidence, not only in the Cambridge, but also in other records, that she also makes use of substitution of her feet, and I have no doubt that in certain moods she would, if she found it possible, make as free use

² The word 'control' in this sense signifies the trance personality assumed by most mediums during the conduct of a séance. While, in some cases, it unquestionably involves a genuine alteration of consciousness and more or less complete amnesia on awakening, its source is of course variously interpreted; it is attributed by spiritualists to the 'obsession' of the medium by some spirit intelligence, while most psychologists ascribe it to a self-suggested dramatic personification by the medium's own subconsciousness.

of her feet as she sometimes does of her hands. She has also been occasionally detected in other tricks, such as moving objects by means of hairs, pins, or nails. (Several of these tricks, as well as various suspicious circumstances in the sittings, are described in the recently published report of Eusapia by the Institut Général Psychologique, which, however, also contains evidence favourable to her claims.) But, so far as I know, these substitutions of hands or feet are the only habitual tricks of which she has ever been definitely found guilty in all the countless experiments of which, during the last sixteen or seventeen years, she has been the subject with scientific men of almost every European nationality. Although, as I have said, the net result of the Cambridge experiments was not to show any hitherto unsuspected method of trickery, they did nevertheless show that the substitution of hands or feet in the dark was far more frequently resorted to than the continental observers had up to then ascertained. The reply, in effect, of some of the continental observers was that that was the fault of the Cambridge group, who should not have allowed her to cheat; and the reply of the Cambridge group was that it was the fault of Eusapia, who would not allow them to do anything else.

So much, then, for the Cambridge series, the only published wholly negative series of any importance in the experience of this medium. The Society for Psychical Research had dropped her: not so her continental investigators. From that time to this she has undergone almost continuous experiments, *e.g.* with M. Richet, M. Camille Flammarion, M. and Madame Curie, M. Henri Bergson, M. d'Arsonval, and their colleagues of the Institut Général Psychologique, and other distinguished men in France; Professors Bottazzi and Galeotti in Naples, and Professor Morselli, who has written a voluminous work on the whole subject, in Genoa. The list is by no means exhaustive. The evidence of men of European reputation had mounted up, and towards the close of last year the Council of the Society decided that the question should again be reopened, and that an attempt should be made for a fresh committee to obtain a further series of experiments with Eusapia, and they invited me to make the necessary arrangements.

I should here say something as to the special objects in view in sending out the new committee. Group after group of eminent scientific men and others had already experimented with Eusapia, and (with the exception of the Cambridge group and certain individuals among the continental investigators) had with practical unanimity, tempered of course in many cases with reserve, with reluctance, and with caution, reported their belief in the display by her of some force hitherto unascertained. The influence, however, of their reports in the formation of opinion as to the authenticity or otherwise of these phenomena had been but small. Critics

remained merely puzzled, and the general public, both scientific and lay, remained wholly unmoved and unconvinced. In the eyes of the world at large a belief in the existence of such a disreputable force, or even an interest in the question of its possibility, was indicative—and in this country undoubtedly, from our omniscient big man of science to our still more omniscient little man of the press, still is indicative—of a general mental unsoundness, and symptomatic of a not distant intellectual decay. The scientific reports produced practically no impression. The facts reported were preposterous, and *could not* take place. Therefore, they *did not* take place. What hope, then, is there that any report from a committee of far less eminence than many of its predecessors can possess any fresh interest?

The reason, I think, that the former reports have not had more influence in forcing attention to their consideration is that in most of them the conclusions of the investigators have been more prominent than the evidence by which they were led to them. Even Sir Oliver Lodge's report of the experiments at the île Roubaud, which seemed detailed enough to those who were present, was not found proof against the hostile criticism of the absent Dr. Hodgson. Further, it has been said that men of science, accustomed to deal with the forces of nature, which do not cheat, are not the best investigators of the forces of human nature, especially the forces of mediumistic human nature, which generally try to. Better a conjuror. And so upon a conjuror the choice of the Council fell. In Mr. Carrington they found a man who, besides having made conjuring a pursuit (though not a profession) for many years, had for some time conducted investigations for the American Society for Psychical Research, and after a pretty exhaustive examination of most of the physical 'mediums' in America, had written, to their very great annoyance and confusion, articles in the *Journal* of that Society showing how they did their tricks, as well as a large book on the *Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*, already cited, in which he gave his opinion that, so far as he had seen, there were no such phenomena, though he judiciously left himself a loophole in regard to what he had not seen. We had not only one conjuror, but two, for Mr. Baggally, a member of the Council of the Society, joined Mr. Carrington and myself in time for our fifth séance. Mr. Baggally, though also not a professional conjuror, had made a considerable practice of the art with special reference to the conjuring of 'spiritualism,' and as a result of the investigation of practically every medium that had appeared on the spiritualist horizon for the last thirty years, had come to the same conclusion as Mr. Carrington, though, I think, without any reservation whatever. As for myself, though not a conjuror, either professional or even amateur, I had had a fairly complete education at the hands of fraudulent mediums, my unbroken experience of whom had led me into an attitude of entire scepticism as regards the probability of ever

finding anything worth serious examination, and, I regret to say, into such a habit of flippancy of mind, or at all events of utterance, concerning these things, as to have evoked censure, both public and private, from inquirers of a more sober temperament.

Such, then, was the committee. As regards our method of investigation we felt that our one object should be not merely to come to a conclusion ourselves as to whether or not the phenomena were true, but to present a report in such a form as to enable a reader to judge of the possibility of our having been deceived—that is, to give an absolutely full account of the occurrences at each séance, with a detailed statement of the precautions taken and of the control existing at each moment. Our first care, therefore, was to procure a shorthand writer, who was present at an adjoining table throughout the séances, and to whom we dictated the conditions of light, the phenomena themselves as they occurred, and the position and visibility of the hands, feet, and head of the medium at the moment of occurrence. Whether we have succeeded or not, we have at least attempted to avoid the criticism which Mrs. Sidgwick made in reviewing Professor Morselli's book, *Psicologia e Spiritismo* (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, vol. xxi. p. 516), that, before speculating upon the agency producing the phenomena, it was advisable to have more evidence of their existence.

The séances took place in my bedroom on the fifth floor of an hotel. Across a corner of the room we hung, at the medium's request, two thin black curtains forming a triangular recess, called the 'cabinet,' about three feet deep in the middle. Behind this curtain we placed a small round tea-table, and upon it various toys which we bought in Naples, a tambourine, a flageolet, a toy piano, a trumpet, a tea-bell, and so forth.

If I am asked to defend the reasonableness of this procedure, I can only say that, as the phenomena which take place in Eusapia's presence consist chiefly, though not exclusively, of the movements and transportations of smallish objects within a certain radius of her, objects of some kind—it doesn't much matter what—have to be placed there. And as to the curtain, all I can say is that Eusapia believes that the provision of a closed space helps to concentrate 'force,' and that, as most of the effects seemed to radiate from the curtain, she is possibly right.

Eusapia herself never looked behind the curtain and did not know what had been arranged there. Outside it was placed a small oblong table, 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Eusapia herself sat at one end of this table with her back to the curtain, the back of her chair distant from the curtain about a foot or eighteen inches. One of us sat on each side of her, holding her hands with ours and controlling her feet with our legs and feet, while on certain occasions a third was under the table holding her feet with his hands.

In front of her hung from the ceiling, at a distance of about six feet from her head, a group of four electric lights of varying voltage, candle power, or colour, and therefore of varying illuminating power, which could be altered from the shorthand writer's table by means of a commutator. The strongest light was bright enough to enable us to read small print at the furthest end of the room, and of course at our places at the table, while the weakest was sufficient to enable us to see the hands and face of the medium. On a very few occasions we were reduced to complete darkness.

We had eleven *séances* in all, at some of which we were alone, while at others we invited the assistance of friends of our own, and by way of experiment, of Eusapia's. The *séances* varied greatly. It is noteworthy that among the worst *séances* were those at which Eusapia's friends assisted, while the best were among those at which we were quite alone. As a general rule, though not invariably, the phenomena classified themselves according to the prevailing light; that is, for certain phenomena a feeble light seemed necessary, while for others it was immaterial whether the light was weak or strong. From the point of view of facility for trickery we were unable to trace any special connexion between the degree of light and the phenomena generally produced in it. From the first *séance* to the last, with certain setbacks, there was a gradual progression in the phenomena; that is, in the earlier *séances* they were restricted in variety, though not in frequency of occurrence, while later on they became more complicated. Sometimes they took place so rapidly, at the rate of several a minute, that the dictation of one was constantly interrupted by the occurrence of another. Sometimes they were sparse and intermittent. On these occasions Eusapia would ask for the light to be reduced, but we did not find that the reduction of light had any favourable influence on the production of the phenomena. On the contrary, the darkest *séances* were those at which least occurred.

The actual procedure of a *séance* was as follows: About half an hour before the expected arrival of Eusapia the room was prepared by the removal of unnecessary furniture, the arrangement of the objects inside the curtain, and so on. One or two of us remained there, while one went downstairs to await her arrival. She came escorted by her husband, who then went away, and Eusapia was brought alone up the five flights of stairs to our rooms. She immediately sat down at her place at the table, with her back to the curtain, behind which, as I have said, she never looked. Sometimes the manifestations to be described presently began at once in the brightest light. Sometimes we had to wait half an hour, an hour, even an hour and a half, before anything took place. Those delays seemed to proceed from one of two causes. Either she was in such a flamboyantly good temper and talked so incessantly that she did not give her mind to the proceedings; or else she appeared so unwell and fatigued as to be incapable of accomplishing

anything. On the former occasions there was nothing to do but to wait till she had tired herself out with her own conversation. Eventually she would begin to yawn. This was a favourable symptom, and when the yawns were followed by enormous and amazing hiccoughs we knew it was time to look out, as this was the signal for her falling into a state of a trance.

Her trance was of varying stages. It was not absolutely necessary for the production of phenomena of a simple kind, and in two or three sésances she remained wide awake throughout and had a continuous memory of the proceedings. Her state of *half* trance, which was her usual condition during the production of phenomena, was only distinguishable from her normal state by the facts that she was quieter in demeanour and that she professed to have no recollection of what had happened; in her state of *deep* trance, however,—which did not often supervene, but, when it did, was nearly always accompanied by the more startling phenomena,—she appeared deeply asleep, sometimes lying immovable in the arms of one of the controllers on either side and always surrendering herself completely to the fullest control of her hands. In this state she spoke little and in a deep bass voice, referred to herself in the third person as ‘my daughter’ or ‘the medium,’ and called us ‘tu.’ In this state she professes to be under the ‘control’ of a spirit to whom she gives the name of ‘John King’ and who claims to be the chief agent for the production of her phenomena.³ In her state of *half* trance there constantly appears to be a battle between her and this ‘control,’ which manifests itself through tilts or levitations of the table, and, by means of a code, gives directions as to the conduct of the sésance and the degree of light to be allowed, against which Eusapia herself often protests vigorously. Thus five tilts of the table mean less light. Eusapia generally insists on the light remaining up, or if it has been diminished, on its being turned up again. The table, however, persists in its demand and Eusapia eventually gives way.

Now as to the phenomena themselves. They consisted in the first place of levitations⁴ of the table at which we sat, outside the curtain. As a rule the table began to rock in a manner explainable by the ordinary pressure of the medium’s hands. It then tilted in a manner not so explainable, that is, in a direction away from her while her hands were resting lightly on the top, and finally it would leave the ground entirely and rise rapidly to a height of one or two feet, remain there an appreciable time and then come down. Sometimes there would be slight contact with the hands on the top, but very frequently no apparent contact whatever, her hands being held by us at a distance of a foot or two from the table, either in her lap or above the table. These levitations were among the most frequent and disconcerting of the phenomena and took place in the brightest light. No pre-

³ See footnote, p. 792.

⁴ Or more properly ‘liftings.’

cautions that we took hindered them in the slightest. She had no hooks (such as might be used for raising a table) and we could never discern the slightest movement of her knees or feet. We very often had our free hands on her knees, while her feet were controlled either by our feet or by one of us under the table, and were generally away from the table legs, a clear space being discernible between her and the table. Sometimes a partial levitation or tilt would last a very long time, half a minute or even a minute, during which the table remained at an angle, poised on two legs without any contact with any one. We would press it down and it would come up again as though suspended on elastics, and finally take a jump in the air off all its four legs.

Another of the most frequent phenomena was movements of the curtain behind her. For this she generally, though not always, demanded a reduction of the light, but it still remained sufficient to enable every movement of the medium to be clearly seen even from the further end of the table. She would generally hold out towards the curtain one of her hands, always held by or holding one of ours, at a distance of about 8 or 12 inches from the curtain, and the curtain would balloon out towards it. Sometimes the same effect would be produced if one of us held our own hands towards the curtain at her request. The bulge was a round one, as if the curtains were pushed out from behind. If we made a sudden grab at the bulge no resistance was encountered. There was no attachment to her hand, as we constantly verified by passing our hands between her and the curtain. Nor would any attachment produce the same effect, as the curtain was so thin that the point of attachment of any string would at once have been seen. Besides these bulges in response to her or our gestures, there were spontaneous movements of the curtain, often very violent, and frequently the whole curtain would be flung out with so much force that the bottom of it came right over to the further end of the table. This occurred notwithstanding that Eusapia herself was perfectly visible and motionless, both hands held and separately visible upon the table, her feet away from the curtain in front of her under the table.

The next phenomenon was touches by some invisible object; that is, while the light was strong enough to see the face and hands of Eusapia, we were constantly touched on the arm, shoulder or head by something which we could not see,—even though we might be looking in the direction whence it touched us,—but which felt like finger-tips.

The next development was *grasps through the curtains* by hands. When I say hands, I mean palpable, apparently living hands with fingers and nails, which grasped us on the arm, shoulder, head, and hands. This occurred at times when we were absolutely certain that Eusapia's own hands were separately held on the table in front of her.

The first occasion on which this occurred to me is among the

phenomena most vivid in my memory. I had been sitting at the end of the table furthest from Eusapia. Mr. Carrington and Mr. Baggally had for some time been reporting that something from behind the curtain had been touching them through it. At last I told Eusapia that I wanted to experience this also. She asked me to stand at the side of the table and hold my hand against the curtain over her head. I held it $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet above her head. Immediately the tips of my fingers were struck several times; my first finger was then seized by an apparently living hand, three fingers above and thumb beneath, and squeezed so that I felt the nails of the fingers in my flesh; and then the lower part of my hand was seized and pressed by what appeared to be the soft part of a hand. Eusapia's two hands were separately held by Messrs. Carrington and Baggally, one on the table and one on her knee. These grasps, if fraudulent, could only have been done by an accomplice behind the curtain. There was no accomplice behind the curtain.

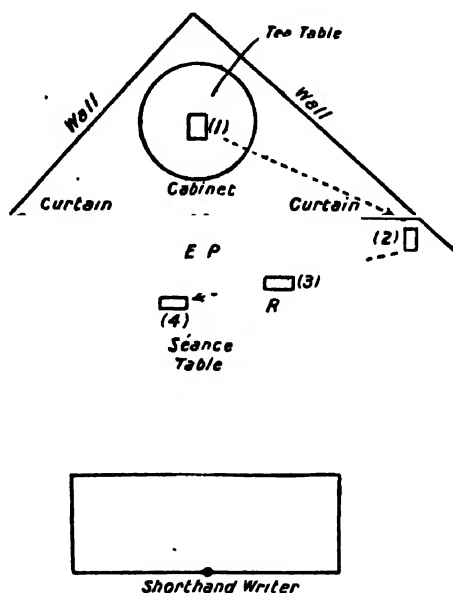
The next development was that these hands became visible. They generally, though not always, appeared between the parting of the curtains over Eusapia's head. They were of different appearances, sometimes of a dead, paper white, sometimes of a natural colour. I think only once was a hand both seen and felt at the same time, and that was when a hand came out from the side, not the middle of the curtain, seized Mr. Baggally and pulled him so hard as almost to upset him off his chair.

I have followed the general development of these hands through the course of the séances, but meanwhile other phenomena had been occurring. As a rule, after the movements of the curtain, the first manifestation took the form of violent noises inside the cabinet, as though the tea table were being shaken. It was sometimes shaken so hard that the objects on it fell off. It then itself appeared over Eusapia's shoulder and landed on our table horizontally, that is, with its top resting on our table and its legs pointing into the cabinet. It would then, during the space of a minute, appear to hang there, partly supported, no doubt, by Eusapia's arm or ours as we held her hand, and try to climb on our table, which it never, however, succeeded in doing, but eventually fell back.

This transportation of the table took place several times, till at length, to prevent its upsetting our arrangement of the objects on it, we took to tying it down, after which it was once or twice violently shaken, but did not otherwise molest us. Henceforward, however, the objects which had been placed upon it were transported from within one by one. The flageolet tapped me on the head, the tambourine jumped on to my lap, the toy piano landed on the head of a friend of mine; the tea bell was rung and presently appeared, ringing, over Eusapia's head, carried by a hand which attached it quickly to her hair, and just as I was putting up my free hand to detach it,

reappeared, detached the bell itself, rang it again over Eusapia's head, and threw it on to the séance table. While this was occurring I was holding Eusapia's left hand close to my face, while Mr. Baggally held her right hand under the curtain on the opposite corner of the table, and the light was sufficient for the shorthand writer from his table, at a distance of about 8 or 9 feet from Eusapia, to see the hand which carried the bell.

One of the most interesting transportations of objects was that of a board on which we had put a large lump of wet clay in the hope of obtaining an impression of one of these hands. I was controlling to Eusapia's right, and Mr. Ryan, a friend of mine whom we had invited to the séance, to her left, and therefore opposite to me. Her right hand was under mine on my side of the table. Her left hand was on Mr. Ryan's on his side. Both were motionless and visible. Mr. Carrington was standing behind me. A diagram is subjoined to enable a reader to follow the description.



(1), (2), (3), and (4) show the various positions of the board with the lump of clay.

The clay had been placed, at (1), on the tea table inside the curtain, directly behind Eusapia. At a certain moment Mr. Carrington saw it appear at the further side of the left curtain, at (2), behind Mr. Ryan, and travel through the air on to Mr. Ryan's shoulder. It was at that point, (3), that I first noticed it. I saw it slide gently down his right arm, across Eusapia's hand which held his, cross the table towards me, and land, at (4), on the top of my hand which held Eusapia's right.

Another class of phenomena consisted of lights, which at one séance appeared twice over her head, once in her lap, and once at the side of the curtain furthest from her. They were of three kinds : a steady blue-green light, a yellow light, and a small sparkling light like the spark between the poles of a battery.

Besides the visible hands, which were clear and distinct, there were also more or less indescribable appearances of various kinds, in themselves of the most suspicious character ; white things that looked like handfuls of tow ; black things like small heads at the end of stalk-like bodies, which emerged from the middle or side of the curtain and extended themselves over our table ; shadowy things like faces with large features, as though made of cobweb, that shot with extreme rapidity and silence from the side of the curtain, and as quickly withdrew.

There were also other phenomena, but the last which I shall touch on now were movements of objects outside the curtain, at a distance from Eusapia of from one to three feet. I speak chiefly of a stool which was placed on the floor, about a yard from Eusapia. She extended her hand, held by Mr. Carrington, towards it, but at a distance of about two feet, and presently the stool moved towards her ; she then made gestures of repulsion, and it moved away from her. This process was several times repeated. The shorthand writer, who, during part of the time, was standing close to the stool, passed his hand round it several times to ascertain that it had no attachment, but it continued to move the moment he removed his hand. There was a clear space between her and the stool, and the light was sufficient for me to follow its movements while I was standing up at the end of the table furthest from Eusapia—that is, at a distance of about 5 or 6 feet from the stool.

I am not attempting in this paper to do more than describe the kind of thing that took place. For the precautions that we took, for the searchings of the medium's person, for the control that existed at the time of the production of each phenomenon, and for a general discussion of the possibilities of deception (incidentally I may remark that two or three times we had opportunity in sufficient light to observe her substitution trick, unaccompanied, however, by any phenomena) or hallucination, I must refer my readers to the detailed report which will be published in the course of the present month in Part LIX of the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research.

I am not attempting in the present article to describe critically the conditions under which our observations were made, nor do I pretend that for all the phenomena I have described they were of equal evidential value. I may, however, express on the part of my two colleagues and myself our firm conviction that for some of the phenomena, including some of the more remarkable ones, we obtained evidence of unimpeachable validity. Further, that though

a considerable portion of the manifestations, taken by themselves, must be regarded as non-evidential, we had no definite proof of the fraudulent production of any one of them.

On the other hand, this expression of conviction is a purely personal one on the part of the actual investigating committee, and in no way represents the corporate view of the Council of the Society, which, by the way, can, in the nature of things, have no corporate view on any subject whatever.

Our report will be subject to the usual criticism. If I may anticipate shortly the form that that criticism will probably take, it would appear that it must rely upon one or other of three alternatives—namely, (1) that the phenomena of which we were the witnesses were produced by mere legerdemain ; (2) that they were performed with the assistance of an accomplice ; or (3) that we were hallucinated, either as regards the *fact* of the phenomena themselves, or as regards the control of the medium's head and limbs (details of which were dictated to the shorthand writer contemporaneously with the production of the phenomena) in such a way that, when we reported that we both *held* and *saw* the medium's hands, we were really the victims of a concurrent and concordant delusion. I cannot in the space allotted to me discuss the value of the last alternative, to which considerable attention is devoted in our official report in the S.P.R. *Proceedings*, and must confine myself to saying that if in the circumstances it be regarded as valid, it seems to me to cut at the root of the value of all human testimony upon any subject whatever.

The possibility of the assistance of an accomplice may be dismissed more shortly. The eleven séances took place in my bedroom on the fifth floor of an hotel chosen by ourselves ; the room was under our complete control, and was searched formally before the séance commenced, and the doors were, of course, secured.

To those, finally, who prefer to believe that we were merely deceived by common conjuring tricks, I would suggest that instead of merely asserting this to be the probable explanation, they should in fairness study closely the conditions given in detail in the report, and attempt to indicate the means by which a comparatively inactive and wholly illiterate woman of fifty-four was able, during the course of many hundreds of phenomena, sometimes succeeding one another so quickly as to prevent a dictated description of them from being given at stenographic speed, successfully to impose upon persons specially selected because of their familiarity with, and capacity themselves to perform, most of the tricks employed by fraudulent mediums.

I will, in conclusion, say one thing more. While I have convinced myself of the reality of these phenomena, and of the existence of some force not yet generally recognised which is able to impress itself on matter, and to simulate or create the appearance of matter, I refrain for the present from speculating upon its nature. Yet it is just in

this speculation that the whole interest of the subject lies. The force—if we are driven, as I am confident we are, to presuppose one other than mere conjuring—must either reside in the medium herself and be of the nature of an extension of human faculty beyond what is generally recognised, or must be a force having its origin in something apparently intelligent and external to her, operating either directly from itself, or indirectly through or in conjunction with some special attribute of her organism. The phenomena then—in themselves preposterous, futile, and lacking in any quality of the smallest ethical, religious, or spiritual value—are nevertheless symptomatic of something which, put at its lowest by choosing the first hypothesis, must, as it filters gradually into our common knowledge, most profoundly modify the whole of our philosophy of human faculty; but which, if that hypothesis is found insufficient, *may* ultimately be judged to require an interpretation involving something further—namely, a change in our conception of the relations between mankind and an intelligent sphere external to it. Although one may approach the investigation of the phenomena themselves in a light, shall I say even a flippant spirit (I sometimes think that in this way alone can one preserve one's mental balance in dealing with this kind of subject), one must regard them as the playthings of the agency which they reveal; and the more perfect revelation of that agency, whatever it may be, through the study of them, is surely a task as worthy of the most earnest consideration as any problem with which modern science is concerned. If our full report, by reason of its form and detail, is found to do something towards supplying a further evidential basis for, and therefore directing the attention of men of science in this country towards, the far more important and elaborate published investigations of many of our more eminent predecessors, thus inducing them to take a part in the research, I shall feel that it has amply served its purpose.

EVERARD FEILDING

(*Hon. Secretary, Society for Psychical Research*).

hard for boys, and they will only learn to value them if they realise that we are always thinking about them, and that to us they are more important than many successes in the humbler sphere.

There are, of course, certain practical difficulties that face us, if we try conscientiously to carry out the fraternal ideal. In the first place, we are brought face to face with rather a large family of little brothers; there is a danger of some of them being left out in the cold. And I am afraid this often happens; the more attractive of the younger members of the family find many elder brothers; the shy and awkward and unattractive, who need help and sympathy most, have to struggle on without.

Then, again, as I said above, it is essential that we should avoid the superior manner; we must make our pupils forget that we are the tyrants of the class-room; we must get on to their level. If we had time to know all our little brothers individually, we might find out what each of them is really interested in as an individual, and draw him out on that subject to our mutual advantage; but we have to deal with them in groups, and we must address ourselves to the average boy. The average boy is interested in nothing but games and school gossip; therefore these will have to become the staple of conversation. Now I am not at all clear myself that the average boy really exists—at least, as a raw product: I believe he is a highly finished article, and needs some years of steady work on him at a Public School before he can really pass muster—before ‘funditus omnes corporeæ excedunt pestes,’ and he begins to realise that it is bad form to be interested in anything outside the routine. Even after some years at school, I believe he is a much rarer specimen than we imagine. I have never forgotten the remark a friend of mine made to me when I was a boy at school. He was a very good cricket and football player, a bad scholar, and a bright and amusing companion, so that he had more friends among the masters than any boy I knew. He came back in rather a bad temper from some entertainment with a master, and broke out, ‘These masters all seem to think I am a perfect baby; they talk to me about games, games, games from morning to night, as if they were the only things I cared about.’ As a matter of fact, he used to write quite a lot of bad poetry; his note-books were full of clever caricatures of his masters and school-fellows; he was rather proud of his musical powers; he read widely, if promiscuously, and his literary judgments were wild and vigorous. There are many boys who would be only too glad to discuss such things as these, but they have got an unfortunate idea that the master’s interests are confined to athletics and school topics. If only they were convinced that he liked to talk on other subjects, I am sure they would do all they could to encourage and draw out a shy or modest master.

Too free a discussion of school topics, again, sometimes leads to misunderstandings. I knew a boy, a year or two ago, at one of our

leading public schools, and asked him about the masters there, among whom I happened to have some friends. 'Some of them are all right,' he said, 'but they all hate one another like poison.' I expressed my surprise. 'Oh, everyone knows,' he explained, 'that if you want to please one of them, you have only got to tell him a story against another; we always do, when we go out to tea with a master.' This was, of course, a libel; but it shows how our motives may be misinterpreted, when we are only anxious to make the boys realise that we are human beings, and can appreciate a joke at the expense of our own order.

But, of course, the chief argument for the elder brother is that he will be able to exercise a useful moral influence, because he will be on friendly and confidential terms with his pupils. This I doubt, except within certain limits. If he has succeeded in persuading them, as he sometimes can, that his outlook on the world is much the same as theirs, except that his interests are rather narrower, he can, within those limits, exercise great influence; but his sincerity is suspected if he transcends them. A clergyman with a comfortable private income and a motor-car may inculcate many Christian virtues from the pulpit, and be heard with profit; but when he preaches from the text 'Blessed are the poor,' he will be less convincing than St. Francis of Assisi.

But on the whole question of direct moral influence I confess I am sceptical. I believe when we speak, three times out of four we do more harm than good. For, after all, what an audacious thing we are trying to do, if we rush in to meddle with the conscience of another human being, unless we are forced into it. How little, at best, we know of him; how likely we are to insult him, to misread his motives, to misunderstand his temptations. It is surely a sufficiently serious thing that, whether we like it or not, we are exercising an indirect moral influence for good or evil every hour of the day, far more powerful than any words can be; for it is not by what we say, but by what we are, that the boys are really guided. I think it is a temptation that we schoolmasters are specially liable to, to imagine that because we know more, we are equally ahead of our pupils in more vital matters, and by virtue of our position know the right answer pat in each case of difficulty, without much trouble to think. Yet I suppose most of us have been put to shame some time or another by the accidental discovery that one of our pupils was by no means satisfied with the judicious compromises that are good enough for us; and that another was consciously regulating his daily life in the light of ideals which we have long learnt to tone down to suit the comfortable and respectable world in which we live. Of course, there are occasions when we have to speak; but I think we should use them with the utmost caution and self-distrust: and if we must give way to the fatal temptation of trying to improve the occasion, remember that the fewest words will probably do the least harm in the long run.

'*Maxima debetur puero reverentia*' might well, I think, be our motto in this matter ; and not less in another. An elder brother's attitude to his small brother is not, as a rule, one of respect ; he does not usually take him seriously ; and the junior does not resent his half-contemptuous patronage, but is honoured by his notice, and accepts snubs as no more than his due. But is this a satisfactory relation between a master and a boy ? I cannot help feeling that even with younger boys at a public school we ought to be doing what we can to build up their self-respect. A proper amount of snubbing they will get from their elders in the school ; in the form-room, too, they will presumably receive a suitable dressing-down as occasion demands. But in ordinary life, are we not taking a liberty with a boy if we assume the right of addressing him freely by his nickname, or even by his Christian name, and if we always think it necessary to adopt a waggish tone towards him ? Is it likely to make him respect either himself or us more ? 'The merriment of these parsons I find highly offensive,' was Dr. Johnson's comment on the professional hilarity of a company of clergymen ; and I think there is a danger of our slipping into a similar sort of professional hilarity in our dealings with our younger brothers, while trying to establish those cordial relations we so much desire.

I have tried to analyse the fraternal attitude at some length, and, perhaps, with some exaggerations, because, as I said above, I think it has in a sense permeated our school life, and is one of the greatest difficulties we have to face to-day. In the larger problems of school life we might call it the spirit of triviality, the tendency to lose sight of large issues and high ideals in a mass of petty details and organisation, mostly planned with a view to the average boy. The average boy, I have tried to show, is by no means a common phenomenon ; so that I doubt whether it is worth while sacrificing the interests of several hundreds of his school-fellows to him. If he is the ideal we aim at producing, then I think our ideal is deplorably low, considering that we are the heirs of all the ages. The average boy is, to be exact, sixteen years and two months old ; he is healthy in body, and by careful attention to the instruction of his masters has become a very creditable member of his house eleven and house fifteen ; he is in the middle of the school, and in the middle of his form. He does his work fairly industriously, but has no special gifts for it ; he plays his games very vigorously, partly because he enjoys them, but still more because he knows that in that direction moral excellence lies, and he has always put moral excellence above the selfish distinctions that intellectual eminence brings in its train. He has not many interests to employ his spare time, but that is of less consequence because he has little spare time to employ : his day is carefully mapped out for him, and he has the pleasant feeling of leading a busy, useful life. At this stage in his career he is a delightful person to deal with ; he is a little

contemptuous of those who are not average boys, but apart from that he has not developed any conceit or swagger, he is natural and unaffected, with a pleasant smile for everyone, and is a standing advertisement of the benefits of a Public School education. Two years later, I think he is less attractive. He is now a young man, at the age when a young man would naturally be learning to take his place in the world : but he has the good fortune to belong to the privileged class, which can devote four more priceless years to the preliminary training that shall make them fit to rule a mighty empire, or bear a hand in guiding the new democracy in the gigantic task before it. He knows well that he occupies a privileged position ; he hears it from every stranger who occupies the school pulpit ; he hears it on every occasion of public festivity, and he is frequently warned by some distinguished visitor that success depends not on mere book-learning (for the book-worm is the idle drone of the hive), but on character : and that character is built up on the playing-fields, ' where the battle of Waterloo itself was won.' This quite squares with his own views, and a generous indignation begins to mingle with the contempt he has long felt for the drones of his own acquaintance. Consciousness of merit, inadequately embellished by the arts of the school milliner, lends a statelier port to his movements ; his public services excuse him from many of the school hours, which have now begun to grow wearisome ; for life is too serious a matter to waste on elegant trifles : and though his masters are not extreme to mark what is done amiss, yet he obviously occupies a false position, when younger boys, with no claim to public spirit and with no public services to show, pass easily above his head. He is still a pleasant person to deal with, for I am thinking of the average boy, and not of the ' brutal ' athlete—happily a *rara avis*, whose body has outgrown him,—but can we flatter ourselves that he really does us much credit ? We know him afterwards as the good fellow, for the cult of the good fellow at the University is as widespread as that of the average boy at school. If he takes to school-mastering—and he often does—he will become an elder brother himself, and perpetuate the type : if he has conscientiously, with an eye to the future, stuck to his books and done well in the schools, he may get on the staff of his college, and become a ' useful college man.' He can then devote himself to increasing the supply of good fellows. The useful college man, by the way, will not have been one of the original average boys, for *their* abilities do not run to First Classes, but one of the manufactured ones, for which we are responsible.

Now I do not wish to deny the virtues of the good fellow : I like him very much, though he often gets portentously dull in later life, when his *raison d'être* has rather disappeared, when golf and bridge take the place of more active pursuits, and he is reduced to watching the triumphs in which he once shared. But are we doing our duty to the country in setting this before our pupils as their ideal in life ?

Of course, I shall be told we do nothing of the kind. Look at our scholars, how carefully we train them, what pains we take over them. As for the rest, we must give them healthy interests, we must train them in public spirit. With that I entirely agree; and I agree, too, that games are the finest instrument that we can find for that training—in its early stages: but whether it is wise to lay quite so much stress on them in later years, whether our elaborate training of school elevens and school fifteens, our desperate anxiety to win matches, our constant discussion of games with young men of eighteen and nineteen, may not give them a false idea of the importance we ourselves attach to games, I gravely doubt. Mr. Arthur Benson, in one of his many thoughtful volumes dealing with school problems, describes a Masters' Meeting at Eton, where the vital question of the most suitable hour for nets practice instantly silences a discussion on some merely academic subject; and he draws the appropriate moral. The warning is one we may well lay to heart; for it is obvious that we cannot always be thinking and talking of these subjects without losing our own sense of proportion, till we may come insensibly to reckon moral excellence in our own minds in terms of goals and cricket scores.

Triviality, vulgar ideals, an acquiescence in things as they are, a comfortable feeling that there cannot be much wrong with the Public Schools while they are so popular with their own *clientèle*, and so much abused by jealous outsiders—these are very real dangers in these fat and pury times. But are we really satisfied with the intellectual state of the schools? That there is no intellectual enthusiasm, no keen interest in things beyond the trivial round, would, of course, be an absurd statement for anyone who knows anything of the Sixth Forms of our Public Schools; but can anyone deny that it is confined to a minority, that it hardly forms part of our common life, that we treat the intellectual world as a thing quite out of the reach of the average boy, and therefore tend to disregard it in legislating for our commonwealths? The scholarship system, of course, appeals to our sense of the fitness of things; and I must confess that, with all its faults, I think it is the saving of us in these latter days; for even the public opinion which rules us—the collective and stentorian voice of the good fellow—recognises that here is something tangible, something worth having; and is willing, nay eager, that the school he is interested in should have its share of the spoils. This is very far from the true ideal, the love of learning for its own sake; but it does save us a corner, a foothold; and, happily, we still have the boys, and as long as we are allowed to introduce them to Homer, Sophocles, and Plato—the things that really live—so long a remnant will not fail to hear the living voices, in spite of any discouragements we may put in their way, and the battle against Philistinism is not wholly lost. But how small a number they are, compared with what they ought to be! For it is not only the dullards and incapables whom we labour to turn into

good fellows; we take many of our best and ablest and preach this gospel to them. For, given a mass of boys, it is generally true that the '*mens sana*' is found in the '*corpus sanum*,' and a boy who excels in one line can also excel in the other. There will never be any fear of athletic excellence being undervalued in schools; the healthy instinct of boys leads them to admire it and idolise it; but to-day it has received official recognition everywhere, and seems to the boys to occupy the thoughts of their masters almost to the exclusion of other interests. And can we wonder that when a boy is given the choice of two careers—one, long and laborious, with success doubtful and distant, with purely personal rewards, and none of the stimulus of working with others to a common end; the other, attractive and exciting in itself, where each success is attended with the applause of his fellows, and he is inspired throughout by the feeling of common service and common aims—can we wonder that he goes *quo clamor vocat et turba faventium*? Surely, if he is to be brought to choose the harder path, we ought to throw all the weight of our influence on that side; and here again our influence will only carry weight if we really do, in our hearts, put intellectual things above athletic distinctions and have not a sneaking feeling, even while we exhort him to stick to his books, that, after all, it does not very much matter. But we know, the world outside knows, the boys know, that we as a body do not really believe any longer in the importance of intellectual attainments for the ordinary boy, even though we keep up a decent pretence of doing so in our reports and exhortations. And so we allow numbers of boys—who ought to pass out into the world with a love of intellectual things, with a mind trained to think and an eagerness to learn—to leave school with the idea that their pleasures are the serious business of life, and that if they go up to the University they will be conferring a lasting benefit on some ancient seat of learning by playing the game they enjoy most and most excel at, along with some other young men with the same tastes. 'Things have changed curiously at the University,' said an old gentleman; 'when I was young, if anyone was interested in a young man at college, he would ask his tutor how he was getting on. "Very well indeed," the answer might be; "he was among the select for the Ireland this year."' A little while ago I asked the same question about a young friend, and was told by his tutor, "He is doing splendidly; he jumps for his college."

I have spoken at some length on this ever-present question of work and games, because if we are to be saved from the tyranny of triviality, intellectual interests must clearly play a larger part than they do in our life. And the remedy is there, ready for us to take up at any moment. The boys are willing enough; the countrymen of Shakespeare and Milton are not really dead to the higher voice, nor doomed by a grim predestination to the Sisyphean task of chasing balls

of varying size through the æons. Let us forget the average boy for a space; or rather, remember that he will not be always sixteen; that he need not always remain an average boy; and that the dullest and most lifeless will, at least, become a little less dull and lifeless if they are breathing a vitalising atmosphere. After all, it is the ordinary boy, and not the genius, whom we are wronging most by our present acquiescence in things as they are; for the genius can take care of himself: and the best of our material is of too fine a nature to be robbed of its intellectual heritage, however discouraging the atmosphere.

Of the many merits of the Public Schools I do not propose to speak. If I thought they were in their essence incapable of high ideals and fatal to intellectual life, I should naturally, for my own peace of mind, have avoided such a dangerous profession. Shrewsbury under Kennedy, Rugby under Arnold, prove the contrary. The tragedy of it is the old *corruptio optimi pessima*. Never was the power of the Public Schools for good or evil so great. Never was the conception of a corporate life, of the duties the individual owes to a community, so freely admitted and so constantly inculcated at the schools. Never was the affection they inspire deeper or more lasting. We have still, in theory at any rate, the old English tradition of a liberal education—the most truly liberal conception of education since the days of Pericles—which aims at producing scholars and gentlemen: that is to say, which never forgets, in its devotion to learning, that character is the vital thing, and that the nation needs men and not pedants to serve it; but at the same time does not lose sight of the other side of the question—namely, that without a love of learning and a conception of the humanities, the service that a man can give is likely to be narrow and one-sided and illiberal. Those schools which are still true to Arnold's Sixth-Form system do at least in theory uphold the old tradition, in giving the government of the school into the hands of the representatives of learning, as being the best fitted to rule. But the temptation to assimilate the government to the general fraternal movement is so strong, that the 'prefect' system has naturally more supporters to-day; for it enables us to raise to the seats of the mighty those good fellows whose energies have been spent more profitably than on books, and whose moral characters are guaranteed by some athletic decoration.

'The Fallacy of the Elder Brother' is bad for boys, worse for young men, whether at school or at the Universities, but worst of all for the masters. For it is from us that it springs, and it is we who propagate it. No systems, no organisation, no training of teachers or scheduling of subjects, no soul-killing efficiency can breathe life into the machine. If we have narrow interests ourselves, all the splendid possibilities of our inheritance are wasted; and though we successfully combined all the systems of Mr. Benson, Mr. Rouse and Sir Oliver Lodge, with all the reforms thundered into our ears by the

Classical Association, the Modern Language Association, the Historical Association, the English Association, the Geographical Association, the Parents' National Educational Union, and the rest, in one glorious transcendental temple of learning, we should not be a whit the better off : the only thing that can regenerate us is that we should ourselves aim at higher ideals, with the firm faith that if we do, 'all these things will be added to us.'

II. B. MAYOR.

Clifton College.

*A TENTH-CENTURY DRAMATIST:
ROSWITHA THE NUN*

IN this age of personal curiosity, politely called psychological interest, when personalities are analysed with all the thoroughness of the dissecting theatre, it seems almost courting failure to try to call to remembrance one whose personality has long since faded away, and of whom, apparently, no contemporary writer has made mention. Of Roswitha the woman, we know but little, and this little is gathered from her own writings.¹ Presumably the date of her birth was about 935 A.D., and that of her death about 973 A.D. There is a tradition that she was connected with the royal house of Germany, at that time represented by the enlightened Otho the Great. Be this as it may, her life for us begins when, probably at an early age, she entered the Convent of Gandersheim. Gandersheim was a Benedictine nunnery in the Harz Mountains, founded in the ninth century by Liudolf, Duke of Saxony, and important enough to entitle its Abbess to a seat in the Imperial Diet, a right perhaps never exercised except by proxy. The story of its foundation, as told by Roswitha in the unique MS. of her works, is of strange beauty. Listen to her own words as she tells the tale.

At that time there was, nigh unto the Monastery,² a little wood, encircled by shady hills, those same hills by the which we ourselves are surrounded. And there was moreover in the wood a small farm, in the which the swineherds of Liudolf were wont to dwell, and within its enclosure the men composed to rest their weary bodies during the hours of night when they should have tended the pigs committed to their care. Here, on a time, two days before the Feast of All Saints, these same herdsmen, in the darkness of the night, saw full many bright lights glowing in the wood. And they were astonished at the sight, and marvelled what could be the purport, of this strange vision of blazing light cleaving the darkness of the night with its wondrous brilliance. And all trembling with fear, they related unto their master that which they had seen, showing unto him the place which had been illumined by the light. And he, desiring by very sight thereof to put to the proof that which he had heard tell, joined them without the building, and began the following night, without sleeping, to keep watch,

¹ The authenticity of these has been called in question by some critics, but apparently upon insufficient data.

² The first foundation, afterwards removed to Gandersheim.

closing not his eyes though they were weighed down by the desire of slumber. And after a while he saw the kindling lights, more in number than afore, once again burn with a red glow, in the same place forsooth, but at a somewhat earlier hour. And he made known this glad sign of happy omen so soon as Phoebus shed his first rays from the sky, and the joyous news spread everywhere. And this could not be kept back from the worthy Duke Liudolf, but swifter than speech did it come to his ears. And he, carefully observing on the hallowed eve of the approaching festival whether perchance some further like heavenly vision would clearly show it to be an omen, with much company kept watch on the wood all the night long. And straightway when black night had covered the land with darkness, everywhere throughout the wooded valley in the which the very noble temple was destined to be built, many lights were perceived, the which, with the shining splendour of their exceeding brightness, cleft asunder the shades of the wood and the darkness of the night alike. And thereupon, standing up and rendering praise to God, they all with one accord declared it meet that the place should be sanctified to the worship of Him who had filled it with the light. And moreover the Duke, mindful of his duty to Heaven, and with the consent of his dear consort Oda, forthwith ordered the trees to be felled and the brushwood cut away, and the valley to be completely cleared. And this sylvan spot, aforetime the home of fauns and monsters, he thus cleared and made fitting for the glory of God. And then, before obtaining the money needful for the work, he at once set out the lines of a noble church as traced by the splendour of the red light.

In suchwise was the building of our second monastery to the glory of God begun. But stone meet for the structure could not be found in those parts, and thus the completion of the sanctuary which had been begun, suffered delay. But the Abbess Hathumoda, trusting to obtain all things from the Lord by faith, oftentimes, by serving God both night and day with holy zeal, wore herself out with too abundant labour. And with many of those placed under her care, she besought the solace of speedy help from heaven, lest the work so well begun should be left unfinished. And of a sudden she became aware that the divine grace which she sought was present, ready to have compassion on her longings. For as she lay one day prostrate nigh unto the altar, fasting and giving herself up to prayer, she was bidden of a gentle voice to go forth and follow a bird she would see sitting on the summit of a certain great rock. And she, embracing the command with ready mind, went forth, putting her trust in it with all her heart. And taking with her very skilful masons, she sped swiftly whither the kindly Spirit led her, until she was come to the noble sanctuary which had been begun. And there she saw, seated on the lofty top of the selfsame rock, a white dove, the which, flying with outspread wings, straightway went before her, tampering its flight in unwonted way so that the virgin, walking with her companions, might be able to follow in a straight course its aerial track. And when the dove in its flight had come to the place which we now know was not wanting in great stones, it descended, and with its beak pierced through the ground where, beneath the soil, many stones were disclosed. And assured by this sight, the very worthy virgin of Christ bade her companions clear away the heavy mass of earth, and lay the spot bare. And this done, supernal and devout piety presiding over the work, a great wealth of mighty stones was brought to view, whence all the needful material for the walls of the monastery already begun, and of the church, could be obtained. In such wise striving more and more with all their heart, the builders of the temple destined to be consecrated to the glory of God, laboured at the work by night and by day.

Thus does Roswitha tell how the work of the new Foundation was begun, the Duke Liudolf and his wife having already journeyed to

Rome to ask of the Pope his blessing, as well as to beg of him, as a token of his favour, some sacred relics to deposit there. The Pope, giving them his blessing, thus makes answer to their request :

‘There were here, aforetime, two mighty rulers—the most holy Anastasius who presided over this See, and his co-apostle the holy Innocent. These, through their services to the Church, were the most famous next after St. Peter and St. Paul. With such care have the illustrious bodies of these two been heretofore preserved by all the rulers of this city, that never has anyone been permitted to carry away the least portion of them, and thus their sacred limbs remain undiminished. But forasmuch as it is meet that I yield to your pious request, I will grant you, without recompense, tokens from both these sacred bodies, out before your very eyes from off the sacred bodies themselves, if so be that you will make solemn oath to me to venerate these relics in your community of the which you have made mention, preserving them for all time within your Church, sacred hymns being there sung by night and by day, and a light being always kept burning. And of our apostolic right we ordain, according to your request, that your community be of our See, to the end that it may be secured from all secular rule.’

And Liudolf with glad heart made promise of this, and returned home with the coveted relics.

The MS., now at Munich, which tells this fascinating story of love and faith, was, it is considered, written about 1000 A.D. Fortunately it was preserved in the Benedictine Convent of St. Emmeran, Ratisbon, where the scholar and poet, Conrad Celtes, discovered it at the end of the fifteenth century. It also includes metrical legends, a fragment of a panegyric on the emperor Otho, and six dramas. Of such worth were these latter counted, that, when Celtes published them in 1501, Albert Durer received a commission for an ornamental title-page, and for a frontispiece to each of the plays. It is by these dramas that Roswitha has immortalised herself in the world of letters, for although the legends contain certain points of interest, and are treated with skill, they are naturally not so unique as the dramas, nor do they reflect her personality in the same way. She herself tells us that the plays were written in imitation of the manner, but not of the matter, of Terence, and that her only desire in writing them was ‘to make the small talent given her by Heaven to create, under the hammer of devotion, a faint sound to the praise of God.’

But before considering her work, let us glance at her own life, and the life of contemporary Saxon nunneries.

Nearly 150 years before the supposed date of Roswitha’s birth, the hitherto untamed and warlike Saxons had been finally defeated by the mercenaries of Charlemagne, and, as one of the signs of submission, forced to embrace Christianity. But having submitted, they forthwith, and with an aptitude suggestive of the spirit of the modern Japanese, set themselves to appropriate, assimilate, and remodel for their own use, the rudiments of the civilisation with which they found themselves brought into contact. So speedy and so thorough was the transformation, that scarce a century passed ere

the once powerful Frankish kingdom of Charlemagne bowed down before the strenuous Saxons, to whom the supreme power was transferred. Their chief was elected king of the Germans, and some fifty years later their king Otho the Great, after being crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, the former centre of Frankish rule, received the Imperial crown from the Pope in Rome. This displacement of the political centre was naturally followed by a complete displacement of artistic centres. Both these sides of life were fostered by Otho with a keen personal interest, the building up of his empire, and the encouragement of art, going hand-in-hand. Moreover, owing to his close ties with Italy and the East, and the element of classic tradition inevitably induced by such ties, art received an added stimulus and grace. Learned men and artists were summoned from Italy and Constantinople. The number and influence of these was still further increased when Otho's son, afterwards Otho the Second, married Theophano, a Greek princess, who, bringing many compatriots in her train, sought to reflect in her German home something of the learning and splendour of the Byzantine Court. To gain some idea of the impetus which such a policy must have given to art alone, we have but to look at the beauty of design of the jewelled and gold-wrought cover of the Gospels of St. Emmeran (now at Munich), fashioned by these Greek artificers in the reign of Otho the Second, and then turn to the stiff, unpleasing miniatures in the Gospels (now in the British Museum) painted early in the reign of Otho the First as a gift to his brother-in-law Athelstan, king of Mercia.

Perhaps the one place which retains in the most varied and concentrated form the traces of this wave of Byzantine influence which was passing over Germany is Hildesheim. This is of interest here because the bishops of Hildesheim were specially appointed to perform the office of consecration of nuns at Gandersheim. It is therefore possible that Roswitha may have seen its gifted bishop Bernward, himself a painter, and a worker in mosaic and metals. Bernward's learning and artistic nature attracted the attention of the princess Theophano, who appointed him tutor to her son, the boy-emperor Otho the Third. Brought thus into touch with the many gifts offered to the young emperor by Greek and Oriental princes, the idea occurred to him of forming them into a museum for the use of art students and workers generally, a museum which made Hildesheim famous as a working centre of fine art, especially in metals, down to the end of the Middle Ages. After a lapse of nearly a thousand years the result of the labours of this artistic prelate and his pupils may still be seen *in situ* as it were. Besides jewelled service-books, there are chalices, incense burners, a gold candelabrum, and a jewelled crucifix, fashioned, if not in part by him, at least under his supervision. The entrance to the Cathedral is beautified with delicately wrought bronze gates, and in the Close rises a column adorned with bronze reliefs from the

life of Christ, said to have been designed by the bishop after one of his pilgrimages to Rome, where he had seen and admired Trajan's Column.

We are tempted to recall other princesses whose marriages, and even more whose personalities, have influenced art and letters, but two must suffice us—the one, the beautiful and cultivated Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard the Second, whose bridal retinue was in reality a small Court of literary and artistic personages; the other, the brilliant Valentine Visconti of Milan, sister-in-law of King Charles the Sixth of France, whose influence in matters of art and literature alone, at a time when England and France were so intimately associated, makes her of special interest to us.

But what bearing, it may be asked, had Court life on the life of the nun Roswitha in the convent of Gandersheim? To answer this question we must recall briefly the position of the early religious houses, and especially those of Saxony. Many of the foundations were royal, and in return for certain privileges were obliged to entertain the king and his retinue whenever he journeyed. Such sojourns naturally brought a store of political, intellectual, and other information to the favoured house. Added to this, the abbess of such a house, generally a high-born and influential woman, was, in her position as a ruler of lands as well as of communities, brought into direct contact with the Court and with politics. To her rights of overlordship were attached the same privileges and duties as in the case of any feudal baron. She issued summonses for attendance at her Courts, at which she was represented by a proctor, and, when war was declared, she had to provide the prescribed number of armed knights. In some cases her influence was supreme, extending even to matters social and literary. Roswitha tells us how much she herself owed to the two successive abbesses under whose rule she lived, for suggestion, information, and encouragement in her literary work.

The convents of Saxony, like many elsewhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries, were centres of culture in the nature of endowed colleges. In some of them women resided permanently, and, besides their religious exercises, devoted themselves to learning and the arts, for the Church of the Middle Ages took thought for the intellect as well as for the soul. In others no irrevocable vows were made, and if desire or necessity arose the student inmate was free to return to the world. In others again, though residence was permanent, short leave of absence from time to time was granted by the abbess, and the nun was able to sojourn with her friends or to visit some sister community. But at Gandersheim the rule was strict, and a nun, her vows once taken, had to remain within the convent walls. Yet even so, life there was perhaps far less circumscribed than in many a castle, where the men gave themselves up to war and the chase, and the women perforce spun and embroidered and gossiped, since to

venture without the walls was fraught with difficulty and sometimes with danger. Even if there were some who cared to read, and who would fain go in imagination to other scenes and times, MSS. were difficult to come by, and costly withal. Wholly different was it in the religious houses. In these, women associated with their equals, with whom they could interchange ideas, and the library was well furnished with MSS. of classical and Christian writers. One of the first cares of St. Benedict, in the case of every newly founded house, was the formation of the library. So held in honour did this tradition become, and so assiduously was it pursued, that the status of a monastery or a convent, as a centre of learning, came to be estimated by its wealth in MSS. Besides the mass of transcribing such rivalry occasioned, there was illuminating to be done, musical notation to be studied and prepared for the services of the Church, chants and choir-singing to be practised, and the needful time to be devoted to weaving and embroidery—a part of every woman's education. Weaving had of necessity to be done in every convent in order to provide the requisite clothing for its inmates, and the large and often elaborate hangings used for covering the walls. Embroidery, on the other hand, was no mere occupation, or even a craft, but in truth a fine art. The few specimens still preserved give some idea of the quality of the work, whilst old inventories attest the quantity. Illuminated MSS. of the Gospels and the Apocalypse were lent from royal treasuries, and their miniatures were copied, with needle and silk, to adorn vestments and altar hangings. Then at Gandersheim, as we have already said, the occasional visits of princely travellers brought interest and diversion from the outside world. It was in an atmosphere such as this that Roswitha passed her days.

Of her work, the metrical legends seem her earliest effort. In these, though they are mainly based on well-known themes, Roswitha shows much originality in description. Whilst they need not detain us, passing reference may be made to two of them—the Passion of St. Pelagius of Cordova, and the Fall and Conversion of Theophilus—since their subject-matter is of value to us to-day. The one interests us because, in relating that the story was told her by an eye-witness of the martyrdom,³ she shows that communication existed between that great intellectual centre Cordova and Germany, a fact that must have had considerable influence on art and literature; the other as being the story out of which the *Faust* legend developed.

After these legends, we turn to her panegyric on the Emperor Otho. This she opens by acknowledging her debt to the abbess Gerberg, niece of Otho the Great, for aiding her in her literary work with her superior knowledge, and for giving her the necessary information concerning the royal doings. Then, by humbly likening her mental perplexity and fear on entering upon so vast a subject to the

³ 925 A.D. Act. S. S. Jun. V.

feelings of one who has to cross the forest in winter when snow has obliterated the track, she in a few words pictures for us the natural wooded surroundings of the convent. Her poem—for such it really is—then sets forth the personal history of this monarch and his predecessors, rather than public events, and is thus of value more on account of its poetical than its historical quality. But one episode, picturesque in its quaint setting, and interesting historically because its stirring details are not to be found elsewhere, is worthy of record. It centres round Adelheid, the young and beautiful widow of Lothar, a Lombard king. Taken prisoner by his successor, the tyrant Berengarius, she is immured in a castle on the Lago di Garda, where only her chaplain and a maid are allowed access to her, and threatened with a forced marriage with the son of her oppressor. This threat seems to endow her with superhuman power. Bidding defiance to all difficulty and danger, she, aided by her confessor, contrives gradually to dig a secret way underground, and suddenly finds herself free. Dawn is just breaking. But how can she make use of her freedom before her guards awake and discover her escape? Quickly is her mind made up. But let Roswitha herself tell the story.

As soon as black night yielded to the twilight, and the heavens began to pale before the rays of the sun, warily hiding herself in secluded caves, now she wanders in the woods, now lurks in the furrows amongst the ripe ears of Ceres, until returning night, clothed in its wonted gloom, again veils the earth in darkness. Then once more is she diligent to pursue her way begun. And her guards, not finding her, all-trembling make it known to the officer charged with the safe keeping of the lady. And he, struck to the heart with the terror of grievous fear, set forth with much company to make diligent search for her, and when he failed, and moreover could not discover whither the most illustrious queen had turned her steps, fearful, he made report of the matter to King Berengarius. And he, at once filled with exceeding wrath, forthwith sent his dependents everywhere around, commanding them not to overlook any small place, but cautiously to examine every hiding-place lest perchance the queen might be lying hid in any an one. And he himself followed with a band of stout-hearted troops as if to overcome some fierce enemy in battle. And rapidly did he pass on his way through the self-same cornfield in the which the lady whom he sought was lurking in the bent-back furrows, hidden beneath the wings of Ceres. Hither and thither forsooth he traversed the very spot where she lay burdened with no little fear, and although, with great effort, he essayed with out-stretched spear to part the corn around, yet he discovered not her whom, by the grace of Christ, it concealed.

From the sheltering corn Adelheid effects her escape, and after weary wandering reaches the castle of Canossa, the stronghold of the counts of Tuscany. Anyone who has visited this now ruined castle, some twenty miles from Parma, will remember the threadlike way between rocks, covered with brambles, by which its eyrie height is approached. Up this steep track the queen, fearful of any pause, hastens, and finds a welcome and ready help. The Count becomes her champion, and appeals on her behalf to the Emperor Otho. The latter, glad of an excuse to further his cause in Italy, descends with his troops into

the Lombard plain, weds the beautiful Adelheid, and receives the formal cession of the so-called kingdom of Italy from Berengarius and his son, whose power had ebbed away in their futile attempts to control their feudatories.

It is in a spirit far different from that of her panegyric on the Emperor Otho that Roswitha writes her dramas. Fear and mental perplexity no longer possess her. Though humbly begging the reader not to 'despise these strains drawn from a fragile reed,' she has no misgiving, for she feels that herein lies her mission. She explains her reason for using the dramatic form, and for taking Terence as her model. There are many, she says—and she does not entirely exonerate herself—who, beguiled by the elegant diction of the Classics, prefer them to religious writings; whilst there are others who, though generally condemning heathen works, eagerly peruse the poetic creations of Terence because of the special beauty of his language. She further expresses the hope that by trying to imitate his manner, and by at the same time dramatising legends calculated to edify, she may induce readers to turn from the 'godless contents of his works' to the contemplation of virtuous living. Emboldened by this pious hope, Roswitha shrinks from no difficulties or details—details which might well have made her hesitate, and which, betraying a knowledge of the world, have raised the question as to whether she made her profession as early as was customary. This solicitude of Roswitha for the welfare of frail and all-too-human mankind recalls St. Bernard's condemnation, some 150 years later, of all carving in church or cloister, when he says, 'one reads with more pleasure what is carved in stones than what is written in books, and would rather gaze all day upon these singular creations than meditate upon the Divine Word.'

It has been maintained that the classic theatre decayed and disappeared as Christianity became all-powerful in Europe, and that the modern theatre seemingly arose in the twelfth century out of the services of the Church, and *owed no debt to the past*. But neither Nature nor Art work in this way except to our own unperceiving minds. After the fall of the Roman Empire, and the consequent disruption of society, classic civilisation gradually withdrew into the serenity of the religious communities, seeking, like distraught humanity, shelter and protection. It was in such tranquil atmosphere as this that Latin drama, though condemned in substance, was fostered and fashioned as an education in style. Roswitha's plays may, as has been said, have been the last ray of classical antiquity; but, if so, it was a ray, like the pillar of fire, bright enough to guide through the dark night of feudalism to the coming day.

Whether her dramatic efforts were an isolated phenomenon, or not, must remain undecided, but it is reasonable to assume that any work surviving to the present day is but a sample of much else of the same

sort that has disappeared in the course of time. Still, all we would claim for them, apart from their intrinsic value and interest, is that they helped to keep up continuity in the tradition of drama. The gradual movement in the Church towards elaboration in its services, which began in the ninth century—a movement which led to the dramatising of the Mass, out of which the liturgical drama, and eventually the miracle play, were evolved—was a popular movement. To a people ignorant of Latin, yet fond of shows, it provided instruction and diversion alike. Roswitha, on the other hand, avowedly wrote for the literary world, and with a special end in view as regards that world. To attain this end she set before her, as her master in style, Terence, who himself had aimed at a high ideal of artistic perfection, and of whom it has been said that he perpetuated the art and genius of Menander, just as a master-engraver perpetuates the designs of a great painter whose works have since perished. Still, in spite of the glamour of the style to which she aspires, and poetess though she is by nature, her plays reflect the handiwork of the moralist rather than that of the artist; for though beauty charms her by the way, her goal is moral truth, and to this all else must yield. If we would see the beauty of holiness as she saw it, we must enter in spirit within the shrine of her thought and feeling, just as the traveller, standing without the simple brick exterior of the tomb of Galla Placidia, at Ravenna, must penetrate within, if he would know of the beauty there enshrined. 'Il faut être saint, pour comprendre la sainteté.'

The subject which dominates her horizon is that of Chastity. Treated by her with didactic intent, this really resolves itself into a conflict between Christianity and Paganism—in other words, between Chastity and Passion—in which Christianity triumphs through the virtue of woman. But at the same time Roswitha neither contemns marriage, nor generally advocates celibacy. She merely counsels, as the more blessed, the unmarried state. Yet even so, we feel that beneath her nun's garb there beats the heart of a sympathetic woman, whose emotional self-expression is but tempered by the ideals of her time and her surroundings.

Another important element to be taken into account in her plays is the part she assigns to the supernatural. It is impossible to develop character with any continuity when the supernatural, like some sword of Damocles, hovers continually overhead, ready to descend at any moment and sever cause from effect. Such a sword was the Divine Presence to Roswitha. When her plot requires it, she introduces a miracle, converting a character, at a moment's notice, and in a way that no evolution could possibly effect, into one of a totally different kind. Still, to her audience such a *dénouement* would be quite satisfactory. With her, sudden changes and conversions but reflect the ideas which possessed the minds of her contemporaries, who realised God more in deviations from, than in manifestations of, law and order.

Were her plays ever performed? To this question no certain answer can be given, since no record has yet been found of their performance, and the best critics are at variance on the subject. But judging from analogy, there seems to be no reason why they should not have been. We know that as early as the fifth and sixth centuries the monks played Terence, probably on some fête-day, or before their scholars as a means of instruction, and doubtless Roswitha's plays were also acted on special occasions, such as when the Emperor sojourned at Gandersheim, or the bishop made a visitation. As they were written in Latin, the literary language of the time, this in itself, even if their themes had appealed to the people, would have prevented them from being performed save before the educated few. So if we would picture to ourselves a performance of one of them by her companion nuns in the chapter house, or it may be in the refectory, it must be before the bishop and his clergy, and perhaps also some members of the Imperial family and lords and ladies of the Court. How refreshing must such an entertainment have been to this distinguished company, as it found itself carried away into an atmosphere of poetry and passion, of movement and colour, instead of enduring the sobriety of feeling induced by the stiff liturgical dramas that probably formed the usual diversion! Such a drama was that of the *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, a specially favourite old-world dramatic exercise, dispensed as a sort of religious tonic to womankind, calculated to arouse slumbering souls or to quicken to still further effort those that did not slumber. For us, its chief interest lies in the antiphonic arrangement of the dialogue, in which we may trace the first germs of characterisation, and in the music, the refrains of which contain the first suggestions, as far as we know, of the principle of the *leit-motif*, a principle carried to its most complete development by Wagner. Although the earliest known MS. of it is of the eleventh century, so finished, yet so simple, are its dialogues and refrains, that it seems only reasonable to infer that the form of the play was well known, either through some earlier MS. or through oral tradition. It is only a slight development of the elegy in dialogue which was performed in A.D. 874 at the funeral of Hathumoda, the first abbess of Gandersheim. This dialogue takes place between the sorrow-stricken nuns, who speak in chorus of their loss, and the monk Wichbert, who acts as consoler. Although its form is liturgical, its subject entitles it to be considered the earliest known mediæval dramatic work extant.

Of Roswitha's dramas, three seem to stand out as of special interest—*Abraham*, *Callimachus*, and *Paphnutius*. All of these are more or less patchwork adaptations from the legendary *débris* of antiquity. The first appears to have been taken by Roswitha from a Latin translation of a fourth-century Greek legend.⁴ Whilst she

⁴ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* lxxiii.

does not display any originality in elaborating the story, but keeps carefully to the text—so much so that at times she merely transcribes—she reveals her artistic as well as her psychological instinct by concentrating the essentials, thereby transforming a rather discursive composition into a poignant picture. The subtle touches, the sentiment, and the dialogue so pathetic and so true to nature, make this drama verily her masterpiece, and one worthy of a place beside the delicate and dramatic miniatures of the time. In a few words, here is the story. A holy man, by name Abraham, has abandoned a life of solitude in order to take care of his young orphaned niece. After a few years, she is tempted to a house of ill fame. Some two years later, her uncle, having discovered her whereabouts, determines to exchange his hermit garb for that of a man of the world, and go to the house in the guise of a lover, so as to get an opportunity of speaking with his niece alone. Of course she does not recognise him in his change of costume, but when he asks for a kiss, and she puts her arms round his neck, she suddenly detects a strange perfume. Instantly a change comes over her. The scent recalls to her her former unsullied life, and tears fill her eyes. At the fitting moment the uncle makes himself known, and, showing her with sweet words of sympathy and encouragement that sin is natural to humanity, and that what is evil is to continue in it, takes her back with him to begin afresh the simple good life.

The second play recounts an incident^b supposed to take place in the first century. A young heathen, Callimachus, falls in love with a young married woman, a Christian. She dies, and is buried the same day. That night, Callimachus goes to the grave, and, with the help of a slave, disinters the body. Holding it in his arms, and triumphing in the embrace denied to him in life, he suddenly falls dead. In the morning the husband and St. John, coming to the cemetery to pray for her soul, see the rifled grave and the two dead bodies. St. John, at the command of God, who appears for but a moment, restores them both to life, and brings to repentance the young man, who, in further amendment of his ways, becomes a Christian. This mere outline of the play is given to suggest points of resemblance between it—the first sketch of this kind of drama of passion, the frenzy of the soul and senses—and the masterpiece of this type, *Romeo and Juliet*.

Many other passages in the plays of Roswitha remind us of Shakespeare, but it is not possible to deal adequately with them here, nor does it seem material to do so. There is no reason why Shakespeare should not have seen a printed collection of her dramas, since he, like Dante, seems to have had the power of attracting material from every possible source. But, on the other hand, the similarities we notice may be a mere coincidence, or, as is much more likely, the details in

^b *Hist. Apost. Apocr.*

each case may have been common property handed down from one generation to another.

For her play of *Paphnutius*, Roswitha made use of a story taken from the *Historia Monachorum* of Rufinus, a contemporary of St. Jerome, who had journeyed through Palestine and Egypt to visit the Hermits of the Desert. The mention, too, at the beginning of Rufinus's account, of a musician who tells of his retirement to a hermitage in order to change the harmony of music into that of the spirit, evidently suggested to her a discussion on music and harmony, probably adapted from Boethius' *De Musica*. In this discussion lies the chief interest of the play as giving us some idea of the sort of intellectual exercises probably practised by women in convents in the tenth century. The play opens with a truly mediæval scene—a disputation between a hermit and his disciples on the question of harmony between soul and body, suggested by the want of it in the life of the courtesan Thais. Such harmony should exist, says the holy man, for though the soul is not mortal like the body, nor the body spiritual like the soul, we shall, if we follow the method of the dialecticians, find that such differences do not necessarily render the two in harmonious. Harmony cannot be produced from like elements or like sounds, but only by the right adjustment of those which are dissimilar. This discussion on harmony naturally leads to one on music, which is divided, according to the then received writers on the subject, into three kinds—celestial, human, and instrumental. Music, in the Middle Ages, was, for dialectical purposes, treated in accordance with the Pythagorean theory as interpreted by Cicero in his *Somnium Scipionis*, who represented the eight revolving spheres of heaven—the Earth being fixed—as forming a complete musical octave. Such celestial music forms the subject of the argument in Roswitha's play, the music of Earth being merely touched upon. Why, it is asked, do we not hear this music of the spheres if it exists? To this comes the answer that some think it is because of its continuity, others because of the density of the atmosphere, and others again because the volume of sound cannot penetrate the narrow passage of the human ear. And so, with subtle argument, the music of heaven was often drowned in the din of earth. Dante, in the *Paradiso*, lifted the idea once more from earth to heaven, and clothed it in a wealth of gorgeous imagery. But it is Shakespeare who, with the magic of a few words, has given the thought immortality.

There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings,

Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

In judging of Roswitha's dramatic work, it must be remembered

that in true mediæval spirit, fearing to profane what she venerates, she allows herself but little licence with the legends she dramatises. Nevertheless, she from time to time shows, as has been said, in psychological touches, a capacity for originality quite phenomenal for her time and for the literature of the cloister. Still, her plays express but a very small part of the whole gamut of human emotions and experiences, just as her life was lived in an intellectual world narrow from the point of view of to-day, or of the great intellectual age of antiquity. Many causes contributed to this. Intellectually, the Christian world shrank as Paganism was superseded by Christianity, a supersession by no means complete in Roswitha's day. Of course this nascent Christianity was inconsistent with much of the intellectual life of the ancient world, which was either inextricably interwoven with Paganism, or essentially anti-religious. With its task of laying afresh the foundations of education, politics and morality, it had to take root and become established in a relatively narrow intellectual field, the boundaries of which had gradually to be broken down, sometimes with violence.

Time, like some lens which clears the vision, makes it an easy task to criticise and condemn a phase of religious life which, having essayed to tranquilise and sweeten existence, was, under altered conditions of civilisation, bound to pass away. We of to-day pride ourselves on a wider view of life, on a higher conception of duty, expressed in lives dedicated to public work as a necessary complement to private virtue. Still, if we would judge fairly this age of contemplation and faith within the convent walls, and all that, even if done mistakenly and imperfectly, it aspired to do, we must realise, as best we can, the world without those walls. One of our poets has vividly reflected it for us when he speaks of man's life as made up of 'whole centuries of folly, noise, and sin.' So bitter was life then, and even later, that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when mysticism had claimed many votaries, eternal rest, even at the cost of personal annihilation, was the whispered desire of many devout souls.

'A Simple Stillness.' 'An Eternal Silence.' These are the words that float across the centuries to us, like echoes from troubled, longing hearts. These are the words that give us the key to the understanding of the choice of vocation of the mediæval woman. The spiritual need for harmony and peace may have been great; the practical need was perhaps even greater; for in its accomplishment the spiritual found its consummation.

ALICE KEMP-WELCH.

THE QUESTION OF MEDICAL PRIESTCRAFT

THE universality of medical interests has become of late years obvious to the public, if only because of the amount of legislation which has for its origin the desire to save life and preserve health. The Children's Act, the Registration of Midwives, the Inspection of School Children, the various Public Health Acts, Acts to ensure purity of food, and Factory Acts, Quarantine legislation, and the Town-planning Bill, suggest themselves at once as measures having a distinctly medical bearing, and the arguments employed within and without Parliament in their discussion could all have found inspiration in medical textbooks. It has, as a result, been borne in upon us in this country, as well as in France, Germany, and the United States, that every phase of life, every art and science, every calling and career, every edifice and exploit, every crisis and catastrophe, may be viewed from a medical standpoint; and while members of the medical profession may be inclined to regard existence too exclusively from this standpoint, all, whether specially interested, or assisted only by general intelligence, or, perchance, hampered by a want of intelligence, are bound to keep the medical factor in remembrance. It may be realised that this position, however flattering, is not without its present drawbacks for the medical practitioner, but it is one of enormous promises for the world; the drawbacks, as far as the medical practitioner is concerned, are of small consequence in comparison with the promises, and will disappear as knowledge progresses. That, at any rate, is the comfortable belief here adopted. The interest that is now compulsorily and oftentimes reluctantly manifested by the public in medicine will be replaced (in no short time I think) by some general understanding of the aims of hygiene, and a common consent to take all steps to maintain a high standard of health. Criticism of the professed expert will then be enlightened, and will keep medical counsel authoritative where it is asked for; resistance to what is undisputed in scientific opinion will be held by society at large to be a menace to public safety, and will be excused only out of toleration for ignorance and not out of respect for the manifestation of independence. While we are far from such a state

of things now—so far that only narrow and timid spirits among medical men, being either afraid of or intolerant of public judgment, ever invite unquestioning acquiescence in their plerophories—we are none the less approaching the day when the general principles of health will be the common property of educated communities, and when most communities will be educated at least to such a point that the majority of their members will be able to sift gross and palpable falsehood from the proven truth.

What are the drawbacks of to-day for the medical practitioner, the disappearance of which is prophesied in the near future? They are the distrust of the public and the unreasoning faith of the public, leading to disappointment when impossible events do not take place, and want of appreciation when great deeds have been accomplished. From this situation there arises a sense of irritation which is none the less real because both parties must often feel that it is unreasonable. The medical man longs to say: Such a thing is so because it is so, and no purpose is served by my disputing with persons who cannot follow my arguments; but the most arrogant of his species feels that such a position cannot be taken up in the twentieth century, though it might have been pardonable a hundred years ago. The layman would like also to say: Such a thing is not so because many occurrences disagree with the proposition; but only the very self-satisfied can assume this front towards a sincere worker in what after all must be a special line of learning in many cases, however general the interests involved.

The distrust of the medical man is as old as the world, and the same may be said of the unreasoning faith in him, but while both will cease when the aims and principles of medicine are better known, both have been increased by the great advance in general knowledge due to the spread of education, together with the stronger enlightenment of the public as regards hygiene. It is an undoubted fact that the science of medicine progressed as quickly as, if not more quickly than, any other branch of human knowledge during the last strenuous century, but its strides forward have not all been estimated at their proper worth by those who are outside the actual struggle. There is nothing surprising in this. Some of us have attended a race-meeting of motor-cars or bicycles, and have found how impossible it is to guess which is the winning competitor owing to the 'lapping' that may take place on a circular course, and to the working of time handicaps which we have understood only imperfectly. We have been unable to believe that the car or cycle which is leading as it passes us is not the winner, and on having our impressions corrected have felt a little impatient of the methods employed. We wish that we could see all the competitors started side by side at the same time, off the same mark, to race their fifty miles on a straight track. That would be a race which we could under-

stand ; we could see how each competitor stood at a given point, and should recognise the winner without having to be told of non-apparent conditions which are determining the destination of the prizes. It is an unfortunate fact that the meaning of much progress which has taken place in medical science is lost upon those who are not actually taking part in the struggle, or who are not aware of the handicaps or allowances under which the work is being done, or of its exact object. This breeds annoyance. A large number of intelligent people say, Where is the progress of medicine ? People still die of pneumonia, and medical science has not come to an agreement as to a routine of therapeutics. Cancer is on the increase, and much of the work that is being done in connection with it has no direct bearing on treatment. Diseases like appendicitis make their appearance, and though operative methods are devised which seem to be very generally successful, the cause remains obscure, so that preventive procedure cannot be taken. Instances might be multiplied where the public, not wholly understanding the conditions of the race, have been unable to apprehend how far medicine is gaining in the struggle. Such information as is supplied to the public is very generally supplied in an unassimilable form, the language for necessary reasons of precision being highly technical. For example, the publication of the proceedings at the numerous international congresses having some hygienic or sanitary reason should help to make a very large body of readers aware of what is being done in the medical world, but the debaters cannot argue with one another if they do not understand thoroughly each other's positions, and this can, of course, only be secured by the rigid use of scientific terms. The public is puzzled, alike by the apparent long-windedness of the discussions and the lack of immediate reform which follows upon any recommendations made by the congresses in the form of general resolutions. They find medicine not only wordy but unpractical, not perceiving that all which a congress can possibly accomplish is to place before a Government the expert opinion, leaving the Government, whether of its own initiative or in deference to popular wish, to give effect to the opinion by legislation.

These circumstances are bound to affect medicine nearly because the spectators of the race between disease and therapeutics cannot be disinterested, and when they miss the significance of important stages in the contest they do not pause before allotting the blame to medicine. All men in all times have been deeply concerned about their healths ; and all men in all times have had some knowledge of medicine derived from personal experiences, well founded tradition, and an elementary sense of logic. But nowadays some physiological knowledge has also become common property, and comprehension of medical principles is no longer without the common ken. Though profoundly anxious to be cured the public was, at times not so long distant, prepared to leave the processes to be employed in the hands

of medicine men who knew the secrets of nature. We have changed all that. The expansion of learning that has taken place in medicine has been going on in all other branches of knowledge, whether nearly allied to medicine or not. Where the sciences more directly ancillary to medicine are concerned the old boundaries between them and medicine have been removed, so that no man can say exactly where chemistry stops and where physiology begins, what familiarity with electricity rightly appertains to the medical man's calling, or what knowledge of physics or of statistics should be presupposed in a medical practitioner. Not only has the medical student much to learn, but his status is altered when he has learned it. Instead of occupying one of the three peaks wherefrom the exponents of the only learned professions—divinity, medicine, and law—looked down on the unlettered masses, the medical man is now classed with other practical workers who have an equal claim with him to be considered men of science. Such persons will not revere the practice of medicine as something too learned or too mysterious for their grasp, although they may respect it because of its scientific aims. They will be critical, and it is right and fair that they should be, but for the time being the profession of medicine is often put into an awkward position thereby. A medical man is not necessarily as good a chemist as a pure chemist, or as resourceful an electrician as a pure electrician, or as versed in the controversies of Darwinians, Neo-Mendelians and others, as the pure biologist, or as astute a statistician as Professor Karl Pearson; while his chemistry, his electricity, his biology, and his mathematics have to be brought to work not in the ideal or exact conditions of laboratory or workshop, and not in accordance with well argued literary theory, but in all sorts of environments, in all sorts of conditions, and on subjects in all sorts of moods. The pathology of the sick man is complicated not only by his individual physiology and psychology but by those of his medical man; and physio-psycho-pathology, with two personalities involved, forms a difficult analytical study, as Cornelia Blimber has shown once and for all. Exact results cannot always be expected, the laws of averages and the deductions of mathematical probabilities must be set off against individual successes and failures, and though it would be too sweeping to say that the only way of estimating the progress of scientific medicine consists in showing that vital statistics improve steadily, yet the figures of the Superintendent of Statistics at Somerset House form the most valuable testimony to advancement.

It is this compound of certainties and uncertainties, this science based on other sciences, this art in the practice of which intuition and genius can play as great a part as they can in music, that the public is being asked by recent legislation to put on a more secure material footing. The result is that the cry of medical priestcraft has been raised, and will be raised still louder if and when the Privy Council advises

the Government to appoint the Royal Commission to inquire into unqualified medical practice which the General Medical Council at its last session recommended should be granted.

The whole meaning of what is being done in medicine escapes the intelligence of those who join in this cry. They are in revolt against the edicts of hygiene, considering them to be intolerable because they are founded on principles which appear to be so disputable, which are so disputed, and which, it is admitted, are not in all instances very stable. The plain man, having pointed out the failure of medicine to cure cancer or to prevent appendicitis, proceeds to argue thus : A hundred years ago bleeding was an almost universal procedure ; now bleeding is discountenanced entirely by medical men as a general mode of therapy, though in particular cases it is still employed. More recently Koch, or rather his too sanguine followers, proclaimed tuberculin as a panacea for tuberculosis, a view that was very generally adopted only to be very generally discarded. If such right-about-turns can be made, why should not their like be made again ? The question can only be answered by admitting that medicine is fallible, and the answer is a very conclusive one. Medicine is not as yet an exact science. Results sometimes appear to justify means without it being possible to determine the intervening processes ; and means which ought to lead in certain directions, by failure of intervening processes give no determined results. All this cannot be denied. But what the plain man does not appreciate is that medicine is advancing all along the line towards the position of an exact science, while losing little of its claims to be an art, and that the risk of any generally wrong therapeutic measure being thrust upon the public decreases steadily year by year. Individual medical men will make, and must make, individual errors, and if one of these has a commanding personality he will for a time attract disciples, but since modern methods of medical research began to be put into practice the opportunity for a wrong or even an empirical scheme of therapeutics being adopted by medical men as a body has become very scarce. Granted that in all instances a logical sequence cannot be found in the cause and treatment of disease—here the cause, there the treatment, and in a third place the relation of treatment to cause or cause to treatment cannot be stated ; on the other hand, it must also be granted that the elements of uncertainty which excuse empiricism are being analysed away. Bright light is being thrown upon etiology everywhere, clinical procedure has been vastly improved, and the whole course of medicine has been along various upward paths to a plateau of logic and exactness. The awkward questions which the plain man can put grow less numerous ; their answers become easier.

Medicine as an art as well as a science must, like other arts, live often unacclaimed, content to bear the coldness of the uninitiated, if only those who do know will welcome the attempts that are being

made, and recognise the honesty of conviction by which they are inspired. The plain man says : ' I know nothing of pictures, but I know what I like,' and means to imply by his words that he is a shrewd critic, one that is honest and free from prejudice. He is, of course, nothing of the sort. His untrained eye is interfering with his judgments all the time, preventing him from grasping the effect of colour fully or the appeal of line accurately, and forcing him to approve only the mediocre work whose qualities are unable to give any challenge. He is best pleased with what demands least comprehension, though he would not allow this, but would rely on his appreciation of the faithful rendering of some accessory to prove him to be a critic with high standards, who will not tolerate any shirking of difficulties. The art of medicine has to undergo the ordeal of such criticism, and the result is that much of the medical achievement that is praised by the public is of small account in reality, while the finer aims of medicine pass unregarded. ' I know what I want,' says the plain man ; ' I want my doctor to tell me what's the matter and make me better. I want to get value for my money.' Nothing could appear more reasonable, and if only his wishes could be granted in *all* cases, he would be right to complain if they were not granted in *his own*.

Unfortunately this precision in result can never be reached. But as it is certain that in a far larger number of instances than was the case, say, fifty years ago, the precision is approached, the sense of grievance is ungenerous or is founded upon a too hasty contemplation of the complicated relations between the doctor and the patient. A carpenter always can make (let us say) a set of shelves to fit a certain corner for a certain sum of money. He acts on definite instructions as to number of shelves and thickness and material of board, the shape of the corner dictates limits which he can ascertain with a foot rule, the wood is a rigid substance not varying in size or shape after it has been cut. But such carpentry does not always give satisfaction. The instructions may not have been definite enough. For example, the order may be for six shelves without specification as to their distance from each other, and the customer having intended the intervening spaces to become gradually larger from above downwards may find that the carpenter has made the spaces equidistant. Or mahogany may have been employed instead of walnut ; or five pounds may be charged instead of three-pounds ten. The frailty of man is recognised in such situations by the rendering of a detailed estimate before the contract is entered upon, and it is an every-day experience that where this precaution has not been observed misunderstandings may arise, apart from all questions of deliberate extortion or deliberate shirking of obligation. Now let us suppose that no written evidence of the terms of the contract existed, and further that the corner was not always the same shape, so that

it might change its angles after measurement, either on its own account or on account of a general shifting of the building, and further yet that the wood was not constant, becoming circular when cut square or thin when cut thick, how difficult it would be for the carpenter to make the shelves with any certainty of a satisfactory result !

There would be something insolent to my readers in putting forth so obvious a parable, if the form of expression were employed only with the idea of making things easy for them. It is I who am being helped by being enabled in this way to keep my own exact meaning before me. I do not draw any close parallel between the public and the customer, or between the doctor and the carpenter, but some of the questions at issue between the public and the doctor are illustrated by the difficulties in which the carpenter would be placed, in the imaginary case of all his instructions being vague or open to error, and all his conditions of labour mutable. It is not humanly possible to be certain in any diagnosis, if by diagnosis we mean an estimate of a person's exact condition of suffering. Yet no treatment can be considered as wholly appropriate or indicated in such a way that no other treatment or modification of treatment is possible, while a single element of doubt exists in diagnosis. A diagnosis has, however, to be made by a fallible man upon evidence supplied by other fallible men, and to arrive at the sum of error with which a diagnosis may begin, all that the doctor may not detect has to be added to all that may be wittingly or unwittingly concealed from him. Temperament and environment of various sorts have to be taken into account, as well as general physical health, and from the welter of speculations more or less vague or precise a scheme of therapeutics has to be evolved, and a prognosis, by which I mean a guess at the future history of the disease and the result to the patient, has to be given. The treatment commences, being based upon personal and traditional experience in such matters, in other words being based upon a law of averages, with an eye to idiosyncrasies. The armamentarium of the doctor, informed to some extent in a haphazard degree and controlling his tactics to some extent by theoretical considerations, is also inexact. The human body cannot be treated either as a test-tube or a plank, and procedures, analogous to those which the chemist or the cabinet-maker employs, and having their origin in knowledge gained from laboratories or workshops, when they succeed do so by processes the whole of which is not yet known to science.

A diagnosis, a prognosis, and a plan of treatment regarded from this point of view form matters of deeper difficulty than many plain men think, and it is not surprising that the more experienced the doctor is the more deep do the difficulties seem. Yet in the large majority of cases the doctor is right. The observation of symptoms, attention to the law of averages, and allowance for

individual circumstances guide him to a correct estimate alike of the present state of the patient, of his future changes and chances, and of the best way to secure that those changes and chances shall be fortunate. But remembering that every part of the body is dependent upon all the other parts to some extent, so that at any moment a local condition may produce a general disturbance, or a general condition may modify a local manifestation—remembering these things in addition to all the other reasons for uncertainty which have been enumerated, it becomes easy to see that that doctor, so ardently desired by the plain man, who simply says what is wrong and how it must be righted, cannot be forthcoming in every event. When the terms of the contract cannot always be arrived at, when the wood alters its shape, when the corner alters its contours, and when the ruler is not always true, the shelves run a risk of not fitting.

But in a steadily increasing number of cases medical knowledge is getting ahead of disease, and when this is more widely recognised the public, that now regards the doctor as ineffective because he cannot perform miracles, will allot him proper appreciation, for what he can do. Medicine must always present difficulties when it is considered as a science. Obviously its study is very much hampered by the fact that it is founded upon a group of sciences and that none of them can be held to be exactly applied. Medicine without chemistry is unthinkable, yet medical men are not necessarily great chemists. On the contrary too rigid an adherence to the principles of chemistry may lead the physiologist into error, for the body is not a test-tube, and vital processes must not be expected to occur as they do *in vitro*. Simple principles of physics underlie anatomical action, but faulty movement cannot be remedied with any certainty by mere carpentry, for every factor in that action is susceptible to many complicated influences. As a carpenter, as an electrician, as a botanist, as a chemist, and even as a biologist the medical man may often be doubtfully regarded by special workers in those callings; but he has to rely upon the general principles laid down by these special workers, and to adapt them so that they may find a place in one flexible and ill-defined scheme. The medical practitioner has therefore two sets of critics: plain men who demand from him obvious results in individual cases, and consider that his occupation is a shifty one if he cannot meet their requirements; and scientific men, of more than one branch, who see in him a struggler in a medley of sciences, eternally compelled to make allowances for compensating or disturbing influences which ought to be eliminated in all careful experiments. And all of these may have as good a general education as the medical man, who cannot, as he did in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, take up any position of superior learning with them and stifle comment by pooh-poohing, even though he knows that the detraction of his calling emanates from ignorance or misunderstanding. And so we see that the spread of education,

though it has done so much for the cause of medicine, has produced an unenviable, or at least an awkward, position for medical men. It has deprived medical men of any platform from which they can pontificate, by raising a large number of persons to their educational level, but at the same time it has not produced so far that large spread of knowledge and intelligence which would secure for them general sympathy.

Doctors are a much criticised class of citizens. They are not so universally disliked as house-agents, they are not so universally mistrusted as dairymen, but, despite the sincere and frequent eulogium which they receive for their self-sacrifice and powers of work, they are regarded in the mass with lukewarm respect as the exponents of an unsatisfactory branch of learning; magical skill is credited to a few, boundless admiration is expressed for the mechanical dexterity required in certain operations, but the collective efficiency of medical men was never more called in question than it is now—and, incidentally, never with less reason. The education of the public which has conduced so much to this state of affairs will, as time goes on, be itself the remedy. This is inevitable, the intrusion of the medical factor in so many questions of public interest compelling an increasing number of thoughtful men to solve a certain number of medical problems for themselves, or to co-operate with medical men in their solution. The sanitary service has already produced great results in this direction in England. The appointment of medical officers of health to many of the counties, to the big boroughs, and to associated groups of sanitary authorities, the whole time of these officials being given to their administrative duties, has been the means already of informing many hundreds of laymen as to the aims of and the procedure in preventive medicine. Water-borne and air-borne contamination, the segregation of infectious persons and the value of the notification of such cases at a central bureau, the cost of hospital administration, the risks of improper housing, the terrible effects of adulterated food—these matters are now discussed weekly all over the country, and the members of the sanitary authority and their medical officers mutually inform each other at the debates. If the authority looks to the medical officer for strictly medical guidance, the medical officer on his side has to learn to give the reason for the advice which he tenders, and so becomes familiar with the points which laymen, many of them as well educated and as capable as himself, find hard to understand.

Of course this excellent spirit of give-and-take does not prevail everywhere. There are sanitary authorities whose members show no desire to learn, and medical officers of health who have not the gift of explanation; there are sanitary authorities whose members treat the medical officer of health as a servant only and not as an adviser, and there are medical officers of health who lose sight of the fact that they owe allegiance to their authorities; there are sanitary authorities whose members are corrupt, and there may be medical officers of health who

play into their hands, but, as a medical man, I am proud not to be able to recall a single case where this has happened. In spite of the fact that the relations between the sanitary authorities and the medical officers of health are not always harmonious, the Sanitary Acts are an effective instrument for the instruction of the public in preventive medicine, and are bound to have a growing influence in this same direction. The Midwives Act has taught many persons, especially benevolent ladies, the difficulties of medical practice, and the working of this Act having proved quite unsatisfactory a Departmental Committee appointed by the Privy Council has inquired recently into its defaults. As the shortcomings found in the Act were exactly what many medical men pointed out that they would be, the recommendations of the Committee followed the anticipated direction. This should strengthen the medical position and prove that the professional protests against certain provisions in and omissions from the Act were uttered in no trades' union spirit, but were in accordance with public policy. Here again the medical man and the public are learning to understand each other. But no recent legislation has had so sure a tendency in this direction as the Act for the medical inspection of school children, which to some extent links the advance of the nation in education with its physical advance. The passing of the Act was itself complete testimony that the popular wish was all in favour of a hygienic upbringing for children, and when the work is in full swing every school-room will be an opportunity for the display of clinical wisdom, and every educational authority will perforce have to learn something of the difficulties of medicine. I know that this work is not yet running smoothly. Very many regret that the medical inspection of school children has become a branch of the work of the medical officer of health, instead of being carried on by educational experts; some consider that the emoluments offered to medical men are too small, and others point without approval to the very large sum of money in the aggregate which will have to be paid to medical men. But these matters may be trusted to adjust themselves, when the Act for the *Medical Inspection of School Children* will be found to constitute a very real bond between medicine and the public.

Social movements are playing a similar part. A large number of persons are now engaged in practical philanthropy, and their labours have very generally a medical basis compelling them to acquire knowledge of many of the circumstances which make the practice of medicine difficult. All schemes for the feeding of school-children or for the provision of economical canteens, all schemes for the help of nursing mothers or for their education and assistance in bringing up the nurslings, all the systematic visiting of the poor that is now being done with the object of instilling the principles of sanitation (the list of similar philanthropic endeavour might be lengthened) have one certain result: they let those concerned into the secrets of many medical

embarrassments. Drawing-rooms discuss these and cognate themes, such as the alleged physical deterioration of the race, heredity and Mendelism, conscription, and the arguments for and against the admission of women into Parliament. Such discussions sooner or later get upon a medical basis, or at any rate have to take into account the medical factor, and lead consequently to the familiarising of the public with medicine. A desire to fit the Mendelian theories and expectations to real life, and to take discussions of Mendelism into realms beyond the grower of the pea and the breeder of the Andalusian fowl, will set a student of these theories tracing pedigrees in his countryside. His original object in his house-to-house visitation of the peasants will be, perchance, to find out if the blue-eyed parents have bred blue-eyed children, or if the lineage of a hammer-toed family conforms to Mendelian notation, but one outcome of his researches must be a first-hand knowledge of the shortcomings of labourers' cottages. The inevitable result of this will be a far more sympathetic and intelligent view of the work of the medical profession, and probably even a general opinion that, all things considered, doctors do not do their work very badly.

If the Privy Council agrees to recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the practice of medicine by unqualified persons, it will do so not with the wish to uphold the privileges of a class, but with the intent to protect the public by indicating in an unmistakable manner who is and who is not a doctor, while the inquiry should elicit who is able, not being a doctor, to render none the less service in certain directions. By as much as the public is now able to appreciate the real aims of medicine, by so much will the cry of medical priestcraft be a feeble one in case the Commission is granted. It is inevitable that the cry should be raised. Not only will those usually to be found in revolt against accepted principles be irritated at what they will regard as an attempt to define more strictly the limits to their freedom, but sentimental people, inflamed mainly by ill-informed and ridiculous novels, will take the opportunity of saying that already the medical profession consists of a too protected class. These excitable folk are not numerous, but some of them are honest and none of them are silent; they will take pains to make their belief heard that medical men use their privileges to cloak their enormities, and that no legislation can be required which does not start with the abolition of the Medical Acts.

I end as I began. The universality of medical interests has become of late years obvious to the public, and I am glad to believe that the spread of education will lead to more widely diffused sympathy with medical aims, and will close the mouths which clamour in ignorance rather than in malice, in soft-heartedness rather than in accuracy, for the disestablishment of a medical priestcraft.

S. SQUIRE SPRIGGE.

For my Mr. Squire Sprigge

DANTE'S SELF-PORTRAITURE

THE interest of Dante is perennial. There is no limit to it in time or place or among civilised mankind. He is one of the immortals who know not death nor decadence; over him the changes of the world assert no power; to him each generation of men turns for an answer to their own deepest moral and spiritual questionings, nor turns less eagerly, because his answer cannot be, and in their hearts they know it cannot be, their own.

What manner of man, then, was this Dante? How do we picture him to ourselves? Is it possible at all to form an impression of his personality, his character, his relation to the society in which he moved, his deliberate ethical judgment upon men and things?

It must be admitted, indeed, that the historical records bearing upon the life-story of Dante are not many. Nor is it any part of my present purpose to examine them. They are well known; they speak for themselves; they enter into all his biographies. Rather has it seemed to me that I might try to focus such light as the poetry of Dante—the *Divina Commedia*, of course, especially—sheds upon Dante himself. For to many minds it is the humanity of a great man, and not the least of a great thinker or poet, that is in him the subject of commanding interest.

No doubt there are some poets who, whether consciously or unconsciously, tell more of themselves in their poetry than others. This difference may be owing either to the poet or to the poetry—to the poet's own character, or to the form which his poetry assumes, or to both. It is perhaps the satirist who reveals himself most. It is the dramatist who reveals himself least. But probably there is no poet in whom it is not possible to detect some self-revelation. I am not one who looks even upon Shakespeare as merging himself so entirely in the manifold dramatic creations of his genius that literary criticism, however sensitive it may be, is impotent to discern in his plays the ineffaceable marks of his keen, happy, sympathetic, equipoised human nature. But everywhere he keeps his personality in the background. To use Ruskin's bold simile, he is as the sun shining alike upon the

evil and upon the good, and never showing either his sympathy or his aversion by any failure of his serenely luminous impartiality. Dramatic poetry alone permits a temper so equal as this; and few are the dramatists who attain it. Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Marlowe, Schiller, Alfieri, set each in larger or less degree the stamp of his own idiosyncrasy upon his dramas. Yet more truly is epic poetry in all its forms a natural reflexion of the poet. It is impossible to study *Paradise Lost* or the *Faerie Queene* or *Gerusalemme Liberata* or the *Aeneid* or the *Iliad* itself without forming some half-unconscious estimate of the man who wrote it. But of all poets to Dante, in himself and in the character of his great poem, the art of self-portraiture was most natural. He was a man of vivid and intense moral feeling. He had suffered, as none but strong souls can suffer, the agony of isolation and persecution; he had seen his patriotic hopes defeated, his personal services vilified and condemned; he had eaten the bitter bread of exile; he had gone down into the dark valley of humiliation. But in all and through all he had been supported by his spiritual contemplation of the joys which 'eye hath not seen' nor 'ear heard' nor 'hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' And then the time came when it was his fortune, as he traversed in imagination the wide spaces of Heaven and Hell and Purgatory, to pass sentence upon the many human virtues and vices, the glories, the sins and shames and sorrows of which the world that he had known and loved and hated, the world that had honoured and abused him, was so full. How was it possible that such a man after such an experience should not throw something of himself into his poetry?

The self-portraiture of Dante, whether it be conscious or not, is generally recognised, as a literary fact, by his editors and commentators,¹ although they have not always agreed upon its limits or even upon its characteristics. Dr. Moore calls it his 'personal equation.'² It depends in part upon the relation of the *Vita Nuova* to the *Divina Commedia*. Some students of Dante have gone so far as to suppose that his great poem is but a spiritual allegory of his own experiences. Thus the late Dean Plumptre³ says: 'Dante, like Milton, and even in a yet higher measure, belongs to the order of poets whose writings are emphatically autobiographical, who speak out of the fulness of their heart, who find relief in utterance, who thus make known to others the bitterness or joy with which otherwise a stranger doth not intermeddle.' So, too, Mr. Vernon⁴: 'In the *Divina Commedia* one must study carefully the history of Dante's inner

¹ E.g. by Scartazzini on *Parad.* iv. 25-27; Plumptre on *Purg.* viii. 88; xv. 186; *Parad.* xxiii. 50.

² *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 211 (1899).

³ *The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, Preface, p. xviii (1896).

⁴ *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, i. p. 125 (1900).

life, as also the development of his thoughts and his beliefs.' But there is a passage of Ozanam⁵ which seems to express the personal aspect of Dante's poetry in the truest, tenderest words; and if I quote it now, I shall refer to it again presently:

La poésie de Dante est tout allégorique, mais elle est aussi toute personnelle. La pénitence dont il donne le spectacle, c'est bien celle de l'humanité coupable, mais c'est aussi la sienne. Quand il se montre à l'entrée de l'enfer, son fils Jacopo commente ainsi: 'Vuol dire l'autore che in quel tempo ch'egli cominciò questo trattato era peccatore e vizioso, e era quasi in una selva di vizii e d'ignoranza, sicchè della via di virtude e di veritade errava.' Il insiste, et quand, au deuxième chant, Dante parle de la louve 'avarizia per la quale egli lasciò lo studio della scienza, che cominciato aveva nel tempo della giovinezza.' Quand il sera au sommet du purgatoire, il avouera ses torts envers Béatrix. Si c'est son péché qu'il décrit, il décrit aussi sa pénitence.

Everything about Dante is and ever will be interesting. His stooping gait, to which he makes reference in one well-known passage of the *Purgatorio*,⁶ the weakness of his eyes,⁷ whether it were study or sorrow that had clouded them; his dreaminess of nature, perhaps his liability to visions or trances⁸ are characteristics which, if he only hints at them, serve to make his personality life-like. Even the colour of his hair is in question; it is said by Boccaccio to have been dark, and so it must probably have been; but, as Longfellow has pointed out, Dante himself, when answering in Latin verses the invitation of Giovanni del Virgilio to receive the laurel crown at Bologna, seems to speak of his own locks as being golden.⁹ Not less interesting are his stray allusions to his love of music¹⁰ and art,¹¹ his study of medicine¹² and astronomy¹³; his reminiscences of civic and political life. But it is Dante's portrait which best tells what manner of man he was. He is the one poet whose countenance has stamped itself, like a haunting memory, on the imagination of the world. Here, if anywhere, may be seen the poet's dower,

the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
The love of love.

Dante was proud. There was in him, as Blanc suggests, that element of conscious merit which is inseparable perhaps from the highest souls, and in them, but in them alone, is itself meritorious. He was in some senses like Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος ἀνὴρ*, the man who rises to his own estimate of his own worth, who *μεγάλων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῖ*

⁵ *Le Purgatoire de Dante*, p. 168; *Commentaire du Chant ix.* (1862).

⁶ *xix.* 40-42. 'Andò alquanto curvetto,' says Boccaccio; *Vita di Dante*, i. 37.

⁷ *Canzoniere Ballata*, iii.; Sonnet xxix.

⁸ *Purg.* xv. 118-138.

⁹ *Eclog.* i. 42-44.

¹⁰ *E.g. Purg.* viii. 1-6; ix. 143-4.

¹¹ *Purg.* xi. 94; cp. *Vita Nuova*, xxxv.

¹² See Plumptre, *Life of Dante*, p. lxii.

¹³ *Divina Commedia* passim.

ἀξιος ὧν, who 'thinks himself worthy of great things, and is worthy of them.' Thus he can represent Cavalcante as saying to him :

Se per questo cieco
Carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,
Mio figlio ov'è ? e perohè non è teco ?¹⁴

Nay, he can say of himself, as he looks upon the fraudulent counsellors of the eighth 'bolgia,'

Più lo ingegno affreno ch'io non soglio,
Perohè non corra che virtù nol guidi ;
Sì che se stella buona, o miglior cosa,
M'ha dato il ben, ch'io stesso nol m'invidi.¹⁵

He shows his sympathy, too, with the self-consciousness of genius, when in the same canto he puts into his master Virgil's mouth the stately words

S'io meritai di voi mentre ch'io vissi,
S'io meritai di voi assai o poco,
Quando nel mondo gli alti versi scrissi.¹⁶

In two passages, at least, of the *Divina Commedia* Dante tacitly confesses his love of fame, that

last infirmity of noble mind,

as Milton, who was his imitator and his rival, has called it. I refer to the noble passage of the *Inferno*¹⁷ where Virgil reproves him in the words :

Omai convien che tu così ti spoltre,
Disse il Maestro, ch'è sedendo in piuma
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre ;
Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia
Qual fummo in aer ed in acqua la schiuma :
E però leva su, vinci l'ambascia
Con l'animo che vince ogni battaglia,
Se col suo grave corpo non s'accascia ;

and the other passage—more touching, if it be less striking—in the *Paradiso*,¹⁸ where he doubts whether he should repeat Cacciaguida's story in the world of men or not, so distressing will it be to many minds, but adds :

E s'io al vero son timido amico,
Temo di perder viver tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico,

to him fame being as life—'Temo di perder viver.'

¹⁴ *Inf.* x. 58-60.

¹⁵ *Inf.* xxvi. 21-24. Cp. *Fung* xi. 97-99, if indeed Dante is there speaking (as I think he is) of himself.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 80-82.

¹⁷ xxiv. 46-54.

¹⁸ xvii. 118-120.

Dante was proud, too, with a jealous pride of his own ancestry. Benvenuto expressly attests his noble birth. Dante liked to think of himself as lifted above the common herd of men. He dwelt in thought among the lofty souls. He understood the noble obligation of nobility. It is curious, as Mr. Vernon¹⁹ has noticed, how seldom in his great poem he mentions any person of the middle or lower social class. He was a moral and spiritual aristocrat. Even in Paradise he cannot resist a flush of pride at the thought of his descent from a warrior so renowned as Cacciaguida; and the reproach which he lays upon himself is the measure of his fault, if fault it be.²⁰ About his poem, as about himself, there can be nothing mean. The very sinners whom he condemns must be distinguished; he disdains to strike at any game that soars not on high; he is like a storm-wind which sweeps the summits of the great mountains:

Questo tuo grido farà come vento,
Che le più alte cime più percuote;
E ciò non fa d'onor poco argomento.²¹

I cannot read the lines²² in which Dante speaks of pride and of its penalty without feeling that he knew, and would let the world know, it to be a fault of his own nature. Let me instance especially his confession, in the 13th canto of the *Purgatorio*; he is moving there in the circle of the envious, but it is not for envy—it is for pride—that he dreads punishment.

Troppo è più la paura, ond'è sospesa
L'anima mia, del tormento di sotto,
Chè già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa.²³

Nor is it, I think, without significance that he represents himself as bowing his head in the circle of the proud,

Ascoltando, chinai in giù la faccia,²⁴

for not only would he painfully catch the words of the penitents there, but he would show how he, too, had learnt the lesson of humility: so Benvenuto interprets the passage. It is a moving spectacle—the self-chastisement of a soul such as Dante's.

But his was ever an austere and solemn view of life. With what lofty contempt he regards the waste of time, the loss of life as he deems it, in sport!²⁵ With what emphasis he points men's eyes to the high goal of their being!

Considerate la vostra semenza:
Fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
Ma per seguir virtute e conoscenza.²⁶

¹⁹ *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, ii. p. 303 (1897).

²⁰ *Parad.* xvi. 1-6.

²¹ *Parad.* xvii. 183-185.

²² E.g. *Purg.* x. 121-129; xii. 64-72.

²³ vv. 136-138.

²⁴ *Purg.* xi. 78.

²⁵ *Purg.* xxiii. 1-8.

²⁶ *Inf.* xxvi. 118-120.

Dante lived for his own high and holy purpose. In his seeming indifference to his own family—scarcely broken, as it is, in the instance of Forese and his virtuous sister,²⁷ the kinsfolk of his wife Gemma—he almost approaches the isolation of his Divine Master Himself.

Dante (says Ozanam²⁸) parle peu de sa famille. Parcourez la Divine Comédie. Béatrix la remplit de ses rayons ; mais jamais le poète ne nous entretient ni de Gemma Donati sa femme, ni de ses fils, qui cependant semblent n'avoir pas été indignes de leur glorieux père, puisque deux d'entre eux, Pierre et Jacques, devinrent ses commentateurs. C'est donc avec un plaisir inattendu qu'on trouve dans un coin du Purgatoire une scène d'intérieur, un souvenir des premiers jours où Dante, nouvel époux, trouvait dans la maison de sa femme de fraternelles affections, avant que la guerre civile fut venue détruire ce fragile bonheur.

Karl Witte²⁹ has treated Dante's married life in almost painful detail. The truth, perhaps, is not that Dante fails to appreciate the sanctity of marriage. He would seem to have regarded marriage strictly, almost ascetically. Buonconte da Montefeltro and Nino Visconti in the *Purgatorio*³⁰ use such language as implies that even a second marriage was in Dante's eyes something like the desecration of an ideal. Benvenuto complains that he is unfairly severe on Beatrice d'Este for marrying again. But for Dante the ties of family could not be the first interest in life. As Wordsworth says of Milton, his 'soul was like a star and dwelt apart.' Yet those ties of family were to him real and vivid. The *Purgatorio* is in a sense the most personal part of his great poem ; it discloses most of his intimate thoughts and feelings ; and no feature of the *Purgatorio* is more moving than the passionate desire, so often and urgently expressed by the sufferers, for the efficacious intercession of their kinsmen on earth.³¹

It is pleasant in a character so stern as Dante's—in a life so sad as his—to notice, if only here and there, the traces of deep, tender human feeling. Perhaps the sternest natures in the world have not been the hardest, but rather kindly sensitive natures which have been obdured by suffering. How touching, for example, is Dante's sentiment of deep affection for his teachers ! Such a sentiment has been characteristic of many noble minds at many different epochs of history. For the debt of the spiritually taught to the spiritual teacher is, as Carlyle says, immeasurable. Dante's reverence for Virgil is the most striking acknowledgment of his indebtedness ; but it does not stand alone. Whether he was ever a student or not in the

²⁷ *Purg.* xxiii. 48-90.

²⁸ *Le Purgatoire de Dante*, p. 384. *Commentaire de Chant xxiii.*

²⁹ *Essays on Dante*, ix. *Gemma Donati* (translated by C. M. Lawrence and P. H. Wicksteed).

³⁰ v. 86-90 ; viii. 73-78.

³¹ *E.g.* iii. 142-145 ; viii. 69-72. See Vernon, *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, Preliminary Chapter, p. xxii (1897).

University of Paris, it is impossible to mistake the personal note of his tribute to

. . . la luce eterna di Sigiori,
Che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri.³²

For at Sigier's feet Dante sat, if not 'in the street of straw' or the Haymarket of Paris, yet at Florence or elsewhere in Italy. Scarcely any passage of the great poem leaves a happier impression on the reader's mind than the fifteenth canto of the *Inferno*, where Dante finds his old master Brunetto Latini, and sorrows for the penal disfigurement of one whom he had known and loved so well; and Brunetto dwells upon the promise of Dante's young life and foretells the anguish that he should endure from his fellow-citizens. The passage is so beautiful, especially Dante's own tribute to his master, that I may be forgiven for quoting it in full:

Se fosse tutto pieno il mio dimando—
Risposi lui—voi non sareste ancora
Dell'umana natura posto in bando:
Chè in la mente m'è fitta, ed or mi accora
La cara e buona imagine paterna
Di voi, quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora
M'insegnavate come l'uom s'eterna:
E quant'io l'abbia in grado, mentre io vivo
Convien che nella mia lingua si scerna.³³

Dante's was a sensitive nature; he describes it as impressionable—Longfellow says, mercurial—in some familiar lines of the *Paradiso*. For there he tells how Beatrice, by her radiancy, seemed to enhance the luminous splendour of the planet Mercury, and he adds:

E se la stella si cambiò e rise,
Qual mi feo'io, che pur di mia natura
Trasmutabile son per tutte guise!³⁴

But his sympathetic spirit had been embittered by the two keenest disappointments which can fall upon any lofty and generous soul. He was a patriot, and he had been exiled from his native city. He was a Christian, and he saw the Church of Christ debased and defiled. He beheld the evils of his time, both political and ecclesiastical, but he was impotent to redress them. His was the pain which a great ancient writer has said to be the worst of all pains—the pain of him who is full of high thoughts and can do nothing to realise them.

ἡ βίσις τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν.

How strong a partisan Dante was, or might have been, as of the Empire so of the Church, may be inferred from one aspect of his poetry.

³² *Parad.* x. 136-138.

³³ *Inf.* xv. 79-87.

³⁴ *Parad.* v. 97-99.

There is no fault or failure which he regards with a more disdainful aversion than lukewarmness.³⁵ His was the spirit of those scathing words addressed in the Apocalypse to the angel of the Church of the Laodiceans : ' I know thy works, that thou art neither hot nor cold. I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.' ³⁶

Scarcely less bitter is Dante's language in the 3rd Canto of the *Inferno*,³⁷ where at his first entering within the portals of Hell, he comes upon

. . . l'anime triste di coloro
Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
Degli angeli che non furon ribelli
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro ;

and in reply to his question Virgil says :

Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa,
Misericordia e giustizia gli sdegna :
Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.

There it was that he beheld the shade of him

Che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto ;

and he adds :

Incontanente intesi, e certo fui,
Che quest'era la setta dei cattivi,
A Dio spiacenti ed ai nemici sui.

With this passage it is natural to compare Dante's treatment of Accidia in the 17th, 18th and 19th Cantos of the *Purgatorio*. For whatever the exact nature of Accidia may have been—and it is probable that Chaucer ³⁸ Anglicised the word because he could find no English equivalent for it—it must be something like an unworthy indifference to the matters of highest concern. Mr. Vernon calls it ' spiritual sloth.' Dante himself defines it as :

L'amor del bene, scemo
Di suo dover,³⁹

i.e. as the love of good divorced from the effort to realise it.

' Accidia,' according to Thomas Aquinas,⁴⁰ ' ita deprimit animam ut nihil ei agere libeat ; ' rather, as Dante means it, it is the cowardice which shrinks from noble action.

It was a vice or a fault especially repugnant to a temper such as his. For Dante was a man of earnest and ardent convictions. He

³⁵ ' All through the *Commedia* we have noticed Dante's contempt for mediocrity or lukewarmness.' Vernon, *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, ii. 30 (1900).

³⁶ Rev. iii. 15, 16.

³⁷ 31-51 ; 66-63.

³⁸ *The Person's Tale*, 675.

³⁹ xvii. 85-6. Cp. The Bishop of Oxford's (Dr. Paget's) essay concerning ' Accidia ' in *The Spirit of Discipline*.

⁴⁰ *Summ. Theolog.* i. 782.

was, as his writings show, an intense patriot. Florence, as a city, was the pride of his life. In his eyes its atmosphere, its scenery, the very dialect of its citizens were inexpressibly dear. More than once in the *Divina Commedia* it is his Tuscan speech which reveals him to his compatriots. So Farinata degli Uberti says to him :

La tua loquela ti fa manifesto
Di quella nobil patria natio,
Alla qual forse io fui troppo molesto.⁴¹

So he himself says proudly in the circle of the hypocrites :

Io fui nato e cresciuto
Sopra il bel fiume d'Arno alla gran villa.⁴²

And then he, who had loved Florence so dearly, was driven from it into life-long exile. In his own most touching words ⁴³ :

Fu piacere de' cittadini della bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza, di gettarmi fuori del suo dolcissimo seno, nel quale nato e nutrito fui fino al colmo della mia vita, e nel quale, con buona pace di quelli, desidero con tutto il cuore di riposare l'animo stanco e terminare il tempo che mi è dato.

Dante was banished, and banished upon a charge which must have caused exquisite pain to a nature like his. There is in the *Inferno* a passage ⁴⁴ so lengthy that it would be wholly disproportionate, but for its personal reference, where Dante expatiates upon the punishment inflicted for the sin of simony or barratry, i.e. for venal conduct in respect of public office. Yet 'barratry' was the charge upon which he had been condemned by his Florentine judges, first, on the 27th of January 1302, to pay within three days a fine of 5000 florins on pain of losing all his property, and to be banished for two years beyond the borders of Tuscany ; and a second time on the 10th of March 1302 to death for contumacy. He was not alone ; as many as fourteen other citizens were included in the same sentence. But to him as to them the sentence applied : ' Si quis praedictorum ullo tempore in fortiam dicti Communis pervenerit, tali perveniens igne comburatur, sic quod moriatur.' Cacciaguida in the 17th canto of the *Purgatorio* ⁴⁵ can only compare the charge against Dante for its cruelty and infamy with the calumny by which Phaedra in the play of Euripides drove her innocent stepson Hippolytus out of Athens.

Such was his fate ; and who can wonder that it wrought in his lofty and passionate soul two mournful consequences ? ' Florence,' says Dr. Vernon, ⁴⁶ ' is alluded to all through Dante's works, both of poetry and prose, in terms of intense love for the place and bitter hatred against its inhabitants.' It was his love of Florence which made his

⁴¹ *Inf.* x. 25-27 ; cp. *Inf.* xxiii. 76.

⁴² *Inf.* xxiii. 94, 95.

⁴³ *Conv.* i. 3. ⁴⁴ *xxi.* 22-xxiii. 57.

⁴⁵ *vv.* 46-48.

⁴⁶ *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, ii. p. 299 (1906).

exile unspeakably painful. I have sometimes compared in my mind his relation to the Florentines with St. Paul's relation to the Jews. Like St. Paul, he would almost have consented to be 'accursed from Christ' for his nation's sake; yet his nation hated and persecuted him. 'Bene facere et male audire regium est.' The iron of exile entered into Dante's soul. Everyone who reads the *Divina Commedia* feels his all-pervading sorrow. Yet it must be enough to cite the exquisite passage ⁴⁷ in which he prays, even within heaven itself, that his great poem may win him the revocation of the sentence which had so long severed him from the city of his love.

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
Sì che m'ha fatto per più anni macro,
Vinea la crudeltà che fuor mi serra
Del bello ovil, dov'io dormii agnello
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra;
Con altra voce omai, con altro vello
Ritornereò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesimo prenderò il cappello;
Perocchè nella Fede, che fa conte
L'anime a Dio, quivi entra'io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.

It was not to be so :

Ungrateful Florence ! Dante sleeps afar,
Like Scipio, buried by the upbraiding shore ;
Thy factions, in their worse than civil war,
Proscribed the bard whose name for evermore
Their children's children would in vain adore
With the remorse of ages.⁴⁸

In any reference to the after-consequence of Dante's exile it is necessary to remember that the morals, even the Christian morals, of the Middle Ages fell sadly far below the standard of the Divine charity. Dante could speak praise of his friends in abundance; but he could evince no pity for his enemies. It has been observed that of the seventy-nine persons whom he names as being in Hell no fewer than thirty-two are Florentines, and as many as forty-three are Tuscans. In other words Florence produces nearly half, and Tuscany more than half, the victims of his condemnation.

Of his vindictiveness, whether national or individual, the following passages may supply ample evidence. In the 15th canto of the *Inferno* he describes the Florentines as

Quell' ingrato popolo maligno,
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico ;

⁴⁷ *Parad.* xxv. 1-12.

⁴⁸ Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto iv. 57.

and again as

Gente avara, invidiosa e superba.⁴⁹

At the beginning of the 26th canto he apostrophises Florence in these bitter words :

Godi, Fiorenza, poi che sei sì grande
Che per mare e per terra batti l'ali,
E per l'inferno il tuo nome si spanda.
Tra li ladron trovai cinque cotali
Tuoï cittadini, onde mi vien vergogna,
E tu in grande onranza non ne sali.⁵⁰

So Beatrice bids him lay aside the thought of vengeance on his enemies ; and the thought dies out of him, as he gazes into her eyes.⁵¹

But perhaps the bitterest passage of all, as Dr. Moore has remarked, is that in which he speaks of himself as one

che al divino dall'umano,
All'eterno dal tempo era venuto,
E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano.⁵²

Everybody knows in what language Dante rejected the idea of returning to his native city upon any terms not entirely honourable to himself. 'No, my father,' he wrote to a Florentine friend, 'this is not my way of returning to my country ; but if any other can be discovered by you or by others which does not derogate from Dante's fame and honour, I will with no lingering steps accept it. But if by such a course there is no entrance to Florence found for me, Florence I will never enter.' Such a spirit was the expression of a proud, sensitive, patriotic nature under cruel wrong. Whether Dante did or did not compose the epitaph now inscribed upon his grave at Ravenna, yet its concluding lines express with absolute truth his affectionate and bitter feeling for his native city.

Hic claudor Dantes, patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris.

But his relation to the Church must have been to him a pain almost more acute. For the Church was in his days a hotbed of evils, and these evils he felt with the intensity of a Savonarola or a Luther. 'His ideal,' as Mr. Vernon says,⁵³ 'was upright secular government under the Emperor softened and sanctified by perfect purity in the spiritual guidance of the Church under the Pope, its appointed ruler. Nowhere did he find the realisation of his ideal. The Emperors were indifferent, and the hierarchy was corrupt to the very core.' Of the disappointment which he felt as a Ghibelline I need not now speak ; it was not the bitterest element in his cup of sorrows. But what disappointment he felt as a Catholic Christian lies on the surface of his

⁴⁹ vv. 61, 62 ; 68.

⁵² *Ibid.* xxxi. 37-39.

⁵⁰ vv. 1-6.

⁵¹ *Parad.* xviii. 4-15.

⁵³ *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, ii. p. 67 (1905).

great poem. Let me quote the bitter opening lines of the 19th canto of the *Inferno* : ⁵⁴

O Simon mago, o miseri seguaci,
Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
Deono essere spose, e voi rapaci
Per oro e per argento adulate ;
Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba
Perocchè nella terza bolgia state.

What language could be stronger or more passionate ? Or take St. Peter's arraignment of his degenerate successors upon the Papal Throne in the 27th canto of the *Paradiso*,⁵⁵ especially the lines

Quegli oh'usurpa in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
Fatto ha del cimitero mio cloaca
Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa.⁵⁶

What a *sæva indignatio* it is that animates this terrible invective !

Yet all the while Dante remained a devout believer not only in Christianity but in the Church of Jesus Christ. It was not his faith that failed him. It was his spiritual guide who had betrayed him. It is true, as Dr. Moore⁵⁷ has observed, and perhaps it is strange, that Dante in the *Inferno* lays no special punishment upon heresy. But Benvenuto may be right in saying that the canto⁵⁸ in which St. Peter at Beatrice's desire examines him upon his faith reveals a certain sensitiveness to the charge of heresy which had been brought against him. Whether it is so or not, it is interesting to notice that he is careful not to close the canto without adducing St. Peter's express approbation of his orthodoxy :

Così, benedicendomi cantando,
Tre volte cinse me, sì com'io tacqui,
L'apostolico lume, al cui comando
Io avea detto ; sì nel dir gli piacqui.⁵⁹

A man of high spiritual temper may stand in a variety of relations towards Christianity. He may humbly and reverently accept it. He may stand aloof from it, not without sympathy but without conviction. He may look upon it as a stage in the gradual ascent of the human spirit from lower to higher truth. But no relation can be sadder than when an earnest disciple of Jesus Christ sees his ideal broken and shattered by the sins of the very body—nay, the very person—whom he regards as the divinely authorised representative of Christ upon earth. And this was Dante's relation to the Papacy.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ vv. 1-6.

⁵⁵ vv. 16-66.

⁵⁶ vv. 22-27.

⁵⁷ *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 178 (1899).

⁵⁸ *Parad.* xxiv.

⁵⁹ *Parad.* xxiv. 151-154.

⁶⁰ Let me refer here to Witte's *Essays on Dante*, xvi. ; *Dante and United Italy*, pp. 398-402 (translated by Lawrence and Wicksteed).

But, after all, it is the personal Dante—not the statesman, not the magistrate, not the theologian, not even the poet, but the man Dante, with his human strength and weakness, that is the proper subject of this article. Let me try, then, ere I conclude it, to show what sort of light Dante sheds upon his own character and history by his estimate of sins and apparently of his own sins.

Dr. Moore in the Second Series of his Studies on Dante, has written a remarkable essay on 'The Classification of Sins in the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*.' I do not propose to follow him throughout. It has sometimes seemed to me that Dante is hard upon certain sins, *e.g.* upon pride, as knowing that they were akin to his own nature. Alfieri holds that he was hard upon avarice because it was so far from his nature. Certainly there seems to be a special emphasis of surprise in the question which Virgil puts to Statius:

Come poteo trovar dentro al tuo seno
Luogo avarizia, tra cotanto senno
Di quanto per tua cura fosti pieno ?⁶¹

But the case may have been wholly otherwise. It is in bitter language that he declaims against the greed of gain in dowries, with reference perhaps to Beatrice's marriage with Simon de' Bardi.⁶² Nor is it possible to forget that the she-wolf is one of the three beasts from which Dante flees in the opening scene of his great poem,⁶³ and that the she-wolf is usually taken as typifying avarice.

But there is one sin or one class of sin which, if I do not mistake it, Dante treats with a strange mixture of opposing sentiments—tenderness and bitterness. Probably no episode in all the *Divina Commedia* has touched so many hearts as the story of Paolo and Francesca in the 5th canto of the *Inferno*. It is not a little remarkable how fond Dante seems to be, in dwelling upon sensual sin, of associating it with the image of the wind. Such sinners are swept along, like starlings, before the storm-blast.

E come gli stornei ne portan l'ali
Nel freddo tempo, a schiera larga e piena,
Così quel fiato gli spiriti mali
Di quà, di là, di giù, di sù gli mena :
Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,
Non che di posa, ma di minor pena.⁶⁴

A little later as the unhappy lovers come before him, he addresses Virgil in the lines

Poeta, volentieri
Parlerei a que' due che insieme vanno,
E paion sì al vento esser leggieri ;⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Purg.* xxii. 22–24.

⁶² *Inf.* v. 40–45.

⁶³ *Parad.* xv. 103–105.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* v. 78–75.

⁶⁵ *Inf.* i. 49–54.

and after Virgil's reply he adds

Si tosto come il vento a noi li piega,
Mossi la voce : O anime affannate,
Venite a noi parlar, s'altri nol niega.⁶⁶

It would seem that he wishes to indicate alike the violence and the helplessness—perhaps, too, the unsatisfying nature—of sensual sin.

There is no need to quote the passage—so marvellous in its sympathy and its delicacy—in which Francesca makes confession of her sin. But it is worth while to notice the effect of it upon Dante himself :

Mentre che l'uno spirito questo diasse,
L'altro piangeva sì che di pietade
Io venni meno sì com'io morisse ;
E caddi, come corpo morto cade.⁶⁷

Nowhere else, I think, does Dante experience such emotion—not even in his contact with the sinners whom he had known and loved in their lifetime, however intense the penal suffering in which he discovers them. Dr. Moore in his essay on *Dante's Personal Attitude towards Different Kinds of Sin*⁶⁸ speaks not only of the 'very severe punishment' which he 'metes out' to 'incontinent sinners' but also of the 'sorrowful respect and unrestrained pity' with which he regards them.

It is 'pietade'—sympathy or compassion—which causes Dante's deathlike swoon. But that may not be all. There is not wanting ground for the suggestion that Dante in the *Inferno* exhibits peculiarly deep and awful feeling at the punishment of sins which had been or, as he knew, might easily have been his own. It may be, then, that he falls to the ground at seeing the fate of Paolo and Francesca because he had once sinned even as they. So Benvenuto says, and he may well have known. At all events the leopard, as the type of sensuality, is the first of the three beasts which confront Dante at the threshold of his poem. Towards that sin Dante evinces, I think, a certain indulgence. In the episode of Paolo and Francesca the prevailing note is compassion rather than condemnation. Incontinence he hates; yet the incontinent⁶⁹ are the sinners placed in the first enclosure of the city of Dis; and even there they are not closely guarded.

I can well understand the reluctance felt by the lovers of Dante, as by Witte,⁷⁰ Scartazzini and Plumptre, to acknowledge that he can have been guilty of any deviation from the strict and sublime law of purity. It is easy to imagine that in him, as in so many another saint

⁶⁶ *Inf.* v. 79–81.

⁶⁷ *Inf.* v. 139–142.

⁶⁸ *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 217.

⁶⁹ Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, i. p. 280 (1900).

⁷⁰ Witte has quoted the passages of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convito* bearing on Dante's sin; *Essays on Dante*, iii. *Dante's Trilogy*.

of God, sensitiveness of conscience may have magnified errors or failings into positive sins. Has he not himself said

O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
Come t'è picciol fallo amaro morso !⁷¹

But it is not of immaculate lives, as of perfect stones, it is of lives sin-stained, converted and redeemed—as a St. Paul's or St. Peter's or a Magdalene's—that the temple of God on earth has been built. All that is necessary is to look steadily at the intimations of Dante's life in the *Divina Commedia* or elsewhere, and to try to read the lesson which they convey. I do not quote the explicit statements of Boccaccio or of Dante's son Jacopo ; yet it is impossible wholly to forget them. But there is a sonnet of Guido Cavalcanti which bears upon Dante's life ; it was sent as a rebuke to him for his conduct after Beatrice's death ; perhaps I may be permitted to quote it in the version of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.⁷²

I come to thee by daytime constantly,
But in thy thoughts too much of baseness find :
Greatly it grieves me for thy gentle mind
And for thy many virtues gone from thee.
It was thy wont to shun much company,
Unto all sorry concourse ill-inclined :
And still thy speech of me, heartfelt and kind,
Had made me treasure up thy poetry.
But now I dare not, for thine abject life,
Make manifest that I approve thy rhymes ;
Nor come I in such sort that thou mayst know.
Ah ! prythee read this sonnet many times ;
So shall that evil one who bred this strife,
Be thrust from thy dishonoured soul and go.

It is natural to ask, does anything in the *Divina Commedia* itself seem to justify these hard words ?

At the outset of the poem, as I have already shown, it is the

Lonza leggiera e presta molto,
Che di pel maculato era coperta,⁷³

the leopard symbolising sensuality, which stands in the way of Dante's ascent. The beast was fierce : it would not give way ; nay, as he himself says,

Anzi impediva tanto il mio cammino,
Ch'io fui per ritornar più volte volto.⁷⁴

Compare with this passage another in the 16th canto. Whether Dante did, as Buti relates, or did not in his lifetime enter the Order of St. Francis, and still more whether he entered it as a refuge from the temptations of the flesh, is and must perhaps remain a doubtful question. But there is no doubt that he was buried in a Franciscan church ;

⁷¹ *Purg.* iii. 8, 9.

⁷² *Inf.* i. 82-83.

⁷³ *Dante and his Circle*, p. 144 (1902).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* i. 35-36.

and tradition tells that he was buried in the Franciscan habit. What, then, must be his meaning when he says,

Io aveva una corda intorno cinta,
E con essa pensai alcuna volta
Prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta ?⁷⁵

No interpretation of the lines, it would seem, is possible but one, if 'la lonza alla pelle dipinta' is the type of sensuality: it is that the cord of St. Francis was the weapon with which Dante himself fought and conquered sensual passion.

Already I have referred to Dante's interview with Brunetto Latini, his old master. Not the least remarkable feature of it is the confession which he makes there about his own youth :

Lassù di sopra in la vita serena,
Rispos'io lui, mi smarri' in una valle,
Avanti che l'età mia fosse piena.⁷⁶

So too in the 27th canto of the *Purgatorio*⁷⁷ the Angel of Purity tells Dante that it is necessary for him to pass through the flames which purge away sensual sin. Known to every student of the *Divina Commedia* are the vehement words in which Beatrice reproaches Dante for his falling from virtue. This it was which made his passage through Hell to be necessary for his salvation :

Tanto giù cadde, ohe tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eran già corti,
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.⁷⁸

Known, too, is the deep pitifulness of Dante's confession to her :

Dopo la tratta d'un sospiro amaro,
A pena ebbi la voce che rispose,
E le labbra a fatica la formaro.
Piangendo dissi : Le presenti cose
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi,
Tosto che il vostro viso si nascose.⁷⁹

It would even appear from one passage,⁸⁰ if Benvenuto rightly explains it, that Dante regards himself as having been in danger of eternal death.

The question, then, is whether such language can be justly interpreted as referring to philosophical or even theological error alone : whether it does not inevitably signify a darker and sadder moral failing. For my own part, I cannot look upon it otherwise than as issuing from the consciousness of past sin. I do not deny or dispute the error of thought : it is an error only too often linked with delinquency of action ; but the error of thought was not, it seems, alone

⁷⁵ *Inf.* xvi. 106-108.

⁷⁶ *Purg.* xxvii. 10-12. Cp. 46.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* xxxi. 31-36.

⁷⁸ *Inf.* xv. 49-51.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* xxx. 136-138.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* i. 58-60.

the cause of Dante's deep sorrow. It is in the 9th canto of the *Purgatorio*, at the Gate of Purgatory, that his penitence begins. It is in the 31st canto on the summit of the mountain of Purgatory that his penitence is completed.

Quando fui presso alla beata riva,
Asperges me sì dolcemente udiassi,
 Ch'io nol so rimembrar, non ch'io lo scriva.⁸¹

Perhaps his haunting consciousness of sin is the reason why he dwells so fondly upon the oblivion of past sins in Paradise.⁸²

'Des larmes de cette glorieuse pénitence,' says Ozanam,⁸³ 'nous avons vu sortir un poème immortel.' So Dante stands among the high and lofty souls, not as exalted in nature above the earth and above all that weak erring men may do and feel in it, but as supreme in faith, in penitence, and in recovery. Shall we admire him the less that he is seen in his own poetry to be so truly human? Nay, but we can love him the more, for he is nearer to ourselves. It was not his fortune—it could never have been his thought—to reveal the perfection of Him who 'knew no sin.' Enough for Dante if he may by his genius and by his example so cleanse the heart of man as to set it in harmony with the eternal truth.

Io ritornai dalla santissim' onda
 Rifatto sì, come piante novelle
 Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
 Puro, e disposto a salire alle stelle.⁸⁴

J. E. C. WELLDON.

⁸¹ *Purg.* xxxi. 97-99.

⁸² *Parad.* ix. 104.

⁸³ *Le Purgatoire de Dante*, p. 169; *Commentaire du Chant ix.* (1862).

⁸⁴ *Purg.* xxxiii. 142-145.

THE VIRTUOSI

THOUGH the memory, and indeed the names, of these worthies are now well-nigh forgotten, they were prominent figures in the society of their own times. Fame and notoriety contributed alike to their reputation. Praise and ridicule were alternately their portion to drink ; and, strange to say, they deserved them both. Their story is rather a tangled skein to unravel, and to appreciate it properly we must take a glance at the circumstances under which they arose.

When the end of the fifteenth century was reached, philosophy, in the hands of the schoolmen, had become flat, stale, and unprofitable. It had degenerated into a useless dialectic, and its wordy warfare, chiefly about words, left none of the disputants any wiser than before. 'The same knots were tied and untied, the same clouds were formed and dissipated.' Men grew weary of circling round the same well-worn paths, weary of the grey twilight which brooded heavily over their thought. But the dawn was at hand. The revival of learning was spreading on every side, and the gates of scholasticism were soon to feel its impulse. In the bright heart of Italy there rose a revolt against the lifeless logomachies which wrangled over a barren metaphysic, but left the realities of life untouched. Back to Nature ! was the cry. Out from the cloister into the open air ! Cut loose from the outworn speculations of the past and follow the large promise of the present ! Look outwards, not inwards, for the light of knowledge, and seek truth not in empty theory but in actual experiment. Leonardo da Vinci, Giordano Bruno, and Galileo led the way in Italy ; while in England, Francis Bacon, in spite of some personal limitations, triumphantly established the New Philosophy on secure foundations. The syllogistic or deductive method of inquiry Bacon discarded as a mere method of disputation, in favour of the inductive method, by which alone, he declared, scientific discovery could be achieved. He therefore urged that the theorising philosophies of ancient speculation should be replaced by an experimental philosophy of facts. Nature could only be learnt and subdued by investigation and inquiry. Experiment, endless experiment, could alone unlock the doors of the treasure-house of knowledge. His message was eagerly accepted, the ideas of the New Philosophy spread apace, and in spite of the troublous

times, which were sadly hostile to scientific research, experiments became the fashion.

Bacon died in 1626, and somewhere about 1645 'divers worthy persons, inquisitive into Natural Philosophy and other parts of human learning, and particularly of what hath been called the New Philosophy or experimental philosophy,' agreed to meet once a week to discourse upon these subjects. Their names were Dr. John Wilkins, Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Dr. George Ent, Dr. Christopher Merrett, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Theodore Haake. This little knot of men may, perhaps, be described as the first of the *Virtuosi*, inasmuch as they were the first to combine for practical scientific effort. From this nucleus, some fifteen years later, the Royal Society arose. A small penalty was exacted for non-attendance at the meetings, and a small weekly subscription was raised to defray the cost of experiments; but politics, theology, and gossip were severely excluded from their discourses. The earlier meetings were held in London, but in 1648 Dr. Wilkins, having been made Warden of Wadham College, retired to Oxford, whither he was followed by Dr. Wallis and Dr. Goddard. Oxford was at that time a centre of great intellectual activity, 'and was also frequented by some gentlemen of philosophical minds, whom the misfortunes of the kingdom and the security and ease of a retirement among gownsmen had drawn thither.' Accordingly, Wilkins had no difficulty in establishing an Oxford branch, as it were, of the London society, fully equal in repute to the parent stem. Besides Wallis and Goddard, it numbered among its members Dr. Seth Ward, Robert Boyle, Thomas Bathurst, Lawrence Rooke, Robert Hook, and, more illustrious than all, Christopher Wren. Wren's modern fame rests chiefly on his architecture, but his other attainments were many and brilliant. He was born on the 20th of October 1631. Twenty years later Evelyn speaks of him as 'that miracle of a youth,' and Barrow described him as '*prodigium olim pueri, nunc miraculum viri, imo demonium hominis.*' About 1649 he became a fellow commoner of Wadham under Wilkins. He was an acute mathematician, professor of astronomy at Gresham College, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, skilled in dynamics, and a meteorologist. He had a ready inventive faculty, and is credited with fifty-three inventions and discoveries, nearly all of which were of practical utility. Among other things he invented a method of injecting fluid into the veins, which facilitated the transfusion of blood, soon to become so fashionable an experiment. He was President of the Royal Society from 1680 to 1682, but during the latter part of his life he was too busy with architecture to pursue scientific research.

A few words are also due to the remarkable man who was practically the founder of the Royal Society. John Wilkins, born 1614, was the son of an Oxford goldsmith, himself 'a very ingeniose man with a very mechanical head.' He delighted in experiments, and evidently

had learning and abilities above his station. The son followed in the father's footsteps. In early life he published a work designed to prove that the moon was habitable and accessible by flight, which probably suggested Paltock's story of *Peter Wilkins*. He married Cromwell's widowed sister, Robina French, and took the Parliamentary side during the Civil War. But he was a broad-minded and tolerant man, and many Royalists (Evelyn among them) held him in high esteem. During his Wardenship of Wadham he made it an intellectual centre to which many distinguished men of both parties were attracted. Dr. Seth Ward is a notable instance. He had suffered severely for his loyalty to the King, having been ejected from his fellowship at Sidney-Sussex; but after this misfortune he migrated to Wadham to enjoy the companionship of Wilkins. Among the Virtuosi of Wadham was one Walter Pope, Gresham Professor of Astronomy, and one of the early Fellows of the Royal Society. In 1658 he was Junior Proctor, and in this capacity successfully resisted an attempt to abrogate the statute which required cap and gown to be worn. These were then regarded suspiciously as relics of Romanism. It is, perhaps, doubtful whether the present distaste of the undergraduate for academic attire can fairly be referred to the same religious scruples; but the distaste itself has quite a venerable antiquity, being at least as old as the days of Sir Kenelm Digby. Pope was also the author of the quaint memoirs of the highwayman Claude du Val, which are preserved in the Harleian Miscellany.

Meanwhile Wilkins did not lose touch with his fellow-Virtuosi in London, and we hear of meetings at the Bull Head Tavern in Cheapside in 1658 and 1659 at which he was present. In the latter year he was made Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and though he was deprived of his post at the Restoration, he readily consoled himself with his beloved experiments. Nothing came amiss to his indefatigable energy. Thus, at one time he is busied with a treatise on the still obscure subject of telepathy; at another, John Evelyn, on paying him a visit, finds him engaged in 'contriving chariots.' Probably his politics were not very acrid, and in any case he did not remain in permanent disfavour. In 1662, Seth Ward being made Bishop of Exeter, Wilkins was appointed to a deanery under him; and in 1668, by the exertions of the Duke of Buckingham, he was promoted to the bishopric of Chester. Aubrey, in one of those vivid personal sketches which make his *Brief Lives* such delightful reading, has left us a pleasing picture of him. 'He was no great read man, but one of much deepe thinking, and of a working mind, and a prudent man as well as ingeniose. . . . He was a lustie, strong growne, well sett, broad shouldered person, cheerful and hospitable.' Evidently a typical case of the *mens sana in corpore sano*.

In 1659 the little society had greatly increased both in numbers and reputation. The meetings could no longer be conveniently held in

private lodgings, or even in a tavern; and its influence had made itself felt so much that Robert Boyle described it as 'The Invisible College.' Accordingly, in 1660, it was formally constituted as a 'Society for the promotion of all kinds of experimental philosophy,' and, on the 22nd of April 1663, it was incorporated under the name of 'The Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge.' At the same time a charter was granted to it by Charles the Second, who was therein described as its founder and patron, and who, though rather fond of poking fun at his *protégés*, retained a certain interest in it through life.

As soon as the Royal Society had settled down to its work, investigations were commenced on a colossal scale. Nothing was too large to daunt these scientific adventurers; nothing too small to be beneath their notice. With the same zeal they would pursue the discovery of the longitude, or discuss the respective heights of Og the King of Basan and Goliath. To cull a few specimens from a very long list, their inquiries dealt with astronomy, meteorology—including showers of fish and frogs and the 'vermination' of the air—with the chemical qualities of water springs, in reference to their fitness for brewing and other commercial purposes; with 'the water blasts of Tivoly, floating islands of ice, and the shining of dew in a common of Lancashire and elsewhere'; with mineralogy, earthquakes, and the habits and observations of divers; with metallurgy, agriculture, pisciculture, and poisons. Monsters and their anatomy came in for special attention, as well as surgical operations and sympathetic cures; and the long catalogue ends with 'pendulum clocks, rare guns, experiments in refraction, of a way to make use of eggs in painting instead of oil, of the island Hirta in Scotland, of the whispering place at Gloucester, of the Pike of Teneriff.' The programme was comprehensive, but to the best of their ability every means was taken to ensure accuracy. Some of the Fellows were deputed to study the literature of the various subjects, others to prosecute inquiries among seamen, travellers, and other specialists. With regard to the experiments at the expense of the Society, it was ordained that, as far as might be, they should be performed before the Society, or, if this were impossible, in the presence of at least two curators appointed for the purpose. Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, writing in 1668, tells us that the Royal Society 'set their faces against the superfluity of talking, and the luxury and redundance of speech,' an offence which he declares ought to be 'plac'd among those general mischiefs, such as the Dissention of Christian Princes and the want of Practice of Religion. They have exacted,' he continues, 'from all their members a close naked natural way of speaking, positive expressions, clear senses, a native easiness, bringing all things as near the mathematical plainness as they can, and preferring the language of artizans, countrymen and merchants, before that of wits or scholars.'

All this seems admirable common-sense. And yet, through the last half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries the Virtuoso, according to popular ideas, was a contemptible crank, superstitious and gullible, and interested only in the eccentric or the monstrous : a sham philosopher, vain and shallow, whose ostensible love of learning was at root but an idle curiosity, and whose learning itself was studiously divorced from practical utility. How came this conception to arise ? The explanation is not really far to seek. The impetus of a new movement is always apt to outrun discretion, and the pursuit of the New Philosophy was no exception. The originators of the cult were serious, scientific men, but they could not keep it clear of fantastic devotees whose extravagancies did a great deal to discredit it. It seems clear that there were a good many of these about. Thomas Shadwell was a close observer and a clever delineator of the social life of his time. He was eminently what would now be called ' topical,' and prided himself on being constantly up to date in the very slang of the day. We may feel sure, therefore, that in Sir Nicholas Gimcrack (the Virtuoso in his play of that name) we get a good portrait of the Virtuoso of the seventeenth century in his ridiculous aspect. ' A sot that has spent £2000 in microscopes to find out the nature of eels in vinegar, mites in a cheese, and the blue of plums, which he has subtilly found out to be living creatures.' Or again, ' One who has broken his brains about the nature of maggots, who has studied these twenty years to find out the several sorts of spiders, and never cares for understanding mankind.' He affects to learn swimming by lying on a table, with a frog in a bowl of water by his side whose movements he imitates. Longvil, a young man of fashion, inquires, ' Have you try'd in the water, Sir ? ' ' No, Sir,' replies Gimcrack, ' but I swim most exquisitely on land. . . I content myself with the speculative part of swimming, I care not for the Practick. I seldom bring anything to use ; 'tis not my way. Knowledge is my ultimate end.'

Here we have one of the commonest of the taunts levelled at the Virtuosi, which crops up constantly in contemporary writers. Shadwell repeats it more than once.

BRUCE. What does it concern a man to know the nature of an ant ?

LONGVIL. O, it concerns a Virtuoso mightily ; so it be knowledge, 'tis no matter.

Perhaps some of the Virtuosi deserved it, but the reproach in itself is of rather slender merit. As Bacon aptly observed, there should be experiments of ' light ' as well as of ' fruit ' ; and knowledge is not necessarily useless because it cannot immediately be reduced to a cash value. Moreover, the knowledge disdained as barren will often turn the tables on the scoffer by suddenly proving valuable, and the experiment of light is transformed into an experiment of fruit. But

whatever may have been true of the Gimcracks among the Virtuosi, no such charge can be brought against the leaders of the movement. Indeed, Boyle speaks of the New Philosophy as valuing 'no knowledge but as it has a tendency to use,' and warmly praises the industry, broad-mindedness, humility, and teachableness of the members of the Invisible College. They were, in truth, earnest votaries of applied science, and though their experiments sometimes carried them into strange regions, practical utility was ever before their eyes.

The charge of credulity has somewhat more substance in it, but it was equally repudiated by the genuine Virtuosi. They looked askance at the chemists who sought for riches 'by transmutations and the great Elixir,' or philosophers in such eager quest of the Philosopher's Stone that they saw some footsteps of it in every 'line of Moses, Solomon, or Virgil.' So far, indeed, were they from owning to credulity, that they were inclined to apologise for their excessive scepticism. 'To this fault of sceptical doubting the Royal Society may perhaps be suspected to be too much inclined; because they always professed to be so backward from setting of principles or fixing upon doctrines.'¹ To the same effect is a story told by Aubrey of Sir William Petty. At one of the annual meetings of the Royal Society on St. Andrew's Day, Aubrey (himself a Fellow) remarked that, instead of St. Andrew, a better patron saint for the Society would have been St. George, or St. Isidore (a canonised philosopher). 'No,' said Sir William, 'I would rather have had it on St. Thomas' Day, for he would not believe till he had seen and putt his fingers into the holes, according to the motto *Nullius in verba*.' This was the motto ultimately selected by the Society out of six suggested by John Evelyn. The others were *Et augebitur Scientia*; *Omnia probate*; *Quantum Nescimus*; *Ad majorem lumen* (rather a mysterious piece of Latin); and *Experiendo*.

Petty is a good specimen of the best kind of Virtuoso. He was born on the 26th of May 1623, and was the son of a clothier at Romsey. From childhood he had strong mathematical and mechanical tastes. In early youth he was stranded in France with a broken leg, where for some time he was in desperate straits, and lived for a week, according to Aubrey, on two or three pennyworths of walnuts. However, he contrived to learn French, Latin, and Greek; he studied anatomy at Paris, and, returning to England, entered himself at Brasenose. In 1649 he became a Doctor of Physic, and in the following year, together with Dr. Wilkins, he performed the remarkable feat of reviving Ann Green, a criminal who had been hanged. He was also made Professor of Music at Gresham College. He was one of Cromwell's Commissioners for Oxford, and it was under Cromwell's orders that he also made his great survey of Ireland. Among many other things, he invented a double-keeled boat, anticipating the principle of the

¹ Sprat, 106.

Calais-Douvres, which beat the mail packet from Dublin to Holyhead by fifteen hours. He also invented 'a wheel to ride upon,' possibly something resembling the two-wheeled hobby-horse which came into fashion for a short time in 1819. He married the daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, 'a very beautifull and ingeniose lady, browne, with gloriouse eies,' and his sympathies were naturally Cromwellian. But after the Restoration he soon came into favour with Charles the Second, 'who was mightily pleased with his discourse,' and the Duke of York. He was a sound political economist. Pepys, who was President of the Royal Society in 1684, praised him as an excellent Commissioner of the Navy, and Evelyn declared that there was no better Latin poet living. Nor did he lack some lighter accomplishments. He was, it seems, a capital mimic, and could imitate incomparably the pulpit style of the Presbyterian, the Independent, the Capuchin, or the Jesuit. He had, moreover, a sense of humour, which once at least stood him in good stead. Sir Hierome Sankey, a swashbuckling Anabaptist, who claimed to cast out devils, and notably 'a walking devil named Tuggin,' sent him a challenge. Petty was very short-sighted, and having, as the challenged party, the right to nominate place and weapon, appointed a dark cellar and a carpenter's axe. This turned the challenge to ridicule, and the matter dropped.

Petty was thoroughly imbued with the scientific spirit which alone can give value to scientific research. Sir Kenelm Digby is a representative instance, among the early Virtuosi, of those who, for lack of this spirit, became scientific castaways. He is a striking figure, with a childhood made tragic by his father's execution, and a boyhood glorified by a romantic passion. Goodly to look upon, noble in address, and gigantic in strength, 'had he been dropt out of the clowdes in any part of the world he would have made himself respected.' A diplomatist, a courtier, a linguist, an author, a traveller, a philosopher, and a filibuster, whatever he put his hand to he did with his might. In a description which he gives of himself he observes that his temperament 'cannot keep itself in mediocrity, but will infallibly fall into some extreme.' His early love for the beautiful Venetia Stanley never really faltered. Undaunted by difficulties, he persisted indomitably till he had made her his wife, and was never really consoled for her early death. His love of science was genuine enough, and even in prison he gladly turned to it. But his researches were marred by his extravagant superstitions, and Stubbes, a bitter enemy of the Royal Society, called him 'the Pliny of our age for lying.' His famous powder of sympathy for the cure of wounds was a horrible mess, of which the first ingredient was 'moss of a ded man's head, 2 oz.' But even Boyle, who had judicious doubts about Digby's theories, writes that 'he hath many excellent secrets and experiments of all sorts, yea, some arcana of the highest nature.'

These seem to have consisted, however, chiefly of quack medicines like the *Virga aurea*, and misty theories of the occult properties of gems, and so forth. He fed his wife on capons fattened with vipers to preserve her beauty, and treated her with snail broth for consumption. The troublous times in which he lived brought him many a buffet, but they never quenched his love of learning, and he took a lively interest in the formation of the Royal Society, of which he became a Fellow. On the death of his wife he retired to Gresham College to seek comfort for her loss in scientific experiments. And when he returned for the last time to England to end his days, his house—the last fair house westward in the north portico of Covent Garden—became the regular resort of mathematicians, chemists, philosophers, and literary men. He died on the 11th of June 1665, having been born on the same day in 1603.

But, indeed, it must be fairly admitted that, even among the true Virtuosi, some strange beliefs and opinions still lingered. Nor is this to be wondered at. Science was only just emerging from the mists of superstition, and it was impossible that these should be dispelled by the first ray of sunrise. Astronomy still smacked of astrology, chemistry of alchemy, and medicine had to struggle against, or even make terms with, a thousand and one quack remedies. Bacon never quite shook off a belief in witchcraft; and even Isaac Newton, who became Fellow of the Royal Society in 1671 and its President in 1703, had some weak joints in his scientific armour. The great astronomer had been, as he confessed, an astrologer, and he was strongly attracted by the religious vagaries of the Cevennois. Curiously enough, too, in spite of his high mathematical attainments, his arithmetic was very faulty, and, when Master of the Mint, he was obliged to have his accounts made up for him.

The earlier Philosophical Transactions of the Society show how slowly the old ideas relaxed their grip on the new thought. Thus, in 1694, we hear of a very great and dangerous wen which was cured by the application of a dead man's hand, 'whence the patient felt such a cold stream pass to the heart that it did almost cause in him a fit of swooning.' Touching for the King's evil (scrofula) still claimed the faith of the vulgar, though the practice died out in the reign of Queen Anne. But no less an authority than Robert Boyle testified to the therapeutic powers of Greatrix the Stroaker. This practitioner is said, on one occasion, to have chased a pain, by stroking, from the patient's head to his back, and thence, through the right thigh and leg, to his great toe. In this, its last ditch, the pain turned to bay, making the patient 'roar out,' but, on further stroking, it finally disappeared. Then we have a fanciful account of the facial expression of hard drinkers, and a still more fanciful theory of the correlation of voice with character. Phosphorescent light puzzled the Virtuosi considerably, and many experiments were made with decayed wood, fish, and

other substances. Shadwell, who shows a remarkably close acquaintance with the actual work of the Royal Society, has a mischievous dig at these. Sir Nicholas Gimcrack is asked to what use he puts his Pneumatick Engines. He replies, 'I eclipse the light of rotten wood, stinking whittings, and thornback, and putrid fish when it becomes lucid.'

LONGVIL. Will stinking flesh give light like rotten wood ?

SIR NICHOLAS. 'Tis frequent. I myself have read a Geneva Bible by a leg of pork.

At the end of the play Gimcrack declares that he will devote all his energies to the discovery of the Philosopher's Stone, adding, 'I had like to have gotten it last year, but that I wanted Maydew, it being a dry season.' This belief in the occult qualities of Maydew was a very sturdy superstition. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a whole set of experiments to determine its properties and composition was made by Thomas Henshaw and recorded in the *Philosophical Transactions*. We learn also from the *Philosophical Transactions* that Boyle claimed to have made air 'wholesome for inspiration' by treating pounded coral or oyster shells with vinegar, and Hooke, by mixing oil of tartar with vitriol, or spirit of wine with turpentine. Critics might fairly make merry over experiments like these, but they represent a stage through which science in its infancy was bound to pass. Many, too, were the inventions of the Virtuosi; some of them useful, some fantastic; and in these days of aviation it is interesting to learn that Hooke is said to have invented thirty different modes of flying. The inventions of Wren and Petty have already been referred to. Besides these, Papin and Savery made some real advances in the application of steam power, and even the bone-digesting machine invented by the former seems to have been more than a mere toy. Shadwell's Virtuoso is, of course, a prolific inventor. He, too, has learnt how to fly—theoretically; and he has invented, among other things, a sort of megaphone on a magnificent scale, which he calls a stentrophonical tube. 'I have thought of this,' he explains, 'to do the King service; for when I have perfected it, there need's but one parson to preach to the whole country; the King may then take all the Church lands into his own hands, and serve all England with his chaplains in ordinary.'

LONGVIL. This is a most admirable project. But what will become of the other parsons ?

SIR NICHOLAS. It is no matter; let 'em make woollen cloth and advance the manufacture of the nation, or learn to make nets and improve the fishing trade.

An echo of this remarkable argument may still be heard in some of the political controversies of to-day.

Among the graver speculations of the Virtuosi was the transfusion of blood for therapeutic purposes. The origin of the idea is generally

attributed to Wren, who commenced experiments in this direction about 1659. But Aubrey relates how 'at the Epiphanie 1649' Francis Potter had communicated to him 'his notion of curing disease, &c., by the transfusion of blood.' The theory was founded on the idea that almost all diseases were due to a morbid condition of the bodily fluids, particularly the blood, and, consequently, that disease might be expelled by drawing off the patient's vitiated blood and transfusing that of a healthy animal. For a short time it was in considerable vogue both in England and France. In 1667 an experiment was made, to which Pepys alludes, of transfusing the blood of a sheep into a poor student named Coga, who submitted to the operation by Dr. King for a guinea. In this case no ill-results followed. But in France some similar experiments ended fatally, and the practice was discontinued. Shadwell makes Gimcrack boast that, by applying this treatment to a mangy spaniel and a sound bulldog, he had turned the spaniel into a sound bulldog, and the bulldog into a mangy spaniel. This is a caricature, of course; but it is hardly more grotesque than Dr. Thomas Sherly's 'philosophical essay declaring the probable causes of stones in the greater world, in order to find out the causes and cure of the stone in the kidneys and bladder of men.' Whatever analogies may exist between the macrocosm and the microcosm, they can hardly be pressed to this disconcerting length; and the modern patient may certainly be grateful that stone in the bladder is no longer treated on geological principles. But, as has been said, medicine was still in a somewhat tentative stage. Aubrey declares that Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was a very poor physician. Jonathan Goddard, according to the same authority, had but three or four prescriptions with which he treated all diseases. Among these, no doubt, were the celebrated 'Goddard's Drops,' the recipe for which he is said to have sold to Charles the Second for 5000*l*. A subtle revenge this, if the story be true; for that monarch had ejected him from the Wardenship of Merton College, Oxford. Goddard was an unwearied experimenter and was rather exploited by the Royal Society on that account. Aubrey tells us that 'they made him their drudge, for when any curious experiment was to be donne they would lay the taske on him.' Indeed, he took all his inquiries very seriously; for we find him, on the 10th of February 1663, reading to the Royal Society 'A Discourse upon Eggs, containing ten signs whereby to distinguish new eggs from those which are stale.' He died in harness in 1675, being smitten with apoplexy 'on his way home from a club of Virtuosi who were wont to meet at the Crown in Bloomsbury.'

One of the ugliest features of the experiments of the Virtuosi was the atrocious cruelty practised upon animals. Vivisection (of course without anæsthetics) in the most appalling forms was employed, apparently without the faintest pang of reproach. Possibly the

Cartesian doctrine that animals were insensible automata may have deadened their feelings. Akenside makes this one of the characteristics of his Virtuoso :

Beasts, fishes, birds, snails, caterpillars, flies
Were laid full low by his relentless hand,
That oft with gory crimson was distained :
He many a dog destroyed and many a cat.

The cruelty, too, was often heightened by the wantonness of the experiments, animals being tortured, not to obtain knowledge on some definite point, but apparently for the purpose only of seeing what happened. Thus, to take one of the milder specimens, we hear of an unfortunate carp 'attempted to be fed with bread and sack without success.' But leaving these horrors, even the more sober researches of the Virtuosi display rather an untempered cagerness for the merely wonderful. Monstrosities of all kinds occupied a great deal of their attention ; so, too, such natural curiosities as a fall of dew like butter, and 'a shower of fishes judged to be whiting.' In a satirical pamphlet called the *Transactioneer* these portents are described as 'A shower of whittings. A shower of butter to dress them with.' And indeed strange things seemed to happen in this uncritical age. At Christmas 1693, according to the 'Transactions,' Harlech in Merionethshire was suddenly invaded by a 'kindled exhalation,' which came across Cardigan Bay in the night, poisoning the grass and firing haystacks. The visitation lasted till late in the summer of 1694, by which time its peculiarities had been more fully revealed. This mysterious exhalation was not like an ordinary fire ; it burnt with a weak blue flame which, in spite of its deleterious effects on crops and ricks, might be touched without injury by man. It was observed to come from a sandy and marshy spot in Carnarvonshire, called Morva Bychan, and could be repelled or extinguished by any loud noise, such as that of drums or horns. Fossils were the subject of much controversy among the Virtuosi, and various explanations were offered to account for them. To the orthodox they seemed conclusive evidence of the Deluge. Dr. Martin Lister, however, regarded them as independent natural products—*lapides sui generis*—which had no connexion with real shells or other organic objects, but had been fashioned by nature, apparently just for the fun of the thing. Beaumont developed this theory still further. Fossil shells, he declared, were not real shells petrified, but were a sort of arrested growth. The raw material of shells, or, as he terms it, 'a shelly substance,' was, according to him, diffused through all nature, which, consequently, could as well produce shells in mines as in the sea. He regarded the process as a form of vegetation produced by the 'seminal root of life' which permeates the natural world, but which sometimes, as in the case of the fossil shell, makes a bad shot, and is 'hindered by the inaptness of the place to proceed to give to these things a principle of

life in themselves.' The seminal root of life he identified with the dry light of Heraclitus. John Woodward regarded fossils as the relics of real animals, and claimed them as evidence of the Deluge, while he connected them with a curious theory of 'the vegetative motion' of the earth. But this and his other doctrines were severely criticised, particularly by John Arbuthnot. Woodward had a strange, ill-regulated mind, and rather a disagreeable temper. He was always falling out with his brother Virtuosi. In 1710 he was required by the Royal Society to apologise for some insulting expressions which he had addressed to Sir Hans Sloane. This he refused to do, and was accordingly expelled from the Council. His bitter tongue never deserted him. In a duel with Dr. Mead which arose out of some quarrel over medical matters, Woodward's foot slipped and he fell. 'Take your life,' said his opponent. 'Anything but your physic,' was Woodward's retort. Even in high quarters a belief was still held in the virtues of the so-called unicorn's horn (probably, in most cases, a fossil bone), and more than one experiment was made to ascertain whether snakes or spiders could cross a circle of powdered unicorn's horn or of Irish earth. So, too, Sir Robert Moray, when President of the Society, read a paper to prove that barnacles turned into birds, while Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Pellin were each prepared to vouch for the production of young vipers from the powdered liver and lungs of a viper.

By degrees the true Virtuosi shook off these juvenile errors and indiscretions, and with them the pseudo-scientists who had done so much to bring their researches into disrepute. The latter rapidly degenerated into mere Curiosi, and perhaps deserved all the ridicule which they encountered. Steele, in the *Tatler* (No. 216), takes Shadwell's Gimcrack as the type of these, and professes to reproduce his will. It is an amusing skit. The testator, after giving legacies of one box of butterflies, one drawer of shells, a female skeleton, a dried cockatrice, &c., makes the following bequest: 'My eldest son John having spoke disrespectfully of his little sister whom I keep by me in spirits of wine, and in many other instances behaved himself undutifully towards me, I do disinherit, and wholly cut off from any part of this my personal estate, by giving him a single cockleshell.'

Scientific inquiry had no real attractions for these men, and they became mere collectors of curiosities, or, as they preferred to call them, 'rarities.' Akenside's Virtuoso has a 'rich museum of dimensions fair' full of objects of this kind. It was to minister to tastes like these that the museums of Salter and the Tradescants came into existence. Salter, or Don Saltero, as Steele calls him (*Tatler*, No. 34), thus described his own collection:

Monsters of all sorts are seen ;
 Strange things in Nature as they grew so ;
 Some relics of the Sheba Queen
 And fragments of the famed Bob Crusoe.

Among the relics of the Sheba Queen was her milkmaid's hat. The collection also contained 'The King of Morocco's tobacco pipe,' and 'Job's ears which grew on a tree.' Indeed, institutions altogether more august yielded to the same craze. In the early years of the eighteenth century Dr. William Oliver reported to the Royal Society that among the 'natural rarities' of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen there were hares' heads with horns, a petrified baby, a pair of stags' horns growing out of a piece of wood, and an egg laid by a woman. This last treasure was carefully authenticated. The lady, it seems, had laid a brace of eggs, one of which, on being broken, resembled an ordinary hen's egg, the other had been sent to Olaus Wormius 'by very good hands,' and had by him been presented to the museum.

It was in France, however, that the spurious Virtuosity took deepest root. Stimulated by the rise of the Royal Society, some of the 'choicest wits in France' attempted, about 1660, to form a similar society. This met every Monday, and their discourses were compiled and edited by Eusebius Renaudot. In 1664 an Englishman named Havers (subsequently assisted by one Davies) was permitted to translate them, on condition that the names of the members should not be divulged. The conferences are curious, but not very instructive. Usually two subjects were selected for discussion at each conference, and these were sometimes strangely assorted. For example, at one conference the subjects for debate were (1) Is it easier to resist pleasure or pain? (2) Of the little hairy girl lately seen in this city. At another (1) How long can man remain without eating? (2) Of the echo. Or again, (1) Of the origin of the winds. (2) Why none are contented with their lot? The conferences are described as 'A general collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France upon questions of all sorts of Philosophy and other Natural Knowledge. Made in the Assembly of the Beaux Esprits at Paris by the most ingenious persons of that Nation.' But in spite of this imposing description, it is clear that the most ingenious persons had few of the scientific pretensions of the English Virtuosi. The discussions often show considerable cleverness, and a certain amount of rather undigested knowledge; but the trail of superstition is over them all. There is a serious discussion as to Incubi and Succubæ, and whether devils generate. The virtue of charms and amulets was generally admitted, though one debater cautiously adds that 'confidence is a necessary condition for making the amulet efficacious.' Metaphysical principles are postulated without scruple, and readily accepted as explanations. Thus the qualities of quicksilver are ascribed to its possessing an equal mixture of the principles of siccidity and humidity. Our old friend the unicorn's horn is treated rather roughly, yet it is recognised that 'all horns have an Alexiterical virtue by which they resist feavers.' On the psychological side we learn that memory is seated at the back of the head, for which reason 'we scratch the hinder part of the head,

as if to chase it, when we would remember anything.' The French Virtuosi, unlike their English brethren, never rose above this level ; and a century later, in 1763, *The Gentleman's Magazine* thus puts on record their absurdities :

The folly of the French Virtuosi at Paris is arrived at a great pitch. Collecting natural curiosities is in high vogue, and to that degree that no one is esteemed *de bon ton* who has not a collection. The decorations of some cabinets are more expensive than the curiosities, and savour so much of that *goût marqué* or *outré*, now so general in France, that the collections seem more like raree shows than like anything of a scientific nature.

In England the pseudo-Virtuosi had succumbed before this to the ridicule showered upon them. Following in Shadwell's footsteps, Ned Ward, in his *History of Clubs* and the *London Spy*, made merry in a somewhat coarse fashion at their expense, and Steele flicked them with polished raillery. *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* were a more solid attack. This satire was projected by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, but was written almost entirely by Arbuthnot, though certain anticipations of Gulliver show the hand of Swift. Arbuthnot being himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a learned man to boot, was not at all disposed to spare the follies of the sham scientist. Woodward's extravagant doctrines came in for severe treatment, and the ancient shield in which the infant Martinus was cradled is evidently a hit at a doubtful antique which Woodward had been induced to purchase. Even philosophy proper does not escape. Crambe, on being told that substance was that which was subject to accidents, replied that soldiers must, in that case, be the most substantial people in the world : a dig at Locke. Arbuthnot's *Petition of the Catoptrical Victuallers* is a lighter effort in the same strain, and is quite good reading even now. *The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* were never finished ; but in 1751 Richard Owen Cambridge attempted a dull and laborious continuation of them in his *Scribleriad*. This, however, fell quite flat ; and indeed it was altogether belated, for the objects of its satire had practically disappeared.

Science truly must begin in wonder, but it ought not to remain there. And this really points the distinction between the true and the counterfeit Virtuosi. The comparative ignorance of the seventeenth century was the justification alike of Bacon's plea for experiments, and of the wideness of the experimental system which the Virtuosi initiated. Where so little was known, who could say in what strange corners truth might lurk ? And, consequently, from this standpoint, the procedure of the Virtuosi was strictly scientific. They felt that it was not for them to condemn anything offhand as impossible or absurd. On the contrary, the stranger the case presented, the greater the need for a scrupulous investigation of it. In fact, as Sprat pertinently remarks, the true and unwearied experimenter 'often rescues things from the jaws of those dreadful monsters

Improbability and Impossibility.' At the outset, no doubt, there was not much to distinguish the work of the true from that of the sham Virtuosi; but the former soon learnt to rise above the superstitions, the follies, and the trivialities in which the latter remained enmeshed to the end. The very ridicule which they incurred quickened this process, for the Society was keenly sensitive to it, and keenly apprehensive of the injury which it might inflict on the interests of science. They had other opponents to reckon with, to wit, the philosophers of the old Aristotelian school, and the narrower spirits of religious orthodoxy; but these 'severe and frowning dogmatical adversaries' they feared less than 'the Wits and Railleurs' of the age. Moreover, and this is important to observe, there was a profound philosophical conception underlying their multitudinous experiments, namely, that of the solidarity of all things. Under this conception the universe of our knowledge is treated, not as a mere collection of facts and objects, but as a systematic whole, with inter-relations between all its components. Every part of this scheme is connected with every other part, and accordingly light thrown on one of its humblest elements may help to illumine the darkness in which its deepest mysteries are veiled. As Sprat, their historian, observes, in a fine passage:

There is nothing of all the works of Nature so inconsiderable, so remote, or so fully known, but by being made to reflect on other things, it will at once enlighten them and show itself the clearer. Such is the dependence amongst all the orders of creatures, the sensitive, the rational, the natural, the artificial, that the apprehension of one of them is a good step towards the understanding of the rest. . . . This is truly to command the world: to rank all the varieties and degrees of things so orderly upon another, that, standing on the top of them, we may perfectly behold all that are below, and make them serviceable, to the quiet, and peace, and plenty of man's life. And to this happiness there can be nothing else added, but that we make a second advantage of this rising ground, thereby to look the nearer into heaven.

NORMAN PEARSON.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN FRANCE

WHEN friends from abroad come to see me in Paris and express a wish to go to the Chamber, I must own that I feel a pang of despair. My national self-respect is put to a severe test. Alas! the Sessions of the Palais Bourbon do scant honour to my country.

It would be good, it would even be natural, if the legislators of a great nation were superior both in mind and character to the moral and mental average of that nation. More than this, since our deputies and senators are our representatives, they should, surely, represent France; they should make, as it were, a portrait of her, a portrait if not flattered at least faithful. But look at them; examine them; listen to them. In every way they are inferior, greatly inferior, to the average man in France; instead of a portrait, they give us a sad caricature.

And so, when my foreign friends come back from a Session at the Palais Bourbon, I invite them to consider that a country which can resist such a parliamentary system must be very strong and very admirable. And this will, I hope, be the conclusion which my readers will draw from an article in which I have tried to set forth the deplorable condition of politics in the France of to-day.

The political health of a nation seems to me to be the result of the equilibrium of two opposed forces—one a change-seeking, the other a conservative power. When one of these forces destroys the other, the consequences are terrible. For some years now we have been watching tormented Russia in all the agitation of a crisis; the cause of which is the formidable supremacy of the conservative over the change-seeking power. Russia, thus dominated, has been impotent to adapt herself to new circumstances, and she is suffering from having wished to perpetuate an impossible archaism. On the other hand we see France imperilled by the mad domination of innovators who are no longer trammelled by the slightest resistance. It is thus that she is led into extravagant adventures, the end of which no man can foresee. Let us leave Russia and confine ourselves to France, where I shall try to analyse these symptoms as accurately as I am able.

With this view I must first of all enumerate existing parties, and indicate their character and their position.

There are a great many parties. This is a principal feature—the

first sign—of political anarchy. For the rest, whatever the number and diversity of parties in an organised society, the confusion they make only serves to re-open the deeply-rooted quarrel between Conservatives and Reformers. Their antagonism is more or less clear-cut, their combat more or less even. But if we look more closely at the struggle, we shall find it simple enough behind its screen of tricks and intrigues. In France three main parties divide the honours between them—the honours of an immense disorder extending to every detail. These are : the Right, the Radicals, the Socialists. Within the pale of the Right I set the Royalists, the Bonapartists, and the Nationalists. The Radical label covers the Radicals, the Radical Socialists, and the Independent Socialists ; while the term ‘Socialists’ practically comprises the Unified Socialists alone. I do not even mention the Moderates. Later on I shall have occasion to allude to the vacillation and uncertainty of their present rôle.

‘The Right’ hardly counts any longer. There are in fact but few Royalists, either in the Chamber or the Senate, and it may be said that there are no Bonapartists. Outside Parliament, it is true, the monarchic idea has its votaries, its hardworking partisans. The Bonapartist cause also has its faithful, but these cannot be said to work hard. The Royalists have their newspapers, their circle, their writers—many of them with big literary names—their controversialists, who want neither fire nor talent, their orators who parade a passionate propaganda in the provinces. They have their theoreticians, too, who afford an elegant practical demonstration of the unity of monarchy and democracy ; and their men of action, who are by no means lacking in zeal and enthusiasm and courage.

What will come of all this endeavour ? The elections of next year will tell us something. Just now French politics exist without either Royalists or Bonapartists. As for the Nationalists, the Dreyfus business ruined their game. They were clumsy, and then they had no luck. All the same, their doctrines were noble, and now we should find their influence very opportune. They have been, in large measure, wiped out.*

This is what the Right of to-day is reduced to. You may join a few Moderates to the rest. But the Moderates have lost all practical value. They had their day of power ; not long ago they governed France. They govern her no longer. How many are there ? and what are they doing ? There are not many, and they are doing nothing. The little remnant of their party, once so flourishing, is scattered. Some of them, scared by the rise of the Left, have gone to the Right. With considerable ill-humour they have given up the Republican fiction which has cheated them. But the Right is not very fond of them, and they stand by her side in the sulks. The rest, worse luck, have gone to the Left ; they felt that the Radicals had won the battle, and they abandoned a cause which had, in truth, abandoned

them. From time to time they have voted with the Left ; they accepted, for instance, the separation of Church and State which they once called a monstrous measure. In short they have turned into Radicals—pitifully—without pride, without pleasure. At present they form the right wing of the Radicals, who are dragging them more and more towards the Left. We will leave them alone.

I have already said that the Right hardly counts now in the French Parliament. But Parliament makes use of it in rather funny fashion. For when the members of the extreme Left need the help or support of the Radicals for one of their brand-new undertakings, they pretend that they will have to fight fiercely against the dread ventures of the reactionaries. They announce that the Republic is in mortal danger from the existence of its irreconcilable enemies. They announce that the Republic must be saved. They call the Radicals to the rescue. In a moment the Radicals are there. It is all a piece of deceitful artifice, a stratagem that takes in nobody, but one which bears fruit. In reality the Right, the Parliamentary Right, is no more.

The Radicals have the majority ; they have it in the Chamber and in the Senate ; and they have it in such a way and to such a degree that they could rule the roost all by themselves, without any alliance with other parties, if they wished to, or if they knew how to wish to. But that is not in the least what they are at. By 'Radicals' we must understand something more than the Radicals proper and the old Moderates who have gradually turned into the Radicals of the hour. We must include two more groups, the Radical Socialists and the Independent Socialists. These two groups spring from a different ancestry although they have the same kind of outlook. The Radical Socialists are the Radicals of yesterday, who, afraid of seeming over pusillanimous, have tried to lend colour to their superannuated Radicalism by giving it a fashionable name and adding to their ancient title the flattering epithet of Socialist. In spite of which they remain nothing but Radicals, poor old Radicals, nervously anxious to be in the forefront and never to be taken for reactionaries ; yet in the end still nothing but Radicals, the same as any others. As for the Independent Socialists, they are, so to speak, the misfits of organised Socialism. Whether it is that the revolutionary excesses of Socialism have finally frightened them, or whether they have had other kinds of trouble with this difficult-tempered party, whether they have resigned, or whether they have been expelled, they have gone over to the Radicals although they keep the name of Socialists. Their independence need not delude us. They are simply Socialists who have turned out badly and have been adopted by the Radicals.

Such is the Radical party. It has now been in power for some ten years. It is still in power to-day, although the President of the Council calls himself a Socialist—an old-fashioned Socialist, of course, but one who has settled down into Radicalism in the most comfortable

way conceivable. On every side now, however, there is talk of a crisis in the Radical party. He himself has more than once confessed to uneasiness. What is it that is actually happening ?

It is an absurd story and it would be almost pathetic if it were not even funnier than it is sad. And here it is, in two words : now that the Radicals are masters, they have not got any programme at all ; they are strong enough to do what they want, only they have nothing now to do. There they stand, powerful, opulent, deplorable.

They once had a programme. They even succeeded in rousing a good deal of commotion round about their projects. At that time Radicalism was to transform this country, to animate it with unimaginable vitality. Well, it has all been done, and now that it has been done, we can attest that the Radical programme was purely and simply anti-clericalism. Yes, it was really nothing more. From the distance what did we not dream of ? And this is all. The politics of these arrogant innovators was inspired by hatred of the Catholic clergy and by hatred of whatever was spiritual. They came into power and they lost no time in going to work.

What have they achieved ? They have achieved anti-clericalism. In other words, they first attacked the regular clergy and then the secular. To begin with came the suppression of the religious Associations, next the separation of Church and State.

The suppression of the religious Associations is the work of the minister, Combes ; the separation of Church and State of the minister, Briand. Combes and Briand are the two great men of triumphant Radicalism. Significant gallants these—the one at the end of his career, the other at his zenith. Combes is a terrible old fellow. He, at all events, has not been a sceptic. But he has thus avoided the inconvenience of uncertainty, seeing that he possesses no more than one idea. This fact has preserved him from the fatal embarrassments of choice. Besides, the one idea in his possession was not one of these complicated, difficult, metaphysical ideas in which the intellect loses itself. Not at all. Frankly, old Combes detested monks and nuns. He had a horror of them, he execrated them. And his very simple plan was to suppress them. He gathered round this elementary idea every fanatic that he could find among the Radicals, the Socialists, among all the forces of the Left and the extreme Left. He was rabid, he was skilful and mischievous. Every means was fair that could help him to gain and keep his majority. He had it in his grasp. He sacrificed all else to his idea. He gave the War Office to his comrade, General André ; the Admiralty to his comrade, Pelletan ; these two, like himself, revelled in anti-clericalism and disorganised respectively the Army and the Navy. So the monks and the nuns were sent off ; the police and the military were despatched to the assault of the convents ; they forced locks, they scaled walls, they made an end of innocent and pious persons who had an inveterate habit of prayer and of devotion. Ridiculous successes, such as, in better days, would have

dishonoured Radicalism. Old Combes, by virtue of his fanatical obstinacy, had achieved his ends. France was emptied of monks and nuns. He is considered a very remarkable statesman. And he did, indeed, expend an amazing amount of energy; but it was expended in the service of a detestable cause and with all a sectarian's signal malevolence.

M. Briand is not quite of the same mould. He is another type of Radical politician. And he has only lately become a Radical. He has arrived at Radicalism as well as at a sort of relative wisdom. We knew him as a revolutionary Socialist, the vehement apostle of universal strikes and of anti-militarism, an internationalist, an advocate, in short, of the worst follies of the most advanced party. Intelligent he was, however. But hardly did he come into power than he modified his views—it must be owned to his advantage. He did so visibly. His dress improved. In the afternoon, frock-coats were noticeable; in the evening, his dress-coat was well-cut; his neckties were in good taste. His equipment was no longer that of the fanatic. In the days of his fanaticism his face was cut in two by a thick moustache which overspread his cheeks and turned into a bushy beard; as a minister, he took care to shave off this excessive growth and to leave only enough upon his upper lip to shade it with elegance. He presented the appearance of a man of the world. And his ideas underwent a like transformation. They grew tamer, more moderate. In fact, he was overtaken by the crisis that overtakes all revolutionaries who make up their minds to settle down. From the moment they own something to preserve the Conservative comes into them, and directly their position puts them in direct touch with reality they give up the impossible dreams of their phase of vehemence. M. Briand made his appearance as a kind of Radical. His measure of reform was the separation of Church and State—an ancient project of the Radical party.

And this, when all is said, is the balance-sheet of Radicalism. Its universal panacea was an anti-clerical programme; the two reforms that it boasted, the expulsion of the 'Religious' and the separation. These measures are now fulfilled. Whether for good or evil—and to my mind it is for evil—they have acquired the force of law.

As far as the Radical party goes, what remains then? Nothing.

Now let us give a glance at the wholly Socialist party. It is much smaller than that of the Radicals; it is composed of people who are, for the most part, very mediocre. Only—they possess a programme. From a parliamentary point of view their party is stamped by the character of one person—one of little intellectual value, but of great political influence—the Citizen Jaurès. This big, burly figure of a man, bearded, thick-haired, red-complexioned, gives you an instant impression of friendly vulgarity. He takes up a great deal of room because of his bodily dimensions, which are not those of the working or of the suffering

classes ; because, too, of his mobile exuberance. Of the South he is, with a southern accent ; hence a born orator, with a beautiful voice, warm in tone, and with a prodigious wealth of words that absolve him from expressing clear ideas. He talks and he talks, and phrases, metaphors, vindications, imprecations pour in unbroken floods from his wide-open mouth. Men admire him, he is well-pleased—and he goes on talking. When he ceases, one asks oneself why he does not continue to spout forth honied cascades of oratory, which, since they have no definite object, might just as well have no end. However, he soon begins again, for silence does not suit his nature which inclines to prolix gossip.

He comes from afar ; he comes from the Centre ; in old days he was moderate—very moderate—but that was at a time when the extreme Left was not in good odour. Since then, curiously weak-willed, he has allowed himself to be dragged more and more towards the Left, and now he is a hero among madmen. He has taken upon himself heavy responsibilities, which he bears gay-heartedly, because he is a man of a light and irreflective spirit.

He comes from afar. He comes from the *École Normale*. He is a man of culture. He had a good deal of success with the thesis for his degree which he submitted to the Sorbonne, a thesis concerning the reality of the external world as against the teaching of Berkeley and the idealists. He is a doctor—and hence at least some of his prestige amongst his illiterate circle. He is a great delinquent. He has stood surety for the craziest enthusiasts ; he is the patron of the worst theories. Before his advent, revolutionary absurdities had been openly classed among the perils which a government was bound to mistrust. It is he who, with his reputation as a philosopher, has lent them a kind of odious authority. True, the ministers of recent years have been piteously feeble about the dangerous organisation of Revolutionary Trade Unions. It was because they were pusillanimous ; it was also because the rabidness of the members of the Labour Confederation had assumed in their eyes an impressive appearance of ideology. And who lent it this flattering appearance ? None other than the Citizen Jaurès. He has been the indulgent friend of all the blatant riff-raff, of all the various sectaries of anarchy, who, safe and snug in their offices, organise, prepare, unchain revolutions. He opened the columns of his paper to them. He compromised himself that he might give them the advantages of his political impunity. He wanted them to profit by his eloquent renown and, as far as possible, by his Sorbonne diplomas, so that their elementary school follies should not appear too contemptible. At the same time, he encouraged them by his support, his protection, his agreement with them.

The Radicals, who rule us, begin to perceive the danger caused to the State by this general Confederation of Labour, which, under colour of care for the interests of the working-classes promotes a policy

of revolt. As a matter of fact they were obliged to revolt, even to shed blood, before they could acquire the right degree of distrust. Did they not see the Citizen Jaurès—on the one hand the omnipotent counsellor of the Combes ministry, on the other the comrade of the Confederation? The Citizen Jaurès has been the delusive intermediary between a legitimate government and a scandalous anarchy. It is under shelter of his ingenious sophisms that the greenhorn Radicals have hobnobbed without wanting to, without knowing it, with the Anarchists. And he himself—did he suspect that this was so? Only dimly. This sorry philosopher has, practically speaking, all the drawbacks of a jerry-builder of systems—or, rather (for if we study the theories of our sociologists, we shall not find that they contain a single idea which can be ascribed to him) an amateur of systems. He is ignorant of concrete reality; he has no notion of the effect of arguments rashly proffered to the mob; he never thinks of the detestable actions which will embody them; of the consequences, nay of the perversions, which will change them into crime. And that is why men of action, even the most stupid, make a great impression upon him.

He is timid, and he is afraid of growing more so. He does not dare set a bound to the number of his chimeras. He fears to be accused of cowardice in debate. And so he goes farther and farther, perhaps in the hope that he will not be asked to go farther still. He is asked and he goes.

It must be remembered what he was at the time of the Hervéist epidemic, when that inept citizen, Gustave Hervé, promulgated his criminal, his anti-patriotic insanities and proclaimed his desire to plant the flag of France on a dunghill. The Citizen Jaurès would have given much not to follow the formidable madman who was leading him. But he had no energy to resist, or to get away, and he allowed himself to be dragged onwards. All the same he himself was getting farther. Little by little, just as earlier in the day he had grown out of Moderate views and taken up smarter opinions, so now he let himself be pushed into Socialism, then into Collectivism, then into Revolutionary Trades-unionism—talking all the time and perorating, while each doctrine forced upon him was adorned in turn with his fine, redundant phrases.

This forward march he accomplished as men accomplish a retreat, because they lack courage. Being the sophist that he is, he does not know how to establish a definite, clear-cut line of demarcation between certain ideas and certain others; those on the one hand acceptable, those on the other not so. His powers of rhetoric and debate have furnished him with abundance of fine shades, shot-colours like those on the neck of a dove, colours such as were once the favourite symbol of the old Sceptics, colours which have served to help him pass from the one set of ideas to the other.

From tint to tint, he has come to the blood-red of the most savage

foes of the State. They use him as an advertisement, and they are right; for he it is who is their authoritative protector, their tutelary friend. Will he ever feel that it is not right to encourage fools in their folly, and that when doctrines become crimes, responsibility falls upon him who has extolled them—even as he has done by his babble, the chatter of a mandarin who has fallen into demagoguery?

And this is the great man of parliamentary Socialism. I do not say that he is the great master of Socialism; no, the absurd inanity of his doctrines puts him far below a real theoretician like Jules Guesde. But in the Chamber and among the intrigues of the daily life of politics, he is certainly the first of the Socialists. This predominant position is due to his extreme facility of speech; to his southern gift of the gab; to his middle-class tact which, at all events, has had a little elementary education. And if we are to put the right finishing touch to his portrait, we are bound to emphasise once more the eminent weakness of his character, the obligingness of his disposition, his moral and intellectual pusillanimity. And behind him what a band!—a band of screamers. They have ‘unified’ themselves; they have condemned to ‘Independence’ (which means, in plain terms, to Radicalism) whoever should refuse the vigorous discipline of the party. From that point of view they are strongly grouped; with disturbing energy they have built up a massive front. Their following, few in number but compact, is forcible in attack and solid in defence. They have not as yet been even shaken. They have a programme, which I need not here epitomise, but which is that of the working man’s anti-patriotic, anti-capitalistic Internationalism. They know no compromise and they are formidable.

Such is the situation of French party politics to-day. To sum up: a Right which no longer counts, an enormous Radical majority, a very resolute Socialist minority.

Thus situated, between an impotent Right and an extreme Left which cannot boast numbers on its side, the Radical party might govern. And in the absence of a Right which is almost crushed out, it might represent resistance—the indispensable resistance—to the Socialist minority. To tell truth, it would willingly do so. Since it has gained—and kept—power, it has not been slow to acquire certain comforts of existence which it would rather like to have the chance of enjoying. It is a good old party of parvenus, no longer of the age or in the humour for practical jokes, but quite disposed to take a pleasant rest. It is a middle-class party. It would be as happy as possible in dressing-gown and carpet slippers, twirling its thumbs round and round against the portly figure that it has made for itself.

Impossible! But why should it be impossible? There is a considerable party which, by degrees, has increased in the country and in Parliament, until it has formed an incontestable majority. It had a programme of republican reforms, of democratic education, of

systematic secularisation. It has realised its reforms. It is in power. Why, then, these measures being passed, cannot it govern this country under the republican and democratic and secular conditions which it has itself imposed? If the Radical programme were a good one, now that the Radical programme has fulfilled itself there would be nothing more to do than to live according to the principles of Radicalism triumphant. What could be more logical? And with the Radicals henceforth at rest, the country could take its repose. It badly needed repose. The reforms which have incessantly been forced down its throat have tired it; the Radical victory was not won without worrying it for a good quarter of a century. Then why on earth do not the Radicals, as well as the poor country, inaugurate a period of calm?

Because of those ominous Socialists. But the Socialists are in a minority. That is true, but it is a minority which is constantly increasing in power and one which must be mistrusted. And then—and then—the Radicals are cowardly. If they were not, they could govern in quiet; they could well resist the fanatics of the extreme Left. It would be their duty. But they are frightened. They feel that on their Left they have a young and ardent party, detesting them, free from any scruples, a party much like what they were themselves, they, the Radicals, some fifteen or twenty years ago. They ought to show a better front, and the threats of the Socialistic party ought to rouse their energy. But they are so lily-livered that they yield.

That is not all; they are, besides, the lamentable victims of a sophism which is corrupting the whole of French politics and which should be put in a clear light. This dangerous sophism consists in thinking that government means the fabrication of reforms. Our country, in the careless hands of its rulers, is like a fine majestic cathedral which, at some moment or other, stood in need of repairs. The repairs are finished—the cathedral can be let alone. Not at all. These good people cannot make up their minds to take away the scaffolding. They *must* produce repairs, and those for which they had drawn up an estimate once completed, they pull down something new so that they may still have work. They pull down parts of the noble building; they even pull down the repairs that they have just made. If they go on like this there will be nothing left of the cathedral—nothing but a horrid stonecutter's yard full of demented masons.

Of old, the word politics meant the overthrow of ministries. A cabinet fell every moment. These tumbles were the favourite form of exercise of, say, the Clémenceaus, until the moment when, grown old in their turn, they installed themselves snugly in power. Nowadays we have ministries that last for three years. And every one bears with them so long as they fabricate reforms.

Reforms, reforms! There seems no question of anything else; more especially no question of administering the country well and justly, according to its customs and its laws. The mass of voters has been gradually persuaded to advertise reforms. The Socialists loudly proclaim that reforms are not enough for them. They definitely want a revolution. They profess a splendid scorn of reforms. Meanwhile they live upon reforms; no sooner have they swallowed one dose than they ask for more.

And what, in the middle of all this, becomes of the Radicals? They are terribly bored. Even their great quandary would be amusing if it had not such grievous consequences for the country that they govern so badly. And this is the quandary: they are required to fabricate reforms. What reforms? They have none left. Those that were once inscribed upon their programme are all accomplished. Poor souls, they have no programme now.

But if this be really so, why do they not refuse to fabricate reforms? Short of a programme, have they not a majority? Alas! the poor souls are themselves convinced of the need of reforms. They share the general dizziness which has seized the politics of France. They, like the rest, believe that government means fabricating reforms. And after that? Well then, after that, they must fabricate Socialistic reforms, that is all.

This seems like a paradox, but it is the exact truth. We are indeed spectators at this strange, this ridiculous show. The Radicals have no worse enemies than the Socialists. And the Socialists are only bent upon taking the Radicals' place in full parliamentary sunshine. The Socialists hate them and laugh at them without pity. There is not a Socialistic meeting at which the Radical party is not turned into ridicule. As far as voting goes, the battle is waged by the Radicals on one side and the Socialists on the other. It is a raging battle, of vital import to the Radicals. The Socialists cannot cease to treat the Radicals as enemies. They dream of destroying, of supplanting them. The Radicals, for their part, cannot cease to hate the Socialists. First of all for the reason I have just urged, and, besides that, because the Socialists' principles are, by their nature, antipathetic to the Radical character. The Radicals are, in general, opulent middle-class men, or at all events men in easy circumstances; they experience no need to share their possessions. They have made themselves a very agreeable nest under present social conditions, and they do not feel the slightest desire to see the upheaval of a society which, however imperfect, is pleasant and generous to themselves. They are no longer, as they once were, the champions of disorder; they do not want to let anarchy turn everything around them topsy-turvy. In short—and this at least is to their credit—they are not anti-patriotic. Some among their chiefs once belonged to the Gambettist group, and they still keep a little—a very little—of the nationalistic fervour that

inspired their master. To them, the internationalism of the Socialists is really an object of disgust. Such appears to be the keen and mutual hostility between the Socialists and the Radicals. In spite of which the Radicals spend their time in bringing in Socialistic reforms. It seems absurd, but it is so.

The most recent of the Radical ministries have devoted their zeal to four measures of reform: the purchase of the railways, old-age pensions, the income-tax, and the organisation of Revolutionary Trade Unions.

These four measures are eminently socialistic, as I shall now try to show.

The purchase of the railways represents the first attempt of the State to lay hands upon the larger kind of industry. Our various railway lines have hitherto been exploited by private companies. But the State has now got hold of the *Ouest* and has an eye on the other companies. A natural outcome of socialistic tyranny. And why do the Socialists want the railways to belong to the State? They are the thin end of the wedge. After the railways will come the mines, and then the rest. What all this makes for is the suppression of private industries and their conversion into industries of the State. Instances abound to show that the State, in France at least, is never a good employer of labour. What does that matter? Universal 'Statization,' as they call it, is the especial aim of the Socialists. So the Radicals, against their own principles and according to those of the Socialists, have inaugurated industrial 'Statization.'

As for old-age pensions, they mean that the State takes charge of aged working men. The State, then, puts itself in the place of individual foresight and of private charity.

The income-tax also brings nothing but perpetual State intervention in personal affairs. It is a form of administrative harrying raised to the level of a regular institution. The State must needs get to know the capitalised fortune and the annual earnings of each of its citizens. Our daily avocations must, forsooth, be submitted to the investigations of the tax-collector. An employer of labour is interested in concealing the fluctuations of his business—the moment's rise or fall in his profits. The system cried up by the Socialists and clumsily adopted by the Radicals will inevitably end by trammelling and hindering private enterprise. But, after all, that is just what the Socialists want, for when private industry shall have become impossible, the State will become the universal employer of labour. The taxing of income and the purchase of the railways thus prove to be two kindred processes tending towards the same end—the seizure by the State of all the fruitful initiative of a country—the conversion of labour into a State monopoly. And as far as individuals are concerned, the secret intention of our Socialism is the same; the income-tax puts them under direct supervision from the State, just

as old-age pensions make over their old age to the State. And after the old people, the State will lay hands on the children. The adults, through the revolutionary trade-union system, are already subject to a definitely Socialistic organisation.

It is just this policy of Revolutionary Trade Unions which has best enabled us to watch the imprudent Radicals play the game of the Socialists without knowing it. It was their vote which brought in the law creating Trade Unions. There was, it was then said, no question of anything but professional associations which, by means of a lawful exercise of the right to strike, could take in hand the corporate interests of working-men. For the rest, the law did not authorise any federation of these associations and, besides, it reserved the right to form Trade Unions only for certain kinds of employee. The Socialists accepted what was given them, sure as they were of getting more. And that was what happened; without waiting for permission from the law, the Revolutionary Trade Unions bound themselves ever closer one to the other, until they formed that alarming asset of the Labour party, the general Confederation of Labour, which more than once has checkmated the public safety. And, next to legal Unions were added illegal ones, the Unions of civil servants for example. The law was precise enough on this point. It forbade public officials the right to belong to Trade Unions—a right which, as its natural corollary, would also bring the right to strike. The law was justified; the strike of the State officials brought with it the sudden interruption of the public service. It was proved but too clearly the other day, when the post and telegraph office functionaries refused to work. For some time France found herself cut off from the whole world, without any possible means of communication. Imagine what it would have been if, in the middle of these doings, war had broken out. France would have been invaded and, tied hand and foot, would have been delivered over to whosoever had a mind to take her. For in spite of law, Trade Unions of officials actually exist, with the knowledge and within sight of the State; they are not even careful to disguise themselves, and they go so far as to act in public with singular violence and with revolutionary exasperation. A sovereign affirmation of the Socialistic will. And what did the Radicals do to suppress this movement? Armed with the law—their law—did they demolish that hearth of insurrection, the general Confederation of Labour? Far from it. They were, on the contrary, observed to be most indulgent towards it, most kind and most paternal. Need we be astonished? When the Radical, M. Clémenceau, became Prime Minister, he hastened to appoint a Labour Minister; and whom did he choose? The Citizen Viviani, a colleague of the Citizen Jaurès, a Unified Socialist, the comrade, the benevolent counsellor of the members of the Confederation. Armed with the law—their law—did the Radicals at any rate put an end to those civil servants' Unions

which are such a terrible danger? Far from it. On the contrary, they, so to speak, acknowledged them. When the strike of the post and telegraph Office was in full swing, M. Clémenceau, President of the Council, received a deputation from their Union. They presented themselves officially, as the delegates of an illegal Union, and they were received as such. After that, what hinders them from imposing their wills? The civil servants' Unions enjoy an illicit but solid existence, according to the Socialists' desire and with the flaccid acquiescence of the Radicals.]

Thus it is that I may hope to have established the statement that I made some pages back, that France is governed by the Radicals. True, but by a queer kind of Radicals, who make for nothing but Socialism; or, in other words, the politics of this country are fashioned by the Socialist minority.

It is a serious matter. To prove that it is not so serious, the optimists assert that the Socialist party is not the party of disorder. Does not Socialism present itself as the doctrine of social organisation, and ought not Socialism to be regarded as the exact opposite of anarchy?

Certainly—theoretically speaking; but practically speaking—no. At all events not in France. It is easy enough to be convinced of this if one thoroughly examines the attitude assumed in these last few years by the man whom I have pointed out as the parliamentary representative of Unified Socialism, the Citizen Jaurès. I have shown him moving ever further to the Left, till at length he has made common cause with the leaders of Revolutionary Unionism, with the anti-patriots and the insurrectionists of the Confederation of Labour. He is the friend of the Anarchists. When all is said, those who see him form the like alliances can hardly refrain from branding French Socialism with the name of the party of disorder.

The Citizen Jaurès—and with him the whole of Unified Socialism—has a tendency which makes itself unfortunately felt in French politics to-day. I shall call it the fear of not looking advanced enough. I leave out the few members of the Right who encamp themselves inside their own ideas and never budge from them. This haughty obstinacy of theirs makes them keep apart and they have not any influence. But the rest, all the rest, of them migrate more and more towards the Left. Think of all the Moderates who are turning Radicals, of all those Radicals of yesterday who think it indispensable to add the epithet of the moment to their title, and who, motley-wise, call themselves Radical Socialists; of all the Radicals of every description who bring in, or vote for, Socialistic reforms; and, finally, of all the Socialists who work for the Anarchists of the Confederation. It is the same sentiment which induces a Cochery, once a Moderate and a colleague of M. Méline, to take office in the Cabinet of the Socialist, or, if you would rather, the Radical, Briand; which impels a Radical Clémenceau

to form a Ministry which does not exclude Socialists; or a Unified Socialist, Jaurès, to flirt with the Confederation of Labour. If we examined in detail the biographies of our principal politicians, we should find that they were like the nomads who wandered from country to country driving their flocks before them, never staying in one place and never retracing their steps. Our politicians have travelled after this fashion, as forgetful of last night's opinions as pastoral tribes are of the encampments they have forsaken. Thus they have moved on towards the West—I mean towards the Left—more or less quickly, some of them very agile, others dawdling behind. But, leaders or laggards, they will nearly all of them get as far as the last confines of the lowest demagoguery.

What is the matter with them? What strange fascination compels them? Or are they the dupes of a mirage, these light-minded travellers, unembarrassed by the baggage of their convictions? Or are they the prey of some contagious form of lunacy? Or are they giving in to the puerile vagaries of morbid intellectual snobbishness? No man can say. But they march on and hordes follow them. Whither will they be led, these poor hordes of imbeciles who have started on such a dangerous journey?

There is not a single manifestation of human activity which cannot be referred to a philosophy, even if, maybe, the active force that has been spent knows nothing of it, and has never formulated its principles—has never even thought of them at all. As for our politicians, it would be flattering and fruitless to question them about the conception of the world in which they put their faith. Alas! Yet without their wishing, without their suspecting it, what they do supposes some doctrine. Let us try to disentangle this doctrine, and let us ask ourselves what it is worth, both intrinsically and from a practical point of view.

I should not like to offend the memory of Heraclitus by inflicting such disciples upon him, but their perpetual motion is, doubtless, to be referred to some philosophy of development. 'Everything is motion,' said the great dreamer, and he would not admit that anything could ever stand still. His Cosmos knew no more rest than does the society now led by such idealism as belongs to our politicians. Only Heraclitus's development theory has a quality too purely metaphysical to allow of our statesmen's minds following it. Their philosophy is more like evolution. As far as that goes, I should dislike offending the great Darwin as much as I should dislike offending Heraclitus, but then Darwin, the most cautious of men, would have detested the idea of evolution which they have so chaotically adopted. They have terribly misinterpreted evolution and they take Darwin's name in vain.

This neo-Darwinism—we had rather say this pseudo-Darwinism—has had the worst, the least legitimate influence upon the political

ideas, still more upon the methods and social credulity of the day. If it be granted that human societies are constantly evolving, the friends of perpetual change will find in this admission a great deal of encouragement for their fad. They are wrong, because evolution follows slow and modest curves that by no means authorise the jerky agitations of these hurried individuals. All the same, nobody will ever succeed in holding in a keen-minded 'bounder,' who takes undue but energetic advantage of this universal evolution.

If it be admitted that evolution brings itself about by the lucky occurrence of 'happy accidents,' then we have the philosophic—or so-called philosophic—basis of an undaunted optimism. Our mob agitators will feel that every one of their actions, even the most brutal, helps on general progress and champions a beneficent evolution. They would anyhow agitate in all directions; now they will agitate still more. This optimism may truly be regarded as one of the dangers of the hour. It excites the revolutionaries—good people upon whom a little pessimism would act as a wholesome sedative.

Inspired by so much hope, our masters, the pseudo-Darwinists, are not content to look on at the continuous evolution of social institutions. They claim to help it forward. They are afraid that, without them, things will not go quick enough. They are pessimists, even to excess, as far as the actual present is concerned. All their optimism is invested in the future. Hence their great sense of haste—for they are in a desperate hurry. Bad philosophers that they are, they invoke the inevitable efficacy of a natural law and imagine that to its rigorous, its fatal action, they can presume to add the caprice of their poor personal initiative.

If, too, it be admitted that the regular mechanical evolution of to-day brings with it certain forms of existence which, by virtue of a stringent necessity, replace such other old forms of existence as have speedily been dismissed as superannuated, the result must inevitably be that many things still seaworthy, still valiant, and even, maybe, useful, are relegated by our 'men of progress' to the dead past. Our Socialists show incredible facility in condemning as archaic all ideas that do not agree with their own, and in declaring them retrograde and antiquated. All this is absurdity itself. If the doctrine of evolution, as interpreted in scandalous and innocent bad faith, did not pledge our politicians to look upon everything outside their own dream of the moment as merely a piece of the dead past, one could easily imagine that a people, or its intelligent representatives, might search the amassed experience of that past for the forms of existence, the processes of government and general means of adaptation that have yielded the best results, and that they would reinstate them for new uses. But with our pseudo-Darwinists this is quite impossible! If some one happens to speak favourably to them of anything that is not their vague Utopia, you would think that they were holding a colloquy

with some fossil from a region far, far away from ours—some deep-down region that our own soil has covered up and buried for good and all.

A capitalistic society—of the past. Every tax that is not the 'progressive' income-tax—of the past. The army, the navy, all that national organisation which constitutes national expenditure—of the past. And the future? It is International Collectivism. Could anything be simpler?

These people live wholly in the future. And so they must, of course, invent a future. This is what, with imperturbable imagination, they effect. But their dream, it must be owned, is a little wanting in clearness. There are times when the Citizen Jaurès is asked to be so kind as to trace his plan of that City of the Future whither he desires to lead us. The request is legitimate. Since he demands that we should sacrifice all our present to his hypothesis, he owes it to us to tell us exactly to what it is that we are making this extraordinary burnt-offering. But on that point our embarrassed prater is silent. His dream of the future merely consists of the opposite to what displeases him to-day. He and his are never even asked if they know whether this 'opposite' is practicable. For instance, they have a horror of religion, of inequality, of patriotism, and so the City of the Future will be exempt from any religion; and by that I do not mean from such and such a particular creed, but exempt from any idealism whatever. In the City of the Future all men will be equal; indeed, they will not only be equal—so they hope—but alike. And last, not least, the City of the Future will have no frontiers.

It is easy enough to decide all that. But an arbitrary assertion does not imply warranted reality. And, in point of fact, history impels us to see that no human society can flourish without some form of idealism. Will there be any in the future? No man knows. But what makes me think there will be none, is the evidence that I cannot help seeing that the apostles of this future, the Socialists, are the most religious of men. They persecute the Christians and affect to despise all the Churches; but yet, in their ideal of the future, they show a kind of mystic confidence. They adore a great and vague mystery—vague and just a little foolish.

For, whatever be proclaimed concerning the equality of all men, no one can prevent them from being unequal. Caste has been abolished; now men are making-believe to abolish class into the bargain; they are also drawing up superb declarations of individuality. But individualities are unequal in strength, in beauty, in skill, in genius. We may deplore this truth; we cannot help it. Has the Citizen Jaurès found an equal among the crowd that follows at his heels? If he should find one, he would be ruined. He might argue that this is so now, but that it will not be so hereafter. Hereafter? Who knows about 'hereafter'?—and meanwhile the solid fact is there.

And it is a fact, too, that countries with frontiers exist. They threaten each other ; nor can I note a single sign which allows me to imagine that even in Europe there will be a slackening of national desires. We have a Peace party in France, larger than I should wish. Where can they see such promise of universal benignity as would authorise them to disarm their country ? There were in Europe two great pillars of the Peace party : the Czar of Russia and our Radical Government. Hardly had the Czar assembled his amicable Congress at the Hague when Japan forced him into a war from which Russia is still bleeding. And our Radical Government brought us within two inches of a war with Germany which might have been fraught with disaster.

What is the conclusion ? That the politics of to-day in France have lost all equilibrium. Of the two opposed forces which should counter-balance one another, if the nation is to enjoy the tranquil social condition which results from an equal contest, the one, the principle of resistance, is reduced to nothing. And so our country allows itself to be dragged heedlessly towards the mystery of an undetermined future. It takes a dizzy course ; nor dare we feel confident that its end will not be the gulf of death.

Blinded by their vision of Utopia, our masters have lost the simple notion of concrete realities, of those imperious circumstances, those inevitable conditions in the midst of which all must dwell, nations as well as individuals.

ANDRÉ BEAUNIER.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS WITH OUR INDIAN FELLOW-SUBJECTS

AT a time when the thoughts of numberless English people are turned towards our great Indian Empire, and the many problems connected with its government, it has occurred to me to record some of my impressions of its people, acquired by no globe-trotting visit of a few weeks, but by a prolonged sojourn among them of twenty-one years.

During that period—nearly a quarter of a century—I have seen many changes, *not* all for the better, and I have had ample opportunities for studying the character of our Indian fellow-subjects, both men and women. It gives me very great pleasure to be able to say how much I have learned to appreciate their many fine qualities, and how earnestly I shall always hope for the spread of true enlightenment and progress among the varied peoples which go to make up the stupendous total of population.

It may be urged by some unthinking persons that the opinions and impressions of a mere woman can be of little value or importance on such a subject, but, on the principle of the old proverb that 'lookers on see most of the game,' I think it may be conceded as possible, not to say probable, that such impressions may be of great value, just from the fact that they are necessarily non-official and therefore unbiassed, and also that they are the opinions of a woman who loves the land and its people and who will ever have their true welfare and advancement at heart.

My insistence on the word *true*, in connexion with the words advancement and welfare, is the result of a deep conviction that much of the so-called advancement of the present day in India is utterly untrue and false, and hopelessly inimical to the best interests of the people. There can be no progress worthy of the name where education so often consists in cramming the minds of students with a quantity of undigested facts, merely to enable them to pass examinations. Such items of information are like freshly picked-up grains of wheat in the crop of a pigeon: of no use, for purposes of nourishment, until they have been assimilated and absorbed into the system. This process, like all Nature's methods, takes time, in *both* cases, but

this is just what the Hindu student of to-day will *not* pause to consider. As soon as he has acquired a little raw knowledge he is filled with a beautiful belief in his own transcendent powers, and is too often ready to throw off all restraint, or submission to discipline and authority, and to embark in any crazy scatterbrained scheme, at the suggestion of some older fellow-student, or some self-seeking revolutionary anxious to secure a following, whose cry of 'Swadesh' and 'Swaraj' *sounds* very alluring but is in truth no more than a snare and a delusion.

On all who have studied the East, her splendid history, literature, and traditions, this attitude of the youth of the day must produce a very saddening effect, for it is entirely opposed to that spirit of conservatism for which the East is so remarkable. All true education should primarily consist of the building up and development of nobility of character, rather than the mere acquiring of facts. It is the assimilation and application of knowledge which alone can make a man wise, and it was just this great truth which was so thoroughly understood by Eastern sages and philosophers centuries ago, before the countries of Europe were even in their infancy! To grow wise after *their* fashion meant many years of deep thought and patient study, especially of Nature's inscrutable problems, but the wisdom they attained was something very real and magnificent, not the unsatisfactory smattering acquired by a few years in the schools.

Just the same sort of difference, in fact, to borrow a metaphor, which lies between cheap (and nasty) furniture made of unseasoned pine, covered with a thin veneer of rosewood or walnut to give it a fictitious appearance of respectability, and furniture made of solid seasoned mahogany, or the teak and blackwood for which India is so justly famed. In the first case the wood will warp from damp, or crack from heat, or break under any strain, proving itself utterly valueless and unworthy of having ever been manufactured; in the second case, not only does it fulfil its mission of usefulness, but its fine curves or splendid carving add beauty to the dwelling, and it will resist the wear and tear of time, indeed its value will increase with age.

Even so is the difference between spurious and *real* education of the mind, and I have often longed to be able to preach this gospel to the youth of India. If only they properly valued and studied the heritage of learning bequeathed to them by their own sages, and that other equally great heritage of arts and manufactures, what peace and content would reign in the land instead of the present spirit of unrest and discontent, so greatly to be deplored by those who love India!

Another painful sign of the times for the intelligent observer is the decline of good manners, for which the Oriental *used* to be so remarkable, and the gradual losing of respect for old age, which was,

and in theory still is, inculcated in every Hindu child by its parents from the time it is old enough to be taught anything.

The Urdu (or Hindustani) word for old man is 'Buddha,' but the word possesses the double meaning of 'the wise one,' which in itself illustrates the status of old age, according to Hindu tradition. Unfortunately of late years Hindu fathers and mothers complain that the spirit of reverence for age is gradually dying out, and it is a tendency to be deeply regretted. This is an age of glorification of youth, but such a doctrine is bound to lead to disastrous results, in India especially, and I for one should welcome a revival of the old spirit of reverence.

Happily I do not believe that the evil has gone very deep as yet, because according to my observation (and I have known many hundreds of homes) the most beautiful thing one meets with in India is the peace and unitedness of Hindu home life. Where there is deep affection between parents and children there cannot be any *intentional* want of respect, though I admit that carelessness in little matters is the thin end of the wedge which may eventually weaken the bonds which hold the family together. The generosity of natives to their poor relations, though often misplaced, is well known to all who have lived in India, and is very wonderful.

One of the principal causes of this admirable unity of Hindu homes is religion. The Hindus of either sex are naturally deeply religious, almost every act of their daily life having some religious significance, and however much we differ from them in point of belief, we cannot but admire the simplicity and reality of the religious spirit with which they are so deeply imbued. Although this is peculiarly true of Hindus, yet a large number of Mahommedans are also deeply religious and devout in their observances. Such a thing as feeling ashamed of performing an act of worship at its appointed time, say midday, or sunset, because of the presence of strangers, would be literally unknown. It is this remarkable absence of self-consciousness or *mauvais honte* that gives to all worshippers in the East a special dignity which commands our genuine respect.

Another noticeable and most excellent trait of the peoples of India is their love of children; which is shown by habitual kindness and gentle patience with *all* children—their own, or the children of the Sahib, it is all one to them. In all my long experience I have only met with a few exceptions, and those were chiefly criminal cases where some poor child had been murdered for the sake of its jewellery—the fond but foolish parents not realising until too late that to deck a small and helpless child with valuable silver, or even in some cases gold ornaments, is a direct incentive to crime.

During eighteen years of married life in India I have never ceased to be surprised at the amount of affectionate devotion shown to my own children, not merely by ayahs and bearers (their own personal

attendants) but by stalwart soldiers or police sepoyes, who still send loving greetings and remembrances to the *Baba-lig*, after many years of absence. It was thanks to this wonderful devotion that many English children's lives were saved in the Mutiny.

This brings me to another splendid quality inherent in the Indian character—loyalty. The history of the people has shown this over and over again, both in the earlier times of Mogul conquests of India, and in later times, since the establishment of the British Raj. It is a matter of history that during those terrible months of siege and struggle outside Delhi there were more Indians than English in the army encamped on the Ridge. England's tribute to the loyalty shown to us in those dark days has been eloquently voiced by Tennyson in *The Defence of Lucknow* :

Praise to our Indian brothers, and let the dark face have his due !
Thanks to the kindly dark faces who fought with us, faithful and few,
Fought with the bravest among us, and drove them, and smote them,
and slew,
That ever upon the topmost roof our banner in India blew.

India has enjoyed peace since '57, it is true, but our frontier campaigns (Chitral, Tirah, &c.) have often given our fine Indian troops opportunities of showing their loyalty by splendid acts of heroism and daring, which have proved them to be worthy descendants of their martial ancestors. The loyalty of our Indian police force also is unquestionable, and in a smaller way our Indian servants of both sexes have often shown, by long years of devoted service to their English masters, that the spirit of faithfulness is still very much alive.

We hear a great deal in these days of 'unrest, and discontent,' and the causes are not far to seek. The chief cause is undoubtedly the failure of many semi-educated young men to obtain clerical posts under Government, that goal being the *only one* on which the Hindu student fixes his eyes when embarking on a scholastic career. Now herein lies the crux of the whole question. Why does not the Hindu student, with the vast storehouse of his own country lying before him, with all its treasures of philosophy, martial prowess, architecture, arts and manufactures, turn his attention to these things instead of crowding into the schools to acquire what is in many cases a second-rate English education, with the sole aim of spending his life in ill-paid quill-driving ?

It is not given to the majority in this world to *excel*, no matter *what* their nationality ; therefore, in the natural order of things, it is only the *few* who rise in India, by sheer dint of merit, to positions of trust and eminence under Government. Those who do, are almost invariably men who have gone to England to complete their course of study, and whose education is consequently very thorough ; doubly equipped by ability and training, these gentlemen may and do rise to be excellent and efficient officials, *i.e.* judges, district magistrates,

engineers, forest officers, and so on ; I have known and esteemed many, but in comparison with the thousands who leave the schools yearly their number is very few. For the majority of Hindu English-speaking students the only career open is a clerical one, which includes barristers and Vakils, and this is just the fundamental mistake they make, encouraged and fostered unfortunately by our educational system, wholly or at any rate *largely* unsuited as it is to the needs of the people.

With the very best intentions in the world for the welfare of India and her teeming millions, the British Government has somehow failed entirely to understand the inward spirit of the East—slow-moving, dignified, wise and majestic, as symbolised by the elephant. Consequently the Government schools have been literally a curse and not a blessing, and we have chiefly ourselves to thank for the present unsatisfactory state of things. Is it to be supposed that an education which may be admirable and in every way suited for the youth of England must necessarily be equally good or all that is needed for the youth of India ? Certainly *not* ; it is like giving strong meat to babes, and this is where we have made our stupendous mistake.

The education given in Government schools is a replica of that given in England, hardly any attempt having been made to adapt it in any way to suit the Oriental mind. The immediate result for those who have eyes to see has been that the youth of India are inoculated with the European fever of haste and push, quite opposed to the spirit of the East ; their charming natural dignity and good manners have proportionately declined, until now they are only to be met with occasionally in the individual and no longer in the bulk of the youthful population.

One outward and visible sign of the inward change of spirit is the alteration in dress. Instead of the graceful, dignified puggree or turban, than which nothing could be more becoming to the Oriental, the scholars of India have largely taken to wearing a hideous little flat cap, mean and insignificant-looking, which detracts very much from the appearance of the wearer. At the same time the characteristic flowing white garments of the Hindu have been largely replaced by coats and trousers, not exactly European in cut, but resembling them in type.

The obvious reason for this alteration in dress is that the new garments can be put on in a moment, another concession to the demon of haste, whereas the puggree, dhotar and other Eastern articles take a long time to arrange, especially the puggree. This headdress is particularly interesting to all who make a study of Indian manners and customs, as the caste and race of the wearer may be told immediately by little differences in its shape and arrangement ; for example, the Brahmin or priest, the bania or merchant, the kunb or peasant, the stately Sikh of the Punjab, the stalwart Mussalman,

the Pathan, the swarthy Madrassi, and many others too numerous to mention. But, since the introduction of the changes I have referred to, it has become extremely difficult to distinguish between the various castes, as represented by their younger members. The net result of the change will be gradually to wipe out some of the most interesting and distinctive features of Indian life, notably the ingrained artistic perceptions of the people, so well shown by their varied and picturesque dress.

India's architecture (as shown by stately palaces, majestic fortresses, imposing mosques, and graceful Hindu and Jain temples) is world-famed and absolutely unique. Lord Curzon, when Viceroy, fully appreciated this fact, and it is thanks to his unremitting zeal, and in many cases lavish personal expenditure on the rescue and restoration of many buildings and temples, that India's monuments are to-day in such a marvellous state of preservation.

The land is full of art treasures, ornate carvings, both in stone and wood, wrought brass, jewelled daggers with damascened blades, wonderful inlaid armour and arms of all kinds, splendid carpets, rich embroideries, silks of rainbow hues, quaint and rare jewels, fairy-like silverwork, lacquered wood, enamel on silver, elaborate beadwork, gold-embroidered gauze veils, gossamer muslins; and *yet* with all this glorious heritage of beauty, not to mention literature, the youth of India have but one thought—to rush to the schools and there acquire a mediocre English education!

How are these beautiful arts to be kept up and perpetuated if the sons of the country no longer give their lives to this most honourable service? Is it not more meritorious to utilise the Heaven-sent artistic gifts, with which Eastern peoples are so richly endowed, in the production of lovely things which will add to the world's treasures, than to spend their lives in the dull monotony of the Courts or in quill-driving in Government offices?

In my opinion the true spirit of patriotism or 'Swadeshi,' to give it its modern name, should be shown in the due and thankful recognition of the great legacies bequeathed to the country by its ancestors, and the proud determination not to let those wonderful arts and crafts I have mentioned die out (as they are fast doing, be it remembered) for want of devoted apprentices eager to follow in the footsteps of the master-workers who have gone before.

Herein would lie the real remedy for discontent. We know that 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do'; give those hands suitable employment, for which they are so eminently fitted by heredity and tradition, and there would be no longer any time or thought left to spare for the devil's work, viz. the manufacture of bombs, the hatching of sedition, and the murderous use of firearms!

During my many years in India, I took the keenest interest in the manufactures of the country, and I never lost an opportunity of

inquiring for⁷ and going to see the native productions of the towns or villages through which we passed during our cold-weather tours. Over and over again I have been saddened and grieved to learn that some native industry which used to flourish had either ceased entirely or declined almost to a vanishing point, because the sons, instead of following their father's occupation, had departed to Bombay, or some other metropolis, to acquire book-learning, the inevitable result being that they would eventually help to swell the ranks of young men eager to secure employment under Government, in the usual capacity of clerks and accountants.

To give an example of what I mean, I will recount one particular instance. During the month of February 1908 we spent about ten days in the historically interesting town of Surat, on the River Tapti, in Guzerat. As usual, I immediately inquired about the native manufactures, knowing by hearsay that the ivory and sandalwood carving and inlay-work of Surat were justly famous throughout India. Having been given the names of various celebrated artisans by the police inspector, Mr. Naoroji Gustadji, I started off with him one morning on a tour of investigation, as I have always made a point of seeing the work carried on in its usual surroundings, in the houses of the workmen.

After a walk of some length we at last arrived at that quarter of Surat in which the ivory and wood carvers reside. I may mention incidentally that this is one of the most attractive features of Indian towns—each street or quarter is devoted to certain trades and manufactures, such as the copper and brass street, the jewellers and silversmiths street, the cloth and silk merchants street, the flower and perfume street, and many others.

I was received at the entrance of the house by the proprietor, a patriarchal looking old gentleman and pretty wealthy, as he was in the front rank of his profession. He escorted me upstairs to his 'atelier' with all the graceful Eastern courtesy that one seldom fails to receive from the *older* generation in India, and a few minutes later I was sitting almost spellbound with admiration surrounded by some of the most beautiful specimens of ivory and sandalwood carving that I had ever seen. The exquisite delicacy of the ivory work in particular was such as to make it hard to believe that it could have been made by human and not fairy fingers, but the dear old gentleman proved to me by demonstration that it was indeed his handiwork, for at my request he sat down and went on working at a lovely carved-ivory box which he was making to order for some English countess.

Carried away by my enthusiasm I cheerfully began to explain that I should like a smaller box for myself, when luckily the voice of prudence suggested my inquiring the price of the box 'under construction'; judge of my surprise when I learnt that its cost would be 1000 rupees, about 65*l.*, in English money (including gold feet and handles).

Needless to say I refrained from ordering a box for myself, at any rate until I had had the luck to win the Calcutta Derby Sweep! I spent about an hour in this fascinating upper room, examining finished specimens of work and also watching with keen interest some half-dozen artisans engaged in the work at all its different stages. I asked my host if his own sons had inherited his artistic gifts, and was genuinely horrified when he said with great pride that his son was going to England to study, as he wished to become a barrister or Vakil. Evidently he thought that his son had 'chosen the better part,' but I did not agree with him and said so. I was of the opinion that it would have been more in accordance with the fitness of things if the son had succeeded his father in the artistic career which had been so distinguished.

This is merely one out of many instances which have occurred in my own experience in India, where the sons, in every class of the population, have made no effort to learn the parent's trade or calling, and thereby cultivate the inherited instinct or artistic faculty, but have thrown over the family tradition and rushed to join the vast army of scribes.

It is not merely with the artisans and manufacturers that this is the case, but also with soldiers and farmers. I have often been told, when visiting some Zemindar (farmer) or Subedar (native officer) that the sons, small or big, were desirous of learning English and becoming clerks or Vakils. I have repeatedly urged that it would be far better for the sons to follow the honourable calling of the fathers, but my advice usually fell on deaf ears. They seemed to think that by doing clerical work, in however humble a post, they were going to *rise in the social scale*, and this is just the mistaken idea which *has* to be eradicated if India is once more to enjoy freedom from unrest and discontent.

Now I venture to think that a fundamental change may be effected in this respect (though it will be a slow process) by Government setting the seal of its approval and encouragement on arts and crafts, through the length and breadth of the land, and *discouraging* the silly belief, almost amounting to fetish worship, in the power of the pen!—that miserable *ignis fatuus* which has lured on so many thousands of young Indian lads to the unhappy swamps of 'unemployment,' where they fall victims to the lurking reptiles who are waiting to instil the poison of anarchy and sedition into their ears.

Let the Educational Department counteract this growing evil by immediately introducing technical classes in connexion with all Government schools. The erection of expensive buildings is totally unnecessary, as existing class-rooms might be utilised and the only expenditure entailed would be the salaries of first-class artisan teachers of the various arts and crafts, and the money for prizes and scholarships, to be bestowed for really first-class productions by the apprentice

students. These prizes would prove an incentive to the boys to take full advantage of the tuition, and they would be still further encouraged to develop their artistic faculties by the frequent visits of district officers to note progress, and by annual exhibitions of the various articles manufactured by the boys.

It is essential that a very high standard of artistic workmanship should be insisted on, for it is a well-known and established fact (known by all those who understand the subject) that Indian art and work have greatly deteriorated of late years. I have repeatedly searched in vain for good modern work, up to the standard which was ordinary some thirty or forty years ago, and the workmen have told me themselves that they cannot do work so good as the specimens shown. Now this is nonsense ; there is no special reason why they should be *unable* to do as good work as their fathers and grandfathers, except that they have grown careless and no longer take the same pride in the craft as their ancestors. Let that proper pride be revived by the marked encouragement of Government and a happier *régime* would be inaugurated.

When we were in Sind we knew and esteemed most highly a Government officer named Mr. Khadidad Khan—a Pathan gentleman of very high birth, domiciled in India. He was a Deputy Collector and his particular hobby was the establishment of technical schools in all parts of Sind ; I have paid many pleasant visits to these establishments and have watched the boys, all working in the most cheery and keenly interested way at their lathes and wood-carving, &c. Greatly interested as I was at the time, I did not then fully appreciate Mr. Khadidad Khan's far-sighted wisdom in thus advocating strenuously the principle of developing the inherent tastes of the boys. I now realise that this remarkable man had with unerring instinct put his finger on the really weak spot in our educational system, and was endeavouring to supply a rational remedy. I am glad to think that Government warmly approved of his ideas and gave him every support ; indeed I believe I am right in saying that the decoration of C.I.E. was conferred on him in recognition of his services in regard to these same technical schools.

This gentleman subsequently went to the native state of Khairpur, in Sind, having been given special permission by the British Government to act as Wazir to the ruler. I am sorry to say he died suddenly while there, and his poor wife never recovered from the shock of her husband's death, dying soon after. This lady was a personal friend of my own, and I was genuinely grieved to hear of her sad end. She was a high-born Pathan lady, quite the most beautiful, charming, and refined native lady I have ever known, and she made a lasting impression on my mind—for she embodied all my early dreams of Eastern grace and loveliness.

One great cause of our friendship was the fact that she was able

to converse with me in Urdu (or Hindustani) with perfect ease, which is a very exceptional circumstance according to my experience. This brings me to the one insurmountable obstacle in the path of every Englishwoman who desires to know more of her Indian sisters : I mean the barrier of language. I can speak Hindustani fluently, but it has been of little use in the zenanas and homes of India which I have visited, as the ladies, almost invariably, were only able to talk the local vernacular of the district in which they lived, *e.g.* in Poona and the Deccan generally—Marathi ; in Guzerat—Guzerati ; in Sind—Sindhi ; in Kanara—Kanarese ; in Baroda and Kathiawar—Guzerati, and all these examples are in the Bombay Presidency alone. If I were to go on to the rest of India I could greatly add to the list ; but these few will suffice to explain my meaning.

Some years ago Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, the authoress, made some very misleading and groundless accusations against her countrywomen in India, which roused the wrath of myself and my friends in no small degree. She said that ‘Englishwomen were very selfish and made no effort to know their sisters in the East, and that if they (Englishwomen) would only take the trouble to learn the *language* they would get to know native ladies better, and a great deal of good would result.’

Now this is just where I beg leave to contradict Mrs. Steele most emphatically. There is no ‘the language’ for the women of India, as I have proved by personal experience. Hindustani may be, and to some extent is, the *lingua franca* of India for men, but in the zenanas it goes nowhere, except in those districts where it happens to be the local vernacular. Apropos, I may here mention as a fact, that on one occasion (though there have been many others) where there were a number of Indian students returning to the East, hailing from different parts of India, the only language in which they could mutually converse was English !

It will therefore be seen that, with all the will in the world, it is well-nigh an impossible task for Englishwomen to visit their Aryan sisters much, as there is literally no medium of intercourse unless one knew four or five languages ! Of course one can occasionally requisition the services of an interpreter in the shape of a husband or son, but there can never be intimacy or any real exchange of ideas when conversation has to be carried on in a stilted manner through the medium of a third person.

All the same, in spite of this very real difficulty, I persevered through many long years in my efforts to know my sisters in the East, and I am happy to say that I made some very real friends among them, both Mussalman and Hindu. The Purdah system is necessarily a great bar to education amongst Mahommedan ladies, and I should certainly rejoice to see it done away with, for its effects are very cramping and pernicious ; but unfortunately the ladies themselves are very averse

to the idea, believing that by coming out of Purdah they would forfeit all respect.

I was never tired of pointing out that this was a ridiculous objection, as the high-caste Brahmin ladies are not 'Purdah-nashin,' and yet enjoy the fullest measure of respect from all classes. Many Hindu ladies have taken very kindly to education and are highly cultured and refined women whom indeed it is a pleasure to meet; but even when not educated, I can only say that Hindu women are, in my opinion, very admirable, being in the vast majority of cases upright honourable wives and devoted self-sacrificing mothers, whose lives might well afford an object-lesson to the 'shrieking sisterhood' of England.

Having enumerated some of my impressions of the peoples of India, I will conclude with the earnest hope that they may long continue to enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity which are inseparable from British rule.

ELLA M. COX.

THE DEFENCE PROBLEM OF SCANDINAVIA

THE race for armaments is no longer restricted to the Great Powers. All over the globe even minor States are eager to enter the lists. The construction of the giant battleships which Brazil ordered in this country has already compelled another of the South American Republics to vote large sums of money to restore the menaced equilibrium. In our own hemisphere still smaller countries appear anxious to risk the stakes. For them, however, this fashionable sport is fraught with deadly dangers. The small States of Europe have none of the almost boundless future possibilities of the less historic nations of the New World. Their natural resources are limited by climate and soil, their peoples have too long been in exclusive possession of the land to admit any alien immigration. The development of their dormant riches cannot come within a few years' time. It will take generations, it cannot proceed by leaps and bounds. Toilsome, methodical labour will be necessary. It is therefore of the utmost importance for them to abstain from devoting money to purposes which cannot possibly repay them, unless they once for all are prepared to forsake the possibility of retaining the honourable position in the Community of Nations which their forefathers in bygone days won for them. Useless expenditure on armaments is on their part simply a political suicide. It curtails the welfare of the present generation, undermines all hopes of future growth. In the meantime their mighty neighbours, the Great Powers, emerge wealthier, and their numerical superiority grows stronger year after year.

Nowhere should such a suicidal policy be more deprecated than in the three Scandinavian Kingdoms. The glorious history of their hardy races, who more than once have given a new stimulus to the blood of the population of these Islands, ought to give these kinsmen across the North Sea both a desire and a right to continue to add their mite to the growth of European civilisation, which they in the past have so manfully helped to build up. The debt of gratitude which modern thought owes to the once leading State amongst them, makes it seem particularly tragic that Sweden of to-day to all appearances,

with ever-increasing impetus, is bent upon forcing more than one noble race along the downward path of ruinous warlike expenditure.

The military and naval budgets of Gustavus Adolphus' country have already for some time been in proportion amongst the highest in Europe. Not less than 50 per cent. of Sweden's annual income is expended upon the army and the navy. Their cost falls only by two shillings to reach the exorbitant sum of a pound sterling per head of population. The true significance of this enormous figure becomes apparent if it is remembered that it is nearly the same as for the German Empire with its colonies and world-wide interests. How totally out of proportion with the national wealth the Swedish outlay is, may be proved by another comparison. Sweden's foreign commerce is only half the value of that of Switzerland, less than a quarter of that of Belgium; Sweden has $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions of inhabitants, whereas Switzerland counts only $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions; Belgium almost double. Though both these countries lie, so to speak, in the heart of Europe, and are surrounded on all sides by the ever-bristling bayonets of several of the greatest and most militant nations of the earth, they do not spend half so much money on their defences as the so much poorer Sweden, which lies in a remote corner of the civilised world. No wonder therefore that the cost of living in Sweden has become so great, that the despairing masses could be led to try a general strike as a possible means of escape from unbearable economic conditions.

The above figures suggest either that there must be some misconception of Sweden's international position which can make the people accept superfluous military burdens or that the organisation of her forces is based on faulty principles. Recent evidence tends to show that probably both these factors are at work.

Incredible as it may seem, Sweden is about to go still further. It is the avowed intention of the present Government to submit expensive proposals for the reorganisation of the army and the navy to the Riksdag, which will assemble in January 1910. These proposals will be based on the reports elaborated by the numerous technical and parliamentary committees which during the last three years have been investigating the defence question. Some of these reports have already been published. A perusal of the different documents shows at a glance what serious consequences an initial mistake is apt to bring about. Without exception the committees have so far agreed that the dissolution of the union with Norway has created an entirely new political situation for Sweden. This opinion must appear almost incomprehensible to anybody who is unacquainted with the bitter feelings which the unfortunate incidents of the year 1905 have fostered amongst the Swedes. No real change took place on the 7th of June three years ago. The frontiers of the three Scandinavian kingdoms were not removed by a single inch, no material wealth was transferred from one country to another, and eventually

a new king whose father was a Dane, and whose mother was a Swede, succeeded to the throne of his grand-uncle in the Norwegian capital.

As before, Norway's existence as a sovereign country continues to depend upon Sweden's fate. The two States, which lie east and west of the great watershed of the Scandinavian peninsula, are by nature just as closely tied together as they were before the dissolution of the frail political bonds which united them under a direct descendant of Marshal Bernadotte. They must continue to form another Transvaal Republic and another Orange Free State. Even those Norwegians who during the last years of King Oscar's reign were bitterly opposed to Sweden admit this. The Norwegians have now gained their aim. Their country is 'free.' King Haakon's subjects are quite ready to forget past dissensions and heartily accept the consequences of Norway's geographical and ethnographical position. A typical example: A prominent Norwegian officer who during the last years of the Union preached war against Sweden was until lately Minister of Defence in the Norwegian Cabinet. A year ago he delivered publicly the unequivocal declaration that Norway's forces must be prepared to hurry to the rescue should any foreign aggression befall Sweden or Denmark. There is every reason to believe that the Norwegian nation as a whole would enthusiastically endorse his manly words should the occasion ever arise. To doubt this is to deny to the Norwegians that common sense which is the first and essential condition for self-government. It would be tantamount to covering with ridicule the four Great Powers who only the year before last guaranteed Norway's integrity. Surely no man in the full possession of his senses could venture to put forward such an absurd suggestion, that either Great Britain, Russia, Germany, or France would have put her name under the Treaty which was signed at Christiania on the 2nd of November 1907, unless they were thoroughly convinced that Norway would never attack Sweden. The world-wide responsibilities of the signatory Powers are already much too great and much too diverse for them to be willing to undertake the new risks which would inevitably accompany an aggressive Norwegian policy.

It is nevertheless upon such a Norwegian policy that the Swedish military and naval authorities reckon. Their original proposals, which, however, were drawn up by the chiefs of the General Staff of the Swedish army and navy before the treaty of Christiania was an accomplished fact, point in unmistakable language to Norway as a likely aggressor. The army authorities desire not only a number of new battalions to make good the troops which Norway was compelled by the Act of Union to place at the disposal of the common defence of the Peninsula, they also strongly insist upon the unavoidable necessity of raising 'an adequate number of units to protect the western frontier, behind which there now lies an alien nation.' The naval authorities go one step further. They suggest that the fortifica-

tions of Gothenburg should be strengthened against a possible Norwegian attack, and favour the establishment of a naval station at this town. Their shipbuilding programme is in itself a menace of attack against Norway. It includes four small ironclads of 7500 tons to be armed with four 11-inch and four 7-inch guns, and provided with an exceedingly narrow waterline armour with a maximum thickness of seven inches. Nobody with a rudimentary knowledge of modern naval requirements would be able to sustain that such vessels could be of the slightest use against any one of the great naval Powers. Their low speed of 21 knots prevents them from catching a small protected cruiser. They cannot run away from an up-to-date armoured cruiser. As for their fighting qualities, they would, to use Sir John Fisher's racy language, against armoured cruisers and battleships be like ants against an Armageddon, but with this difference, however, that there would be nothing ant-like as regards their numbers. On account of financial considerations, Sweden would scarcely be able to construct and keep up more than two divisions of such ships. For the same reason it will take almost a dozen years before Sweden can commission the last one of the four which it is now proposed to put on the programme. At that time the first of the vessels will already begin, to grow obsolete! Of what avail can, therefore, Sweden's new shipbuilding programme be when the German Navy shall have reached its normal establishment of fifty-eight armoured vessels of 20,000 tons each, thirty-eight cruisers and 144 destroyers, and the British and Russian fleets have been brought up to the corresponding strength? There can only be one answer to this question. It is given by Sir Cyprian Bridge in this year's *Naval Annual*. The learned and gallant Admiral says:

The immense costliness of modern navies puts it out of the power of smaller States to maintain considerable seagoing fleets. The historic maritime countries—Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Portugal, the performances of whose seamen are so justly celebrated—could not now send to sea a force equal in number and fighting efficiency to a quarter of the force possessed by any one of the chief naval Powers. The countries named, when determined not to expose themselves unarmed to an assailant, can provide themselves only with a kind of defence which, whatever its detailed composition, must be of an intrinsically localised character. In their case there is nothing else to be done.

Could it be possible that a corps of officers of so high professional reputation as the Swedish Navy's would come to a different conclusion? It seems almost impossible, though it is well known that navies are by essence among the most conservative of human institutions. Sweden had once a rather efficient fleet of ships of the line. But the days are long past since the Swedish flag was shown on the high seas on any ship of real fighting efficiency, yet the English Press has done everything in its power to make the Swedes believe that their modern navy had a great deal of importance. Whenever some of their seamanlike though diminutive armoured vessels have visited the shores

of the United Kingdom courteous pens have bestowed upon them eulogistic compliments in which the magic words of 'homogeneous squadrons' and 'coast defence' were freely used. Though such inconsistent flattery may have been taken seriously, the only logical inference which can be drawn from Sweden's new shipbuilding programme is bound to fill her smaller neighbours with serious misgivings. None can blame them if they endeavour to secure their frontiers and harbours by erecting fortifications and by constructing ships of equal fighting power to the Swedish miniature battleships. As undoubtedly both the Norwegian and Danish defences have of late been sorely neglected there might even be a certain cause for rejoicing at the new military activity. All the well-wishers of the Scandinavian kingdoms, but especially the Powers which have guaranteed the *status quo* in the North, could not but hail with real satisfaction every measure capable of augmenting their power of resistance. The more the danger of attacking Scandinavia becomes so great that it would equal or outweigh any advantage which could be gained by conquest, the better for the guaranteeing Powers. The armaments of the North so strangely inaugurated by Sweden tend, however, by their nature to accomplish just the opposite object. If continued at the same foolish pace as hitherto, they will not only hopelessly stem her own material development, but before long lead the still smaller sister States to economic destruction. They will also facilitate an eventual aggression on Scandinavia. The construction and upkeep of the above-mentioned small ships which cannot possibly be of any use except in an internecine Scandinavian struggle, the organisation of the troops to cover the Swedish side of the Norwegian frontier, the erection of the new Norwegian frontier fortifications, will require so much of the money which can be made available for defence purposes, that there will be very little left to keep those defences of the kingdoms which are best suited to keep an aggressor from outside Scandinavia at bay abreast with the requirements of the times.

As elsewhere, these requirements must depend upon the political aspirations of the countries concerned. Nations are subject to the same inexorable law of the survival of the fittest as everything living on the earth. If they do not want to be wiped out of existence by those stronger than themselves they must grow. The society of nations not being composed of fools, not a single one of them can accomplish this without constantly applying an unbiased judgment both to its own resources and to the aims and possibilities of surrounding States. However brilliant the annals of the past may appear, ancestral records can only serve as an emotional incentive for unceasing efforts to preserve the inheritance. The prowess of former ages cannot supply any reliable foundation for the solution of the problems of to-day, if the same general and special conditions no longer prevail as when they were accomplished. When Tsar Peter's

unconsolidated Russia had as her only access to the sea the marshes of the Neva and was engaged in constant warfare with Turks and Poles, when the kingdom of Prussia was unborn on the shield of the House of Brandenburg, Sweden and Denmark were great Baltic Powers. Those days have for ever passed. Everything is changed. On the southern shores of the great Atlantic bay, which was then practically a Swedish lake, the twentieth century finds the German Empire with its ever-increasing and active population of sixty-five millions. The whole of the eastern shore from East Prussia to Lapland has become the western window of the vast Slav Empire, which now has free access to all the surrounding seas, and an awakening population of nearly 150 millions. Against these teeming masses the Scandinavian kingdoms together cannot muster ten millions ! Left to themselves they might even if united fall an easy prey to their mighty neighbours. On account of their geographical position such an eventuality would entail the gravest strategic consequences to the existing balance of power in Northern waters. It is this consideration which more than anything else prompted the same four great Powers who in 1907 guaranteed the integrity of the newborn kingdom of Norway to emphasise the value which each one of them in her own interest must attach to the conservation of the *status quo* in Northern Europe. The Baltic agreement originally sprang from a desire to give Sweden something in exchange for the abolished Treaty of 1855, by which Great Britain and France undertook to protect the Scandinavian Peninsula from a possible Russian attack. That it should have been followed by a corresponding North Sea agreement was more or less a necessity of international etiquette ! At any rate, these two agreements brought to paper a fact which has long been patent to every unprejudiced observer of European politics, that none of the signatories are willing to permit any attempt to destroy the independence of the old kingdoms of the North. It is upon this undeniable truth, which outside Scandinavia may be considered almost a universally established popular conviction, that the existence of Sweden, Denmark and Norway as sovereign States must rest. So long as the population and the resources of their neighbours are so immensely superior to their own, the Scandinavian countries have nothing else to do than to adapt their measures of defence to this situation. To attempt to do more would not only be futile, but, as already shown, must necessarily end by seriously imperilling their future. Every shilling, every day of work, which is not absolutely necessary to enable them to resist the first shock of an aggression pending intervention on their behalf, would surely be of far better use for the conservation of their independence if devoted to productive works by which their material resources and their population will grow. The plain simplicity of this statement makes it at once apparent how totally inappropriate is the present military and naval policy of

Scandinavia. It is in fact the only justification which this article needs, however harsh the judgment upon actual occurrences which it contains may sometimes appear.

As it is, the Scandinavian countries do not act up to the simple realities of the situation. Instead of uniting their efforts or at least working on lines which would admit of a combined purpose, and which naturally would lessen their expenditure, they arm against each other and enlarge their military and naval budgets without correspondingly increasing their power of resistance against an aggression from without. There is no use in denying the fact that Sweden is the leading spirit in this pernicious policy. Thus it may serve some good purpose to try to find out whether, beside the humanly excusable, though certainly not statesmanlike feeling of bitterness aroused from the dissolution of the Union, there exist some other reasons for such an ill-fated departure from common sense. Sweden lies in a remote corner of the world, on one side touching the polar circle. It is not, as Belgium or Switzerland, a country daily traversed by travellers of every nationality. It has a language which is not spoken by any of the great nations who guide the destinies of the world. Under these circumstances it would indeed be marvellous if the great mass of the people, living under climatic conditions peculiarly conducive to 'day dreams,' should be able to gain the inestimable faculty of judging its own narrow-fettered conditions from an objective point of view. A careful scrutiny of the utterances of more or less responsible Swedish statesmen and journalistic writers, rather less than more conversant even with the A B C of modern European politics, will show that Sweden's geographical isolation has not been without effect. These spokesmen of the public conscience, whose views naturally are the result of the prevailing surroundings, often dwell upon two currents of thought which to a great extent seem to be responsible for the unlucky warlike policy of the country. One is the rather noisily expressed and constantly exaggerated fear of a Russian invasion. Always lurking under the apparently calm political surface, it was violently awakened some ten years ago, when Sweden's defence budget was less than half of what it is to-day. Strenuously fomented by the military classes, this undignified scare easily took root in the people's imagination, still alive with the historic souvenirs of the protracted feuds with their Eastern neighbour. It served a good cause in so far as it helped to do away with some very rusty details of army organisation. But as every other dishonestly aroused panic, it brought in its trail strongly objectionable and dangerous consequences. The great majority of Swedish public opinion was blindfolded. The people lost their self-control almost completely. The Swedes could no more understand that Russia was bound to look at Finland and her other frontier provinces from a Russian point of view, and not from an imaginary Swedish one, than a bull can keep from

getting frantic when he sees the red cloth. The Swedish Government experienced the greatest difficulty in restraining the would-be 'patriots' from unpardonably endangering the amiable and correct relations between two sovereign neighbour states. They had evidently forgotten that in the history of the struggles between Sweden and Russia the former country was the original conqueror, and did not realise that the latter retook Finland 100 years ago, as a safeguard against a still possible repetition of Charles the Twelfth's march to Poltava. As, however, a Russian invasion obviously falls under those possibilities against which Sweden has to guard itself, it can for the moment be left aside, though the psychological rôle which it has played in the armaments of the country is of primary importance for adjusting our judgment. Recent events in Russia's external and interior policy suggest a moderation of the fear, and the evident exaggeration with which the Russian scare was utilised by the military party has seriously lessened its usefulness as a lever for new armaments. Those desiring an augmentation of the army and navy at any cost have been obliged to turn the dissolution of the Union with Norway into account. It is the current of thought thus fostered which is now instrumental in misdirecting Sweden's efforts.

During the last generation Norway produced a number of writers, composers, and painters who by the originality of their works in no small degree contributed to interest the European public for the political aspirations of their native country. The royal house of Denmark made at the same time, through its manifold family connections, Copenhagen a centre of constant, if often commonplace, attention. Sweden was in a way comparatively overshadowed by the other two Scandinavian countries. As the dissolution of the Union occurred, the dormant vanity of the nation was rather rudely awakened. An almost childish desire to appear before the opinion of the world, a violent wish to be talked of as much as possible, has in the last years replaced the former inertia. It really seems as if the loss of the last vestige of a heroic history has stung the leisurely dreaming inhabitants of the land of the Midnight Sun to try by all means to live up to the paradoxical description of one of their foremost modern writers who depicts his countrymen as 'a slow people, full of vehemency.' In every possible way the world at large has to be impressed with Sweden's importance. The press is always full of complaints that the country is not mentioned often enough in foreign newspapers. The former niggardliness of Parliament towards the Diplomatic and Consular Service has gone to the other extreme. Whereas Norway abolished a number of legations in countries where her interests are minimal, Sweden keeps representatives where she has no interests whatsoever and adorns them with as high official rank as possible. Nobody seems to mind the cost, or to see that 'bluff' is of poor avail. The Government eagerly utilises every possible

occasion to show the Swedish flag. Small war-vessels are despatched even to oversea countries, as if their nicely-looking paint could conceal the unimportance of Sweden's navy, which is recorded in almost every naval handbook. When feelings of this sort prevail it is scarcely astonishing that even a late Minister of Foreign Affairs in a public speech can state that Sweden after the dissolution of the Union *at last* has got a foreign policy. It is to the credit of his own modesty that he acknowledges that the country had none during his time of office. This (for a Power in Sweden's position) truly felicitous change is ascribed to a supposed longing of some of the Great Powers to get one or the other of the Scandinavian kingdoms as satellites in the coming struggle for hegemony in Europe. England is accused of intriguing with Norway, presumably because a daughter of King Edward sits on its throne. Germany was until recently supposed to sue for Denmark's favour. Nothing remained for the Swedes but to throw in their lot with Russia! Happily enough this childish policy had not time to mature before the rumour got about that Russia wanted to have the restrictions concerning the fortification of the Aaland Islands, contained in the Treaty of Paris of 1856, removed. Without reflecting that the possibility of a surprise attack on Stockholm depends entirely on the state of the Swedish defences and has nothing to do with the fortifications on Aaland, it being easy for Russia to assemble ships and troops there whether the islands are fortified or not, the Swedes got scared, and King Gustavus made the dinner speech at Berlin which aroused some astonishment in more than one European capital.

Against all this loose talk about supposed foreign interference three considerations hold good.

Firstly.—None of the three Scandinavian countries is or can become capable of lending any valuable military or naval assistance in a possible conflict between the Great Powers. They are much too small and too poor to do this in the days of *Dreadnoughts* and armed nations. The geographical position of Sweden and Norway is such that there is not the slightest necessity for dragging them into any imaginable conflict. Denmark has perhaps a more exposed position. Her neutrality may be in danger in case of a war between Great Britain and Germany. Yet both have sufficient military reasons for wishing this ancient kingdom's independence safeguarded.

Secondly.—It is an open secret that every one of the interested Great Powers has lately approached the so-called Northern Question with the sincere desire of treating Scandinavia as an entity. None of them has showed the remotest intention of widening the estrangement between the three kingdoms. The Great Powers acknowledged the separation of Norway and Sweden as soon as it was a fact, because it had long become a political necessity on account of the fundamental differences in the characters of the two peoples and the vast diversity in their political institutions, and last, but not least, because Sweden

very wisely refused to try to keep the Union together by force. Knowing as they do the military and naval weakness of small States, the Great Powers, even if they would be interested in the welfare of only one of the Scandinavian nations, cannot but favour anything which would strengthen their special protégé. Any interference on their part which would prevent the three kingdoms from working together would manifestly oppose their avowed interests. Everywhere else, the armed nations of Europe strive to do away with the many petty possibilities for friction which could lead to war. Why should their policy be of a different kind in Scandinavia where no vital interests are involved?

The *third* consideration which ought to show to the Swedes that there is no reason to fear foreign interference is that both the Norwegians and the Danes view such an eventuality with no less horror than they themselves do. European opinion has long been impressed by the violent individualism and self-reliance expressed by the modern Scandinavian literature and art, which confirms the teachings of its past and recent political history. It has long since made up its mind that Scandinavia is no Balkan Peninsula, and it is in this connexion only just to remember that the treaty guaranteeing Norway's integrity expressly stipulates that none of the signatory Powers may intervene unless formally requested to do so by Norway herself. Neither ought it to be forgotten on the other side of the *Sund* how deeply Danish feeling was aroused quite recently at the mere semblance that Germany had gained the goodwill of the Government at Copenhagen in order to arrange some long outstanding differences, the adjustment of which could not but be advantageous for the Danish people at large.

When nobody wishes for interference, when everybody is convinced that it is doomed to failure, and even if successful would be against the interests of the interferer, it becomes less than a spectre. It cannot exist even in the most unhealthy imagination. The realities of the international situation will carry the weight due to them. Sweden can base her defence policy on a solid foundation, on an intelligible and intelligent reasoning. She can once more become the leading nation in the North. The progress of the great Scandinavian races will be assured. The lines to follow are perfectly simple, they are in the main identical for all the three kingdoms. They have to provide for one supreme contingency, the possibility that one of their mighty neighbours should make an aggression upon Scandinavia while the armed forces of the other Great Powers who have interests in Northern waters are engaged elsewhere. However unlikely such an attack may seem, it is the plain duty of Scandinavian statesmen to count not only with probabilities but with possibilities, and especially with the most dangerous one. For Sweden and Norway the greatest danger lies in a Russian attack, the only one which can reach these countries by land. The distance between the Swedish

frontier and St. Petersburg is less than a tenth of the distance from Moscow to Manchuria. In view of recent experience it would therefore be comparatively easy for Russia to concentrate an overwhelming force on the Swedish frontier. Sweden has need of every man she can spare to oppose the Russian march, and it is of vital importance for Norway to be able to send every man of her army to the defence of the Swedish territory over which the enemy must pass before he can reach Norwegian soil. The more numerous and the better equipped the Swedish and Norwegian armies are, the longer will they be able to withstand the aggressor. Therefore both countries must curtail their navies to the utmost possible extent. What objects can and must their fleets fulfil? It is clearly impossible for them to attempt to gain that command of the sea which alone can prevent an invasion across the adjoining waters or protect their shipping. The Scandinavian countries cannot possibly afford to build and keep ships which cost two million pounds, still less get a sufficient number of them. Guns which cannot pierce the enemy's armour, or armour which cannot protect from the enemy's guns, are of no use. Sweden and Norway must resort to a localised coast defence based on torpedoës and mines. On account of the peculiar formation of the Swedish coast, with its thousands and thousands of islands, such a defence seems eminently suitable to prevent a hostile landing on certain parts of the Baltic coast. Before this defence is destroyed the transports cannot approach. How much Sweden ought to spend on her naval defence depends upon the length of time for which it is necessary to make this coast line secure. As a naval war between the Western Powers of Europe cannot remain undecided very long, and the victorious fleet is bound to appear in the Baltic, it does not seem that great sacrifices are justifiable. Sweden must always bear in mind that every arm and every penny employed for the floating defences will be missing on land, and that Russia is not likely to risk her big ships, which already have too great dimensions to be able to penetrate amongst the islands, in desultory operations along the coast. Russia must keep them in order to defend what she possibly may have gained on land against the Western fleet, which as soon as possible will hurry to Scandinavia's rescue. For Norway, the situation is still simpler. Her naval armaments cannot possibly have any other object than to keep open the principal ports which are in railway communication with the interior of the Peninsula and prevent them from being blockaded by Russian cruisers which may come from the White Sea or elsewhere.

The *role* of Denmark is equally clear. She has to raise every available man for the defence of her territory against a possible attack upon the shores of the straits which lead to the Baltic. Her naval armaments cannot accomplish more than to complete this only possible defence of her neutrality. The submarines and torpedo craft

which are necessary for this object can in case of an aggression on Swedish territory secure the southern coasts of Sweden from a hostile landing and prevent Russian warships from reaching the North Sea.

If organised on these lines the defences of the Scandinavian countries will fulfil the requirements of their political position. They will be adapted to the military possibilities of the day and still permit of giving full scope to the development in population and wealth which for the future is the most pressing need of the three kingdoms. An organisation on the suggested lines is the only economically possible one that can be devised. It can be more effectively carried out if the three countries realise without false shame that they are much too powerless to act separately, and that their only salvation lies in combining their efforts. They can do this without the slightest interference in each others' affairs. All that is needed is to grasp the fact that their interests are common and can best be furthered by a parallel if not united foreign policy. After all it is on the real possibilities of the foreign policy and not on sentiments and feelings that a sound military and naval policy can alone be based. The latter can in their particular case give a maximum of result because the measures which are best suited for the special defence of the territories of each one of the countries also best serve the defence requirements of Scandinavia as a whole. If Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, therefore, manfully prepare themselves to withstand a possible common foe they will earn the respect of the whole world. If, on the contrary, they arm against each other, their political suicide will scarcely arouse the passing pity of a fast moving humanity.

A. SCHVAN.

*THE 'NATIONAL GUARD':
A HINT FROM THE UNITED STATES*

ADEQUATE numbers are of all things most essential to the efficacy of a fighting force. Organisation, discipline and training can be no more than academic questions until the problem of recruiting has first been solved. History indeed teaches us, quite truly, that mere numbers can seldom avail much ; but this does not affect the indisputable fact that recruits must first be obtained before the organisation of armies, or the military education of officers and men, can take tangible shape. There are but two ways of filling the ranks of an army with suitable raw material—the one by compelling good men to enlist, and the other by making it worth their while. In the United States the iron hand of compulsion is normally encased in the velvet glove of voluntary service, although perfectly ready to tighten its grip, with all needful severity, if the milder influence should at any time prove insufficient. Thus two apparently antagonistic systems are employed in close alliance. So long as voluntary enlistment produces the requisite numbers, the compulsory powers vested in the Executive of each State of the Union are suffered to lie dormant, but without prejudice to their instant revival whenever an emergency may demand the prompt completion to war strength, or augmentation, of the State Militia. 'All able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years' (subject to certain exemptions and disqualifications) 'constitute the Militia.' That is to say, every citizen not disqualified or exempt is *de facto* a militiaman, though not necessarily a trained one. The vital spark representative of the great somnolent mass of national militia is the 'National Guard,' a force raised by voluntary enlistment, permanently organised in units, and trained and drilled, in order to furnish a nucleus upon which may at any time be formed such larger militia forces as the occasion may require.

It is clearly recognised in the United States that if the National Guard, the peace nucleus of the National Army, is composed of officers and men who have voluntarily undertaken to fulfil the necessary conditions of efficient training and service, the present and prospective value of that nucleus must necessarily be greater than if it were raised

and maintained by compulsory methods. Also it is realised that patriotism when invoked for purely precautionary objects is apt to prove unequal, for very long, to the strain of frequent interference with the course of personal enjoyment, and more especially so when the patriotic sacrifice is demanded of and performed by only an infinitesimal portion of the population. To induce a man to enlist voluntarily in a military unit is not very difficult, provided that the recruit is left free to 'soldier' just so much as he finds convenient, and no more ; but if stringent conditions of efficiency are prescribed, and enforced, patriotic ardour is apt to cool down, unless stimulated by a sufficiency of compensating advantages. In the United States the conditions of efficiency in the National Guard are very much higher than those required in the British Territorial Force, and for that very reason, no doubt, the special inducements attending enlistment in the former are many times more potent. People say that in the United Kingdom compulsory service for the National Army is inevitable, and that all money spent in aid of recruiting for the Territorial Force is therefore wasted. This argument strikes the present writer as an exceedingly foolish one. It is scarcely credible that any sane person seriously proposes to apply compulsion except to make good any deficiency of the establishment after all suitable recruits, voluntarily presenting themselves, have already been enlisted ; because it is certain that whether compulsion be actually introduced or not, the larger the proportion of voluntary enlistments the better for the efficiency of the Army ; and it seems almost equally obvious that attractions powerful enough to promote appreciably the enlistment of good men would naturally be, to some extent, at all events, palliative of the real or imaginary hardships of compulsory service. So far then from expenditure for the purpose of fostering voluntary recruiting involving waste of money, it would seem that such expenditure cannot fail to be profitable ; because, if upon the one hand it should result in giving us what now we have not, a really efficient though voluntarily enlisted Territorial Army, it is difficult to imagine how money could have been more usefully expended upon a citizen soldiery ; whereas, upon the other hand, if we are eventually obliged to resort to compulsion, anything hitherto done to make pleasant the lot of the voluntarily enlisted Territorial soldier must necessarily tend to reconcile his compulsorily enlisted successor.

In the United States the most effective of all aids to recruiting for the National Guard is the 'Armoury.' Until comparatively recently, armouries were possessed only by those corps which had been able to afford the cost of providing them at their own expense ; but now the military and other value of these institutions having been proved, the system is being rapidly extended, so that armouries for regiments, battalions and even companies, erected at the cost of the various States, are springing up all over the Union. My attention was first

directed to this highly important subject by reading an article contributed to the *United Service Magazine* for June 1908 by Mr. Charles Sidney Clark, an ex-officer of the historic Seventh Regiment of New York. Further information was afterwards obtained from the *National Guard Magazine*, and from *Arms and the Man*; an article in the latter publication, describing a two-company-armoury recently erected at Meriden, Connecticut, finally raising to fever heat my already ardent desire to investigate on the spot the question whether the 'Armoury' might not profitably be imported for use in this country, as a pillar of the Territorial Force. The expense involved by a trip to the United States seemed at first to constitute an insuperable obstacle, but this was shortly overcome by the public-spirited action of Mr. Charles S. Baring-Gould, who, having heard the case stated and feeling convinced of the national importance of the matter, instantly declared his willingness to supply the necessary funds. Thus it was that almost at a moment's notice I crossed the Atlantic and learned the facts which I now propose to set forth and discuss.

First and foremost, let me freely admit that an 'Armoury,' such as the least pretentious of those I have visited in the United States is in our case absolutely out of the question. It is true that County Councils are prone to waste vast sums on the erection of needlessly magnificent lunatic asylums, and it might reasonably be argued that by providing less prodigally for the insane, money could be saved for more profitable expenditure on the local military forces. Certainly an armoury should be a handsome building, and properly equipped; but in this country the ideas of both officers and men are far less extravagant than those which prevail in the United States, or, for that matter, in Canada. For example: 'Company rooms' in American armouries are as a rule far larger and far more handsomely decorated and furnished than the officers' ante-room in the barracks of any British cavalry or infantry regiment of the line. Eschewing luxury, however, and contenting ourselves with essentials, we could, I believe, at less than half the cost usually incurred in the United States, provide ourselves with armouries that would serve their purpose with more than equal success. I have seen very excellent armouries in Canada, erected and provided on the American principle; I have seen the magnificent armoury of the 65th Regiment at Buffalo, said to be the largest in the United States, and I have seen also the luxurious establishments of the Seventh and Seventy-First in New York. Last and smallest, but not least important, I have seen detachment armouries, such as that at Meriden, Connecticut, which I made a special point of visiting. In the undeniable success of the smaller armouries we find, I think, a sufficient answer for those who will doubtless contend that however suitable the armoury system may be to regiments raised wholly within the boundaries of large cities, it is nevertheless inapplicable to corps composed of scattered detachments. Actually the problem of accommodating

size and cost to numbers is not insoluble. For example : The armoury at Buffalo cost 1,400,000 dollars ; that is to say, upwards of 23,000*l.* per company for the twelve companies of the 65th Regiment ; whereas the armoury at Meriden cost 100,000 dollars, or about 10,000*l.* per company for the two companies of the scattered corps known as the 2nd Connecticut Regiment. In this case the smaller armoury is generally, as well as proportionally, by far the cheaper.

People who have seen the armoury of the Honourable Artillery Company can imagine for themselves what a first-class 'Armoury' in the United States is like. Meanwhile, for the information of others, I will describe first the Meriden armoury that has already been mentioned above. The armoury itself is a handsome, castellated building constructed of stone, and has attached, at the back, a spacious drill hall (brick, iron and glass), measuring 150 feet by 96 feet. In each wing of the armoury there is provided the following accommodation for one of the two companies composing the detachment—namely : *Captain's room ; subalterns' room ; company store and office ; locker room* (where every man has a steel locker fitted to contain the whole of his clothing and equipment) ; *company room* (fitted as library, reading and recreation room) ; small *gymnasium*, serving also as a *drying room* opposite the *bathroom* (three shower baths and one plunge bath) ; *kitchen, &c.*, and *lavatories*. Common to both companies, and situated, with the heating apparatus, in the basement under the drill hall, are a first-class miniature rifle range and a bowling alley. Regimental armouries are constructed on somewhat similar principles ; the separate accommodation for each of the several companies usually including store room, locker room, company room, and company office ; but with, as a rule, community in respect to gymnasium, kitchen, bathrooms, lavatories, billiard room, &c. The very modern armoury at Buffalo has a fine swimming bath through which flows all the water used for ordinary purposes of sanitation, heating, &c., throughout the armoury. The water is thus constantly changing, and as an additional precaution no man is permitted to enter the swimming bath until after he has first had a shower or plunge bath, from which he passes through a turnstile into the swimming bath enclosure. In some armouries the rifles are kept separate, in glass-fronted cases, while in others they are with the rest of each man's equipment. In the Quartermaster's stores of the best organised regiments will be found, in addition to full camp equipment for the regiment, the field kit complete, ready for immediate issue, of every man on the strength. The number of his rifle is the soldier's regimental number, and with that same number every article of his clothing and equipment, ordinary and field service, is marked. The small items of the field service kit are kept packed in the haversacks. A regiment of the United States National Guard, if fully up to date, is in a position to mobilise at any moment, requiring nothing except its rations to enable it to proceed

by rail, or to form the garrison of its own armoury as the occasion may require. The company cooks are taught in the regimental kitchens, and thus prepared for their work in camp. From the State point of view the armoury is an important military centre, partially maintained out of the moneys received by letting it for social entertainments; to the officers and men it is a pleasant club, to which in certain conditions they are permitted to bring their friends. Needless to say, the friends of young men, especially their female friends, press them to join the National Guard in order that the privileges of the armoury—frequent dances, for example—may not be lost to them.

Systems vary considerably in respect to matters of discipline and also of interior economy. In the city of New York, for instance, serious misconduct is very unusual, the soldiers of the crack corps being men of exceptional quality, who gain admittance only after a ballot held in the company they propose to join. Rules and regulations are very strictly applied, and a man guilty of slackness in the performance of his duties obtains very short shrift indeed; but only in extreme cases will the authorities provoke an outcry in the 'Yellow press' by committing officers or men to the 'Common Jail' upon account of unpaid fines. As a rule a delinquent is awarded a 'Dis-honorable Discharge,' and is pursued no further. The names of suitable candidates for vacancies, often a great many, are always to be found on the 'Waiting list,' and unsatisfactory men, when occasionally met with, are therefore expelled and replaced within a few minutes but without any public scandal. Elsewhere than in New York, however, it will often be that the authorities will have 'the act, the whole act, and nothing but the act.' At one place, for example, hearing that the officers and non-commissioned officers required to drill recruits were merely 'detailed in orders,' and expected either to comply or show indisputably good cause, I asked the Colonel commanding, 'But what if they don't turn up?' The Colonel replied, 'I would order them before a "Delinquency Court"; such a Court can compel payment of fines up to twenty-five dollars.' To my further question, 'Supposing refusal to pay?' the answer was short—'Jail.'

In respect to the administration of interior economy, in alliance with discipline and efficiency, I will quote a single example which is, I think, most certainly worthy of close imitation. A Colonel explained to me that in his regiment every convenience and advantage provided at the armoury must be paid for at fixed prices, and by means of tickets bought for money, or *earned by the full and correct performance of military duty*. At the end of each month, every officer and man whose record shows performances to the extent of 100 per cent. is handed a bundle of thirty tickets, *not transferable*. For each figure under the 'possible' a deduction is made from the number of free tickets, and if the score falls below a fixed minimum the delinquent is disqualified altogether from the use of the armoury except on duty;

others may purchase tickets, but the defaulter may not, nor can he regain his proper position until he has made up all arrears of drill or duty. This plan is said to have an excellent effect ; it furnishes a means of inflicting minor punishments, either automatically in the case of failures to attend parade, or by award in case of inattention or slovenliness.

Talking, by the way, of performances in the ranks, it seems appropriate to mention now that I saw the Seventh New York assemble in the armoury, dress for parade, fall in by companies, form up in its three battalions, and finally march off to the rendezvous of its brigade, on the morning of the great military parade during the Hudson-Fulton Celebration. Seldom has anything of a similar nature impressed me so much. The order, regularity and discipline that prevailed throughout were very striking, and were to me moreover an absolute revelation. The 'turn out' of all ranks was admirable ; and the pipe-clayed belts and the white duck trousers were alike spotless. I dislike the American drill ; it is to my mind clumsy ; yet I could not but admire the manner in which these National Guardsmen went through it ; everything was correct in form, and businesslike in character. I failed moreover to detect any officer or man throughout the three battalions who departed aught from perfect soldierlike steadiness in the ranks. Not a man did I see move eye or limb, except in obedience to orders, or when at 'rest'—the equivalent of 'standing-easy.' I have never seen auxiliaries equal in steadiness to the Seventh New York, nor have I seen the latter surpassed in this respect by any Regulars—for the simple reason that perfection cannot be exceeded. There were other regiments on the Hudson-Fulton parade whose performances in marching past were not inferior to those of the Seventh, and it has not been my intention to single out that corps in particular ;¹ it happened to be the regiment whose proceedings I was permitted to follow during the morning, and it was impossible for me to be present with more than one. A few days later I enjoyed the privilege of attending the evening drill of two companies of the Seventy-First New York. Here again I was made 'furiously to think.' The drill-season had just commenced ; this was the first drill ; the men were 'without arms ; everything was elementary. Subalterns drilled their half-companies, and finally the Captain took the whole company. To men who have learned their alphabet, repetition of it, even made 'backwards,' is apt to prove wearisome, yet though I watched carefully I failed to detect any slackness or inattention. Everybody seemed to realise that what has got to be done should always be done as well as one is capable of doing it, and that knowing already how to do a thing well is no excuse whatever, but the contrary, for doing it ill.

¹ Regiments such as the Seventh and Seventy-First New York compare with the United States National Guard in general as the London Scottish or Queen's Westminster, &c., with the bulk of British Territorials.

In a good regiment the authorities 'have no use for' slack officers or men, and such are speedily got rid of. An officer who fails to give satisfaction may at any moment be haled before a specially convened Board of Examination, and, 'if the finding of such Board be unfavourable to such officer, and be approved by the Governor, he shall be discharged from the Service.' Certainly, efficiency is promoted by the existence of real penalties for inefficiency.

My readers will probably have gathered from what I have already said that I went to the United States predisposed to conclude that the advantages of the 'Armoury' were pillars of the National Guard, and that similar pillars would mightily support the Territorial Force or National Army in the United Kingdom. I freely admit the suggested predisposition, but hope nevertheless to succeed in stating the case so as to establish from the evidence produced the justice of the contention advocated.

There is no reason, I trust, to suppose that the average American is more practically patriotic than the average Briton, and it would certainly be ridiculous to pretend that the citizens of the United States have stronger reasons for patriotic preparation against National dangers than have those of the United Kingdom. How comes it then that the officers and men of the National Guard are found ready to comply with far more stringent regulations in respect to efficiency, and also to accept far heavier obligations than those required of the British Territorial Force? I questioned a good many of the enlisted men as to their reasons for joining the National Guard and found that the answers given to me, though varying much in the actual form of words, amounted generally speaking to the following :—

- (1) Duty of the citizen to the State.
- (2) Physical and moral development.
- (3) The armoury an exceedingly pleasant club.

National Guardsmen of all ranks whose duties are not in arrear are exempt from Jury-service during the term of their engagement, and all who earn a 'full and honourable discharge' (that is to say, have performed for the whole period of their service all the duty required of them to date of discharge) are exempt *for life*. This advantage is no small one, yet, curiously enough, not a man made mention of it. I can only assume that all took for granted that I was aware of the fact that this valuable privilege is included among the nine secured to them by law. The remaining eight appeal only indirectly and need not be detailed now.

Let us take it that the average American, as also the average Briton, who gives voluntary unpaid service to the State, is in the first instance moved to do so by a sense of patriotic duty and that each is at the same time aware that if he 'soldiers' zealously he will by so doing gain for himself no small benefit moral and physical. Thus far the two men are on an equal footing; but only the American, as a

rule, can look forward to the further advantage of a magnificently appointed club, costing him nothing out of his pocket, but involving, as the qualification for membership, the performance of specified military duties throughout a specified term of years. The American has thus, clearly, an inducement that is not at the disposal of the Briton ; but, as we shall see presently, his liabilities are at the same time far more considerable :—

(a) The National Guardsman must enlist for ' a term of not less than five years.'

(b) The Recruit must continue attending drill not less than twice a week until ' dismissed.'

(c) The officers and men must attend ' not less than twenty-four compulsory drills and parades ' during each year of service, and ' In addition to such drills and parades a commanding officer may require the officers and enlisted men of his command to meet for parade, drill and instruction at such times and places as he may appoint.'

(d) Units are liable to be ordered into camp annually for ' not less than five consecutive days.' Camp training is additional to the prescribed detail of intermittent attendances during the year.

(e) Units may at any time be called out for the preservation of public order and despatched to the scene of disturbance. This is regarded as a primary duty of the National Guard ; all ranks receive ordinary pay for their services, but no compensation for disturbance to their business. Upon the other hand, National Guardsmen are specially protected against prosecution upon account of any action taken by them in the course of their duty while serving in aid of the Civil Power. The officer in command enjoys complete tactical authority to put down disturbances at his own discretion, and neither he himself nor those under his orders are liable ' civilly or criminally ' for the results. A consequence of this is that when a commanding officer of the National Guard warns a mob, ' disperse or I fire,' the latter disperses, as a rule, without further ado, knowing well the sure consequences of disobedience.

(f) A ' Delinquency Board ' has power to inflict fines up to ten dollars upon officers, or five dollars in the case of enlisted men, or to compel payment of fines under the ' Rules of the Corps ' up to twenty-five dollars. While fines are unpaid a man cannot obtain ' honourable discharge ' ; but he may be awarded ' dishonourable discharge,' and be committed to prison in default of payment.

It will be observed from the foregoing that the National Guardsman is required to perform a far larger number of drills and exercises than the British Territorial, and is further liable to temporary embodiment, at any time, for the preservation of the public peace. The fact that the National Guardsman is fully protected against prosecution on account of his action in aid of the Civil Power, cannot be regarded as

an inducement to serve, but only as an essential condition to the acceptance of a disagreeable duty. To be obliged to shoot fellow countrymen is bad enough, but to put your own neck thereby in jeopardy would obviously be intolerable. Without the protective clauses of the Act, liability to be called out in aid of the Civil Power would be an insuperable obstacle to recruiting—in fact would be fatal to the existence of the National Guard on a voluntary basis. We may put it then that in spite of the necessary immunity from consequences, the obligation to be assembled and employed against rioters must in itself be, to some extent at all events, deterrent of recruiting. To what then are we to ascribe the popularity of the National Guard? Why do men freely perform in the United States a far larger share of voluntary citizen service than it appears possible to impose, in existing conditions, upon British Territorials? I have seen for myself the truth of the statements made by Mr. C. S. Clark in the article to which I have already called attention. The 'Armoury' is the key to the whole problem. The officer or man who belongs to an organisation possessed of a good armoury has an exceedingly pleasant club at his disposal during his service, and in the hereafter he will further enjoy as a veteran, if discharged with credit, many of its advantages as long as he lives.

Let us in conclusion consider the application of the American system to our own case; but before proceeding further in this direction I would first recall the fact that the Canadians have already adopted the plan. Many fine armouries have been erected in Canada at the public expense, and several of these I visited during my trip. Notable among the Canadian armouries is that at Toronto, for in it provision is made for the needs of mounted as well as of unmounted troops. In addition to a splendid drill-hall there is one of the finest riding schools I ever saw, and in the adjoining basement there are ample accessory conveniences, including harness rooms, 'gun-park,' 'transport sheds,' &c. Montreal, Kingston, Hamilton, and other places are well provided for. Further building is contemplated at Montreal, where the organisations have somewhat outgrown their quarters. The joint armoury of the 13th and 91st Canadian Regiments at Hamilton is quite new and most admirably complete and well appointed. It includes, in addition to ample and indeed luxurious accommodation for the men, officers' and sergeants' messes as good as any to be found in the newest barracks in the United Kingdom.

There is no need for us to emulate the magnificence to which the Americans have become accustomed. It will suffice for us to construct armouries such as will content the officers and men in our own country. Wherever possible it would, I think, be well that the Territorial armoury should form an extension of existing depot barracks. The expense, in any case, would merely represent the difference between the cost of maintaining the present headquarters and that of providing a more

complete establishment. Some corps have already headquarter buildings that might be expanded at quite reasonable expense, and in a few cases very slight extension, if any, would be required. There is a veritable 'Armoury' at Liverpool for example, and there is of course the armoury of the Hon. Artillery Company in Finsbury.

We have to consider two quite distinct cases : (1) The Regiment or battalion raised and located within a comparatively small city area, and needing only one armoury though a rather large one. (2) The scattered country corps, composed of several detachments of one or more companies each. A regimental armoury requires ample offices and store-rooms, a sufficiently large drill-hall, officers' and sergeants' messes, canteen, recreation rooms, library, gymnasium, miniature rifle range, bowling alley, billiard room, bathrooms and lavatories. The provision of separate club rooms for the several companies, as in the United States, would necessarily be costly and does not seem in any way indispensable to success. Far more important, in my opinion, is to have adjacent to the caretaker's quarters a few barrack rooms, fitted with cubicles, for the use of single men, whose home would be the armoury and who would go to their daily work therefrom. A charge of one shilling per week per man, for the use of the cubicle and its furniture, would be sufficiently remunerative. Meals would be provided, on payment, in the restaurant branch of the canteen. In America and also in Canada very considerable sums are received from letting the drill-hall for social and other entertainments. The halls are invariably fitted with galleries, in which on drill nights the friends of officers and men are permitted to sit and watch the exercises. When work is over, dances often follow. The latter practice is a potent aid to recruiting.

Turning now to the rather more difficult problem of providing for corps that are composed of detachments. Let us take the case of a single company located in some small town or large village. At present a cottage is hired in which the sergeant-instructor resides, making room as best he can for the arms and other company property. The rent of these cottage-armouries may be anything from fifteen to twenty pounds a year ; but whatever the rent, it would represent some sort of contribution towards the cost of an improved establishment. An armoury for a single company should in my opinion contain :—Quarters for the sergeant-instructor ; club room for men, fitted with 'serving hatch' connecting it with the sergeant's kitchen ; company office and store ; arms and equipment room (fitted with 'lockers' of the American pattern) and one small barrack room for single men. These to be on the first and second floors of a two-storied building, having say sixty feet of frontage. In the basement of the building would be coal cellar, baths and lavatories, and the entrance to the larger basement under the drill-hall erected at the back of the house. The drill-hall might be, say, sixty feet by fifty feet, and it should contain the apparatus

of a 'modified gymnasium.' In the basement beneath would be a miniature rifle range, a bowling alley and the heating apparatus. A gallery would be fitted at the armoury end of the drill-hall.

It will be objected by some people that a 'one-company-armoury' such as that suggested would cost probably 2000*l.*, and that eight similar armouries for a battalion would involve an expenditure of not less than 16,000*l.*—very likely more. Well? There are but two courses open—'compel men to serve or make it worth their while.' At present we neither compel men to serve, nor do we make it worth their while; and consequently we cannot lay down conditions of training capable of producing efficient soldiers. There is no absolute necessity for us to adopt an exact copy of the American system, imposing identical obligations and exacting precisely similar penalties; we might perhaps contrive something better or find ourselves compelled to make shift with something worse; but it is clearly apparent that if we would raise the standard of Territorial efficiency, while continuing to rely upon voluntary enlistment, we must, like the Americans, offer proportionate inducements. Of course if the nation is content with a Territorial Army the *immediate* fighting value of which is inappreciable, there is no more to be said; but if otherwise, then sacrifices must be made by others besides those who actually join the Territorials. The rest of the nation must compensate the Territorials for the performance of vicarious service—or we must introduce compulsion. Which shall it be? So long as we do neither, a large proportion of our Navy must be tied to local coast defence, and the offensive power of our fleets be thus discounted.

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



No. CCCXCIV—DECEMBER 1909

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE CRISIS OF 1909

AT a moment when the future of the nation has to be measured and determined alike by constitutional argument and by generous and loyal statesmanship, it is natural for us to look back to the one man who was master in both spheres, and to ask how far his words and deeds can help us now.

Mr. Gladstone throws a vivid light on present problems in many ways. He met and solved vast and complicated emergencies, such as the deficit and the obligations of 1909, by a boldness and breadth and ingenuity of financial expedients that perfected Free Trade as the instrument for expanding national wealth. He had to face and brush aside acrid and relentless criticism, often from his own colleagues, and to get a mastery over opponents whose partisan interests, and lack of mental elasticity, led them to shout down, or by intrigue to disintegrate, every novel and fruitful idea. And again and again he was brought face to face with the fundamental puzzles of our unwritten constitution which are before us now.

The great Budget of 1853, conceived in the highest spirit of Peel's constructive finance, swept away the muddle of Whig

opportunism, laid the corner-stone of modern Liberal policy, and was the first step to the leadership of men and of ideas. Mr. Gladstone covered the whole field with daring, delicately balanced proposals, solving urgent problems, and also with a broad outlook for future expansion. The Budget brought into the Cabinet searchings of heart, like daring and original Budgets of to-day. Like other great Budgets, it was open to many points of attack, its complicated details led to keen and hostile criticism. By sheer force of patient reasoning, Gladstone knocked the heads of the objectors together, and won through with his scheme intact. Such strategy was safe because daring and logically coherent. It rescued his party from a desperate position, and proved him 'equal to great political necessities and fit to lead parties and direct governments.'¹

Sweeping remissions of tariff duties gave a new and effective impulse to the national economic expansion initiated by Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws. The income tax, the sheet anchor of that direct taxation which had been the lever of Peel's policy, was resettled on lines so rational and hopeful as almost to win popularity, and thus imparted elasticity and concentrated power to carry the country through a costly war.

And the analogy with the Budget of 1909 was made closer by the master-stroke of extending the principle of legacy duty on personal property to succession to landed property. This 'was the first rudimentary breach in the ramparts of the territorial system, and, like other proposals touching land, secured for its author the resentment of a powerful class.'² This venture was afterwards described by Mr. Gladstone as 'the heaviest task he had ever performed.'

And it has for us the supreme interest of a first and fierce conflict with the Lords. The far-off precedent of Mr. Pitt's similar attempt helped not a jot. To make land pay like other property was the deadly sin. The singular counter-stroke of Lord Malmesbury is worth consideration. The moment the Succession Duty Bill was printed, Lord Malmesbury moved in the Lords for a Committee to consider and report upon its provisions, before the Commons had a chance to pass it and deal with it in Committee. This is of constitutional interest. The avowed intention was to put the Lords' recommendations before the Commons as anticipatory suggestions for them to embody in Committee. That was a frank admission of the paramount right of the Commons to determine the form of tax Bills.

The debates let loose all the flowers of rhetoric which have since been poured out over every proposal that has 'laid hands on that purchased and settled land which had hitherto been held

¹ Greville, *Third Series*, i. p. 59.

² Morley, ii. p. 463.

sacred,'² and which the Sessions of 1894 and 1909 have made us know by heart. The invective of 1853 was nearly as vitriolic as that of 1909. Mr. Gladstone's proposals were 'oppressive, cowardly, and odious.' He was 'a vulture soaring over society.'

Mr. Gladstone's initial motive was, that if the income tax was to be developed once more, even on a terminable scheme, the anomaly of enterprise and skill paying in the full, while landed property escaped its fair share, must be set right, and this exemption of land corrected to achieve the just balance.

And Mr. Gladstone fought and won. For those were the days when the tongues of opposing statesmen might be bitter, but their minds were still swayed by the memories of 1832, and by the example of stately self-control and loyalty of men like the Duke of Wellington, who held that, cost what it might, the King's Government must be carried on.

It is not inappropriate to turn from the triumphs of 1853, won by constructive genius, by persuasive argument, and by sheer dauntless courage, to the very last scene of Mr. Gladstone's Parliamentary career, the speech of the 1st of March 1894.

Those who were present then can never forget the power and the pathos, the concentrated but restrained passion of that supreme protest, the deep and intense conviction of that last appeal to the party he had led so long, and to the House of Commons he cherished so reverently, to rescue once for all the future of progress, and to vindicate effectively the right of the elected House to the paramount control of the national affairs entrusted to it by the electors.

The issue of the debate was small—whether the whittling down of provisions of the Parish Councils Bill should be condoned, so as to save something for the English people from the wreckage of that stupendous Session.

Those behind the scenes remember how Liberal County Members, who had helped to strengthen the vital clauses of the Bill, urged the chief Whip to get our leaders to pass the Bill, maimed as it was, so that at least rural members should not go empty-handed to the country.

But the first impulse of Mr. Gladstone, as of Sir William Harcourt, was to hurl back the Lords' amendments as a whole. Mr. Gladstone was eager to dissolve. 'There was a decisive case against the Lords. They had practically destroyed the work of the House of Commons, unexampled as that work was in the time and pains bestowed upon it.' But his appeal from Biarritz fell on deaf ears.

It was the last bold, intuitive, and rational impulse of the best fighter of our times, and he should have had his way. Who

² Lord Malmesbury.

knows whether Sir William Harcourt's grand Budget of 1894 would have been postponed or not? It was certain to come soon in any case. But we should have kept our grand old leader, have escaped the disintegration of 1895, and perhaps the chapter of intrigue and paralysing dissension, the Slough of Despond, from which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman slowly extricated the party.

For Gladstone himself it was a supreme tragedy. Nine years of passionate energy given to his last, and to him, greatest constructive idea—to remove an enormous mischief and to lay in national reconciliation the true corner-stones of democratic progress—had brought a cause, not intrinsically popular, within reach of realisation. His rushing eloquence, his inexhaustible historic illustrations, his unrivalled marshalling of arguments, his appeals to the loftiest emotions of humanity, the deep musical voice, the flashing eye, the glowing courage, will live for ever in the memories of those who witnessed the marvellous enthusiasm aroused by those entrancing speeches, culminating often in perorations which took the House of Commons or some vast meeting by storm, so that men rose to their feet in a whirlwind of prolonged cheering.

We recalled how he had fought the dreary battle against coercion, and had won at last by these Titanic efforts, and would have won irresistibly perhaps, but for the unhappy Parnell exposure. Then came the labyrinth of Committee obstruction of the Home Rule Bill, through which he won his way by patient reasoning, endless resourcefulness and dexterity, till the Bill, the outcome of all his powers, went at last to the Lords. A few hours of perfunctory debate, and an array of peers, many of them unknown to Westminster, threw aside the final effort of his genius and enthusiasm.

Mr. Gladstone argued the grounds of his motion with extreme moderation, and then went on :

These amendments, and the treatment of several Bills of great importance, which this House has sent to the Lords after unexampled labour, raise a question of the gravest character. We have come to an acute stage of the controversy—whether the work of the House of Lords is not merely to modify but to annihilate the whole work of the House of Commons. . . . We have not been desirous to precipitate or unduly to accentuate a crisis. . . .

But

the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature, but of conviction, of prepossession, of mental habit and of fundamental tendency, between the House of Lords and the House of Commons have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things which cannot continue.

The issue raised [between a representative assembly and a mere deliberative

body which contains many able men] has been long postponed, by the discretion and reserve in the use of enormous privileges which the House of Lords on various occasions in the time of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, and other periods have shown.

I will not abandon hope. To say the situation is intolerable sounds hard and dictatorial—but in some way or other a solution will have to be found for this tremendous contrariety and incessant conflict upon matters of high principle and profound importance between the representatives of the people and those who fill a nominated or non-elected Chamber.

The patriotism, the abstention from any word of denunciation, the lofty, grave, almost heroic dignity left an indelible impression. At the close of the debate the great leader walked without a pause, without a sign, for the last time past the Speaker's chair, and was gone for ever.

It was in one sense the last and not the least noble word of a golden age of men cast in a greater mould, who, whatever their shortcomings, were filled with a sentiment of unswerving loyalty to the traditions which have built up and ennobled our institutions, and made the ordered evolution of English liberties what it has been. It was an appeal to the House of Lords itself, as well as to the House of Commons and to the nation, that the functions of Parliament should be discharged in a spirit of reverence for the unwritten conventions of wise men, generation after generation, which collectively form the Constitution under and through which Parliament and the nation have to do their work.

It was an issue that, once raised, must go on to a solution, but it was an issue not of revolution but of readjustment. Great precedents were not lightly to be brushed aside, or declared arrogantly to be non-existent; but for continued usurpation by the Lords was to be honestly substituted fair recognition of what a House of Commons is constitutionally elected to do.

In this connexion may be recalled the singular counterpart to Mr. Gladstone's last speech in the equally temperate and sagacious words of the late Duke of Devonshire in the debate on Lord Newtop's Bill to reconstruct the House of Lords on the 7th of May 1907. The Duke frankly favoured 'reforms in the House of Lords which might bring it into closer touch with the other House, and with the people.'

The House of Lords had 'elements of strength in containing men of administrative ability and experience who have rendered service to the State in many capacities at home and abroad.' But its 'elements of weakness' were also obvious—

the almost exclusively hereditary basis upon which this House rests, the absence from it of any representative character, its too close connexion with, and over-representation of, the landed interest, its comparative dissociation from certain interests such as industry, commerce and labour, and the consequent predominance within this

House of one political party, its unwieldy size, involving the occasional attendance of a large number of Peers who take no habitual part in its proceedings, and many of whom may be unfit to do so—it is admitted that these are elements of weakness, which tend in themselves to produce that incompatibility of temper between the two Houses which leads to differences, and makes those differences difficult of adjustment.⁴

With two such utterances from two such men so transparently honest and so unanswerable, why should not the constitutional deadlock find easy and rational solution, why should our unwritten Constitution be misused and perverted—treated like a football in the intricate and not always honest game of party strategy to the infinite peril of national security and national progress?

And before passing from this epoch in Gladstone's career, let it be remembered that he was dealing solely with the conflicting pretensions of the Houses as to legislation, that he was not raising, not even contemplating at that moment, the supreme and paramount issue of to-day—the illegitimate interference by the Lords with finance.

Similarly, Gladstone's action in the crisis of 1884 illustrates a generous spirit of constitutional fair-play. The Lords refused to pass the Franchise Bill unless accompanied by Redistribution. Gladstone had no illusions. Redistribution was to him, as to most of us, a plausible pretext to kill Franchise. It was absurd for the Hereditary Chamber to claim that they could alone interpret the permanent convictions of the people and safeguard them against transient phases of opinion. Since 1832, out of twelve Parliaments elected by the people, there was only one with which the Peers were in harmony. To all the rest they were opposed! But he had no real wish to convert the great campaign of demonstrations in favour of the Franchise Bill into a crusade against the Upper House. Rather he wished, 'in closing the present controversy, to prevent the growth of one probably more complex and more formidable.'⁵

If dissolution became inevitable, it must be a dissolution upon organic change in the House of Lords. Should the Bill be again rejected, he must either retire, 'or become a supporter of organic change in the House of Lords, which I hate and am making all this fuss in order to avoid.'⁶

The negotiations which little by little led the way to what Mr. Gladstone preferred to call 'a bridge for honourable men to retreat,' were largely the work of the Queen herself. Royal intervention went indeed far, when we find Her Majesty commenting 'on 'the strong expressions used by Ministers in their recent

⁴ *Hansard*, Fourth Series, clxxiv. p. 13.

⁵ Memorandum submitted to the Queen, August 1884.

⁶ *Morley*, iii. p. 130.

⁷ *Morley*, iii. p. 133.

speeches, making the task of conciliation undertaken by the Queen most difficult.' Lord Hartington, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and Sir Stafford Northcote all joined in.

The final conference with Lord Salisbury—as unprecedented as it was delicate and slippery—is instructive and amusing. 'It was a pleasure to deal with so quick and acute a man. . . . Lord Salisbury kept a sharp eye on the party main chance.' And it should be noted—'he proved to be entirely devoid of respect for tradition,' and Mr. Gladstone found himself to be 'a strong Conservative in comparison.'⁸ After this, what need to look farther for the origin, the family idiosyncrasy of Mr. Balfour's supreme astuteness in the pitch-and-toss manipulation of principles and policies? And why quarrel with honest Radicals, who from that day to this hold, not without good reason, that in this episode Mr. Gladstone missed the biggest chance of cornering and permanently getting the better of his persistent foes?

Certain it is that from 1884 date ever new and more daring encroachments by the Peers whenever Liberals have been in office.

Virtually the Lords were given all they asked for, in being allowed to see the Redistribution Bill before they passed Franchise. The tempestuous demonstrations all through the summer and autumn, the demand 'to end or mend' the Lords, had lost their whole meaning—their moral weight was evaporated in these tortuous channels of negotiation.

The truth was that Mr. Gladstone was from the first a great Commoner. He was rather indifferent than hostile to the Lords, till the great provocations came. In his graceful refusal of the earldom offered him in 1885, he wrote simply enough that, 'though he did not share the feeling which led Sir Robert Peel to put a perpetual self-denying ordinance on himself and his family, any service he could render would be greater in the Commons than in the Lords, and it had never formed part of his plans to enter that historic Chamber.'

But he was above all a loyal constitutionalist, and while quick to challenge usurpation with unsparing logic, he had no wish to precipitate conflict. His instinct and his practice were never to say strong things till the real moment for action, and then he threw into word and deed all the intensity of purpose and passion.

It is not unimportant to our purpose here to examine briefly what occurred about Army Purchase. It illustrates Gladstone's tremendous initiative when the iron was hot and the hammer within reach. Mr. Cardwell's scheme for Army Organisation

⁸ Morley, iii. pp. 137-8.

could not proceed without the abolition of purchase. 'The nation must buy back its own army from its own officers.' The 'soul and body' of Mr. Cardwell's measure was to facilitate by Act of Parliament a more than generous scheme for the extinction of the purchase system, the real obstacle to promotion by merit. The Bill was stubbornly obstructed in the Commons by professional and class interests, and brought the Government into 'direct collision with the ruling sentiment in the highest quarters.' It was at once met in the Lords by a motion to hang it up till a Commission had reported.

Mr. Gladstone, with the Queen's approval, struck forthwith, overridding and outflanking the Peers by the issue of a new Royal Warrant, finally and without qualification abolishing purchase altogether.

The debate in the Lords on the resultant situation was as bitter as it is constitutionally instructive. It was argued with his usual gentle dignity, by the Duke of Richmond, that the Lords had good reason to protest against the Executive using the Royal Prerogative to force the hands of the Lords and compel them to pass the Bill in order to provide compensation.

You say to us, if you come to a conclusion we can endorse, we shall be satisfied; but we intend to pass the Bill, and if your opinion is opposed to us, we shall resort to the strongest stretch of the Prerogative that can be imagined and take the whole thing out of your hands.⁹

Lord Salisbury, who spoke of the dilatory motion not as suspension but as downright rejection—which doubtless all such motions in the Lords always in essence are—bitterly upbraided the Government with deliberately submitting the question to Parliamentary decision, and, when that decision went against them, reviving a dormant Royal Prerogative to effect their purpose. Whether it was passion or calculated action—

You are called upon to vote on a great constitutional wrong—to defend the independence of Parliament against the misuse by an imperious Minister of the Prerogative of the Crown—to stamp with disapprobation an act without precedent in English history, an Act which, if you did not mark it as it deserves, would stand for ever in derogation of the authority of the House to which you belong.¹⁰

The interest of these animated proceedings lies in the fact that even after such an appeal the Lords submitted. They made their protest, but they passed the Bill. This event, within its obvious limits, is a not unimportant step in the evolution of the Constitution, which has, in the words of Professor Lowell, the new President of Harvard, 'grown up by a continual series of adaptations to existing needs like a living organism.'¹¹

⁹ *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ccviii. p. 462.

¹⁰ *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. ccviii. p. 480.

¹¹ Lawrence Lowell, *Government of England*, vol. i. p. 14.

Whether the exercise of the Prerogative was under powers given by statute, as argued by the Lord Chancellor, or the free and full use of the inherent power of the Crown as argued by Lord Salisbury, the practical outcome was that in a matter of supreme importance to the nation—upon which the majority of the Commons, the Ministry responsible to that majority, and the Sovereign who appoints Ministers in conformity with that majority, were agreed—the Royal Prerogative was actually used to give effect to the will of the Executive and the House of Commons, without the assent of the House of Lords, and in fact against its decision.

In substance, and within a strictly limited scope, what was done is practically identical with the proposal made for general application in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Resolution as to the relations of the Houses in 1907—that, after full opportunity to the Lords to exercise their right of revision, in a manner and within limits conformable to the visible purpose of the people in electing a House of Commons, the Executive and the House of Commons could, with the assent of the Crown, pass their proposals over the heads of the Peers. And if such procedure is applicable to legislation, where authority is co-ordinate, why not to finance, where the Liberal doctrine is that the Commons are supreme?

But, of course, the passages of Mr. Gladstone's career which bear most closely on the tremendous constitutional issues raised in 1909, and deserve the most precise analysis and consideration, are the proceedings as to the repeal of the Paper Duty in 1860 and 1861.

The vital and logically essential conditions of Grants in Supply and of Money Bills, their meaning in national life, their intrinsic and fundamental relation to representative government, and to personal liberty, all this is the very heart of what the British Constitution really is.

And the supreme importance, historically as well as constitutionally, of this series of events is that each step in action, each argument in debate, established the truth about the privileges of the House of Commons more irrefragably, and that the final issue of the whole transaction was a substantial and, till the present year, an uninterrupted and unchallenged acquiescence in the settled principles for which the House of Commons has, by resolution and by action, stood for three hundred years.

The Paper Duty quarrel sprang out of the structure of Mr. Gladstone's second historic Budget of 1860. Enthusiastically entering into Cobden's project for a commercial treaty with France, doubly important 'as a counter-irritant to a possible war-fever,' Mr. Gladstone found his opportunity in the falling in of two millions of annuities for a great scheme of generous remission

of taxation. As ever, his policy was to increase future taxable capacity by stimulating and giving full play to the expansion of commerce and industry. He almost invited a deficit in order to provide new and growing sources of revenue. He was not content with sacrificing over a million by the French treaty, but boldly swept away most of the remaining Customs duties and made big reductions on others—a total relief to the consumer of over a million more. When Peel began in 1842, the number of dutiable articles was 1052. The Budget of 1860 brought the number down to 48, of which only 15 were really operative sources of revenue. The Budget speech of this year teems with illustrations of how the removal of duties extended old and created new industries, and how this policy aids the evolution of prosperity, even more by increasing employment than by the mere lowering of the prices of consumable articles. The speech is a veritable mine of lucid and stirring arguments to controvert the narrow and shortsighted policy of Protection, and to demonstrate how work and profits increase by stimulating commercial freedom. Gladstone had to meet in 1860 the recurrent cry for better defences, the change from wooden men-of-war to ironclads, and the demand for improved artillery, just as we have similar demands now. He urged that it was just in times like those, when national necessities were great relatively to national means, that bold sacrifices should be made to effect still bolder and more reproductive expansions in commercial reform. And so he wound up by pouncing on the heavy restrictions the Excise duty on paper imposed, not only on the spread of books and journals, but on a vast network of industries into which paper entered directly and indirectly. Other expedients and adjustments, and a penny on the income tax, made his great constructive scheme complete, a scheme 'the magnitude and comprehensiveness of which seized the imagination of the people.'

Interest and prejudice used every Parliamentary expedient to defeat the repeal of the Paper duty. It soon became likely that the Lords would use the chance given by the then practice of sending up separate Money Bills. After all, the Lords had the singular encouragement of hostility in the Cabinet itself. Palmerston talked for hours against the Bill, and wrote to the Queen, behind the back of the Cabinet who had adopted it, that 'the Lords would render public service if they threw it out!'¹² The Bill passed the Commons by a narrow vote, and was promptly rejected by the Lords in May. Nearly six weeks elapsed of struggle and recrimination behind the scenes, and inane inquiry about things everybody knew, before Lord Palmerston was

¹² Letters of Lord Palmerston to the Queen, 22nd of May and 2nd of July 1860.

brought to the point of even moving the three resolutions which seemed to bold and strong Parliamentarians of the time, 'a poor and paltry compromise.'¹³

On his legs in the Commons, Lord Palmerston recited definitely enough the orthodox doctrine that the House had the exclusive right to determine what taxes shall be imposed or remitted, and denied to the House of Lords any right to amend or vary the financial proposals of the year. He wound up with a pledge that if the Lords were really mad enough to attempt to make themselves partners with the Commons—

in arranging the measure, time, or amounts of aids and supplies which it belongs solely and exclusively to this House to determine, it would not be by the impotent words of a resolution that our constitutional rights would be vindicated, it would be by action which we should not be slow to discover the mode of taking.¹⁴

But this was reduced to an anti-climax by the avowal that, in his opinion, the Lords meant no harm, and therefore the Commons could rest content with formal declarations.

Mr. Gladstone had, on the other hand, held from the first that the Lords were plainly setting up 'a revising power over the House of Commons in its most vital function, long declared to be exclusively its own, and a divided responsibility in fixing the revenue and charge of the country for the year.' He had throughout pressed for prompt and decisive action, and by threats of resignation¹⁵ had at least secured the resolutions—imperfect as they were—and Palmerston's affirmation of principle.

His speech on the debate of the 5th of July is the strongest possible statement of the basis and meaning of representative government in England.¹⁶

What the Lords had done was a 'gigantic innovation, the most gigantic and dangerous that has been attempted in our times.' 'The resolutions are a mild and temperate but intelligible and firm declaration,' but

without finding fault with their terms, I do not scruple to say that, in my opinion, this House would do well to vindicate and establish its rights by action. I reserve to myself entire freedom to adopt whatever course is likely to succeed.

There is not a single case upon record since the present system of taxation was established, until the Paper Duties Repeal Bill of this year, in which the House of Lords has attempted to interfere with the taxing function of the House of Commons. The House of Lords has never before attempted to exercise the functions of the House of Commons.

The question whether the exclusive power of taxation is to rest with the

¹³ *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 159, p. 1429.

¹⁴ *Hansard*, *ibid.*, p. 1393.

¹⁵ Letter to the Queen, 2nd of July 1860.

¹⁶ *Hansard*, July 5, 1860, pp. 1430-1441.

House of Commons is of a hundred times greater importance and value than the continuance of the Paper duty.

The House of Commons cannot be infallible, it may make errors in finance, but I wish to know whether those errors in matters of finance are, or are not to be, liable to correction by the House of Lords. If they are, what becomes of your privileges? The question now raised is whether that power of review which is exercised by the House of Lords in matters of legislation is likewise to be extended to finance, and whether the function of the House of Commons in imposing or repealing taxes is to be divided as to its exercise and the responsibility which it involves with the House of Lords.

The whole rights of the House of Commons, as they have been handed down to us, constitute a sacred inheritance upon which I, for my part, will never voluntarily permit any intrusion or plunder to be made. The very first of our duties, higher than any duty dealing with legislative measures, high and sacred though such duties may be, is to maintain intact that precious deposit.

In pursuance of the freedom to act he had reserved, Mr. Gladstone embodied the repeal of the Paper duty in clauses of the Customs and Excise Bill next year. Lord Robert Cecil, as he then was (the late Lord Salisbury), vehemently denounced this course as unconstitutional. It was plainly 'tacking' with the design further to control the privileges of the Lords. Would they tamely submit, or would they, in defence of their privileges, divide the Bill into several measures and deal with each separately? . . . 'Trying to creep round the law by means of a quibble was worthy rather of an attorney than a statesman,' and 'in saying so he felt he was doing a great injustice to the attorneys.' This 'overriding of the independent judgment of the Lords' is a 'device to put a stop to any opportunities of discussion and amendment without'—this should be carefully noted—'resorting to the almost revolutionary measure of rejecting the Budget altogether.'

The Lords' case was thus fiercely fought by their champion in the Commons, and in their own House by other speakers; but when it came to action they surrendered, and from that day to this few writers or speakers have ventured to argue seriously, and with the hope of carrying practical conviction to others, that the Lords can either amend, by alteration, or omission, or division, any Finance Bill; while their theoretical claim to the right of total rejection has been allowed to lapse, exactly like the royal veto on legislation. The same great Conservative statesman admitted, as Lord Robert Cecil, on the Paper Duty clauses of the Budget of 1861, that it would be almost a revolution to suggest the rejection of the Budget as a whole, and, as Lord Salisbury, thirty-three years later in the Lords, said: 'It is obvious that this House, in point of fact, has not for many years past interfered by amendment with the finance of the year. The reason why this House cannot do so is that it has not the power of changing the Executive Government; and to reject a Finance Bill, and leave

the same Government in its place, means to create a deadlock from which there is no escape.'

After all, the principle which Mr. Gladstone laid down in the great debates of 1860 and 1861, and which Mr. Asquith is maintaining now, is clear and unanswerable.

It was never better stated than by the great Lord Chatham, when a member of the House of Commons :

Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . . In legislation the three estates are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. We represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House of Commons we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty.

This is, in its solid results, till this year never seriously challenged, perhaps the greatest service Gladstone rendered to constitutional liberty. He built a wall round representative government as essential to national freedom.

These illustrations of the points in his career at which he came into contact with the gravest of all political issues, as they are with us to-day, can leave little doubt as to what would have been his attitude, if he had been with us now, in the fullness of his mental and moral manhood, and our leader, in dealing with our present problems. It matters little whether the pretensions of the Lords to equal rights in finance, to force a dissolution by stopping the supplies of the year, and virtually to rob the Crown of its chief prerogative of appointing or dismissing Ministers, are being made the instrument of Tariff Reform, or of the liquor interest, or of class domination on the unsubstantial pretext of 'fighting Socialism.' Mr. Gladstone would have fought this constitutional revolution to the death, and his Midlothian campaigns, the passion of the Home Rule struggle, his inexhaustible resourcefulness in handling every great question to which he gave himself, demonstrate that he would have fought with an intensity, with almost a Berserker rage, which might have carried all before it. It is, perhaps, a fruitless speculation, for you can take no man out of his own time and atmosphere and assume that under other conditions he would be exactly what he was. But on the issue of the greatest of all conceivable constitutional usurpation, a question of permanent principle, there is no room for doubt, any more than it is possible for any candid mind to deny that, whatever defects of detail may have been open to objection in the great Budget of 1909, the general principles of the Free Trade Budget of to-day have their natural and logical forerunners in the two great financial schemes of 1853 and 1860, just as much as in the great Finance Bill of Sir William Harcourt in 1894.

FRANCIS ALLSTON CHANNING.

LORD BEACONSFIELD AS A TARIFF REFORMER

THROUGHOUT the whole of his long public life Lord Beaconsfield was at once the most consistent and the most powerful of the opponents of the school of mock 'Free Trade' and virulent anti-Imperialism founded by Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden.

By temperament and inclination he was disposed to view with suspicion the demagogues of the Anti-Corn Law League, who appealed—like their Radical-Socialist successors of to-day—to class jealousy, to sectarian bigotry, and to partisan prejudice, in order to subvert the capital institutions of the country. Always a foe to shams, he never advocated, even in his earliest speeches, such a Protective fiscal system as would make corn-growing artificially profitable in the United Kingdom. But his robust intellect perceived that, between the extreme of Protection on the one side, and that of unrestricted competition and State-aided imports on the other—the one harmful to our urban populations, the other subversive of employment, and ruinous not only to agriculture but also to every other productive agency—there is a *via media*, favoured by such statesmen as Pitt and Huskisson, that will injure no class, will facilitate employment for all, and will establish our world-wide Empire on an impregnable basis.

This *via media*, which is as far removed from the ancient Protection of the old Whigs as it is from the Free Imports of the modern Radicals, was called by Disraeli, Tory 'Free Trade,' and rightly so called. It is presented by him in all his speeches as the true antidote for the mischievous doctrines of Mr. Cobden, which are now commonly known as Cobdenism. I think this fact cannot be doubted by any one who knew Lord Beaconsfield, or who is really familiar with his published speeches and writings. And yet, strange to say, though it is not yet quite thirty years since death finally closed that brilliant career, one may occasionally hear him spoken of as having been himself something of a Cobdenite!—and that not merely by ill-informed Radicals, or irresponsible Free-Feeders who will say anything, but even by such serious and respected authorities of the Cobdenite cult as Mr.

Gibson Bowles and Lord Cromer. It may therefore be useful in the interests of historic truth if I venture to lay before the readers of this Review some account of Lord Beaconsfield's very clear and pronounced opinions on these matters as fully explained by himself in his various published speeches, and very definitely shadowed forth in his writings. Indeed, the erroneous views that have been very commonly held of late by Radicals and Cobdenites in this connection have only been rendered colourable by the inveterate habit of the Liberal party to give the name of 'Free Trade' to that which, as the late Lord Salisbury pithily observed, is only fetish-worship, and not Free Trade at all. When Disraeli truly said of himself, in the House of Commons in 1848, 'I am a Free Trader,' he promptly added, 'Yes, but not a Freebooter; honourable gentlemen opposite [Cobden and Villiers] are Freebooters!'—and he proceeded to show that the principles of Cobdenism are 'totally opposed to the principles of Free Trade.'

In limine, I must say one word about another misapprehension in regard to Lord Beaconsfield's policy, more widely spread and more plausible than the one already noted, but I think equally untrue. It has been very commonly assumed that, as Gladstone developed, or degenerated, from being 'the rising hope of the Tory Party' in his youth, to become the iconoclastic Radical of his old age, so Disraeli 'boxed the political compass' in the opposite direction. It is true that in his earliest speeches at High Wycombe he advocated such heresies, from the then Tory point of view, as triennial parliaments and the ballot. But a little later on, at Taunton, he entirely justified those views as almost necessary safeguards against a Whig despotism and the danger of another Whig 'Long Parliament.' And even in these twentieth-century times, if Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Winston Churchill were ever at the head of a thumping majority in the House of Commons, with no Asquith or Grey to stand between us and a dictatorship, we might be glad of a system of triennial parliaments, and what Disraeli called at Taunton 'frequent appeals to a misgoverned people.'

But whatever conclusion may be formed as to Lord Beaconsfield's consistency in regard to general party politics, I shall be able to show, by reference to his own words, that his fiscal policy throughout was a consistent one. Whether supporting Sir Robert Peel as a Tory Tariff Reformer in 1842, or opposing him as a renegade and a Cobdenite in 1846; whether protesting against the Liberal conspiracy to disintegrate our colonial empire in 1852, or glorying in the resuscitation of the Imperial sentiment in 1872, or deploring the success of the Liberal abandonment of our commercial bargaining power in 1879, with the consequent loss of markets, artificially cheap prices, and widespread industrial distress, not

two years before his death—he is always seen to be the inflexible advocate of that Reciprocity and that Imperial Preference, which now in combination constitute the policy that Mr. Balfour and the Unionist party offer to the country.

He always maintained that he inherited this policy from Bolingbroke and Pitt, through Huskisson and Liverpool—and Peel himself, before the great betrayal. He struck the keynote of his policy in a remarkable reference to Bolingbroke in his speech in the great Corn Law debate of February 1846 :

There were propositions made at Utrecht which were not carried into effect, for a *general* system of commercial communication at a very moderate duty—at 10 per cent. THAT WAS REALLY THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE TRADE.

From the strictly scientific point of view, from the most rigorous application of the doctrines of political economy, it is impossible to deny the exact accuracy of this judgment. As Mr. Walter Sichel observes in his admirable *Life of the great Tory statesman*, 'Bolingbroke was the first Free, or rather Fair, Trader in Europe.' The 10 per cent. duty *ad valorem*, proposed by him for the commercial clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht, as the fair contribution to the 'upkeep of the market,' to be paid by every seller in every market in the commercial world, would secure absolute Free Trade throughout the world. Under such a system, every user of every market throughout the world would pay for its use a toll roughly proportioned to his share of the convenience of the market—the indigenous seller paying in the shape of rates and taxes, the foreign importer paying in the shape of this import duty. Under our British Cobdenite system, the British seller in the British market pays for the whole of its upkeep in his rates and taxes—both his own share and that of the foreigner too—and certainly has to pay, because of this inequality, a good deal more than 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. If the foreigner reciprocated by giving us the privilege of free imports, it might be regarded as a fairly rough equitable set-off for this inequality ; but is he ever likely to do so? On the contrary, in every important foreign market, the import-duties on British manufactures at this moment pay far more than our fair share of the upkeep of those foreign markets used by us.¹ Thus, Cobdenism forces us to pay, in the shape of rates and taxes, the whole cost of the upkeep of our

¹ John Stuart Mill laid down this principle very clearly in his *Essay on International Commerce*, quoted in his *Principles of Political Economy*, book v., chapter iv., § 6 : 'A country cannot be expected to renounce the power of taxing foreigners unless foreigners will in return practise towards itself the same forbearance. The only mode in which a country can save itself from being a loser by the revenue duties imposed by other countries on its commodities is to impose corresponding revenue duties on theirs.' And yet Mill is often quoted by foolish Free-Fooders, and is indeed the standard text-book of the so-called 'Free Trade' school of economists—a school that, in these modern days of world-commerce, can hardly be said to exist outside the realms of the Cobden Club.

own British market, both our own share and that of the foreigners who use it equally with ourselves—and also to pay, in the shape of import-duties in every foreign market used by us, a most disproportionate share of the cost of the upkeep of those foreign markets.

Bolingbroke could not induce any Continental Government to agree to his liberal offer of reciprocity; but he retained our British power of bargaining and retaliation, as did all his successors, whether Whigs or Tories, until Cobden's fagot-votes coerced Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell in 1845.

It was in May 1842 that Sir Robert Peel brought in his new tariff, with the view of once more endeavouring to obtain foreign reciprocity. And Disraeli strenuously supported it, on the ground that its principles were those of Mr. Pitt, and that it would benefit the working classes. He said:

It was Mr. Pitt who first promulgated them, in 1787. At the time when this country had been deprived of the great colonial market of America, he was led to look round for new markets on the continent of Europe, and first developed that system which he considered should form the future commercial policy of the country. Mr. Pitt said that we must begin to carry on commerce upon a system of *complete reciprocity*.

Later on, in February 1846, when Sir Robert Peel announced his conversion to Cobdenite Free Trade, and brought in his measure for the abolition of the Corn Laws, Disraeli warmly upbraided his leader for this tergiversation. In doing so, he justified the vote which he had given for Peel's Tariff in 1842, and pointed out how entirely the principle of that Tariff—Reciprocity, or 'Tariff Reform'—differed from prohibition or Protection on the one side, and from Cobdenite 'Free Trade' on the other. He said:

For myself I gave a conscientious vote for the tariff of the right honourable baronet, as embodying a system of moderate, just, and judicious protection, one which was in complete harmony with what I think are the true commercial principles of this country. We know what a contrary policy would have effected. We are not without examples. We know what a system of absolute prohibition will accomplish, for we have the example of Spain always before us. And we know, also, there is another country where there has been a complete application, for a long term, of the system of unmitigated competition—not, indeed, from any philosophical conviction of its policy, but rather from the haughty indifference with which a race of conquerors are too apt to consider commerce. There has been free trade in Turkey for a long time; and what has it produced? It has destroyed some of the finest manufactures in the world. As late as 1812 these manufactures had existed; but they have been destroyed. Now that was the consequence of competition in Turkey, and its effects have been as pernicious as the effect of the contrary principle in Spain. You have had the same impossibility of aggregating capital—the same impoverishment of the people. And one of the great causes of the financial difficulties of the Porte has been that there the effects of unbridled competition have been as pernicious as those

of excessive protection in Spain. . . . When a great Minister has to deal with the general arrangements of the commercial affairs of a country, he has two main objects to attain—first, how to employ the people; and secondly, to secure them variety of employment, which, in case of the failure of any particular branch, may prevent their being left without resource.

This is the point—the question of employment for the working classes of the United Kingdom—on which Lord Beaconsfield, in all his subsequent speeches on fiscal matters, laid especial stress side by side with the necessity of maintaining our Imperial connexion with India and the colonies.

In his speech on Local Taxation in March 1849, when twitting Mr. Cobden—‘the hon. member for the West Riding,’ who boasted² that in 1844 he had secured the election of Lord Morpeth for the West Riding by the purchase of 5000 fagot-votes!—with his admission that ‘the farmers of England had not been fairly dealt with in the recent changes,’ Mr. Disraeli emphasised this point, that the introduction of free imports had terribly injured British industry.

I still believe (he said) that in constructing this new system you have mistaken the rules which regulate an advantageous interchange of commodities between nations, and that in attempting to obviate the injury and inconvenience of hostile tariffs by opening our ports, we have adopted a course which tends to the depression of British industry. . . . I still believe that there is but one way to extricate the country from the calamities which it now experiences and those which are impending—and that is by the frank adoption of the principle of Reciprocity as the fundamental principle of your commercial code.

And in this connexion it is interesting to note that, as early as July 1849, Disraeli as a Tariff Reformer had been heckled with the same silly suggestion that is so common to-day on Radical platforms—that Tariff Reform might mean the taxation of raw materials. In his speech on ‘The State of the Nation’ he indignantly repudiated this suggestion :

The right honourable gentleman asks me whether I would encounter the hostile tariff of America by a countervailing duty on raw cotton, to the injury of our own manufactures? The right honourable gentleman will pardon me if I observe that he scarcely appears to have condescended to have made himself acquainted with the principles of the Reciprocity system—the Reciprocity system does not countenance countervailing duties on raw materials. The fallacy of the right honourable gentleman on this head appears to me his confounding raw materials with provisions. A countervailing duty on the raw material—American cotton for instance—would place the foreign manufacturer who did not pay that duty in a superior position to the English manufacturer. Therefore the Reciprocity system, the object of which is to maintain the efficiency of British labour, does not authorise a countervailing duty on raw materials imported for reproduction. But countervailing duties on corn and provisions come under quite a different head. A duty on the raw material renders British labour less

² See Lord Morley's *Life of Cobden*, p. 362.

efficient. A duty on corn, on the contrary, would protect British labour and maintain its exchangeable value. And it has always appeared to me, sir, a very great mistake in the Manchester school that, when they succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the duty on cotton, they did not advocate a duty on corn—because, by giving a premium to the production of corn in the United States, they have restricted their supply of the raw material of their manufacture.

The first organised attack on Peel's Reciprocity Tariff of 1842 was delivered in April 1843 by Ricardo's motion that import duties should be remitted without awaiting the execution of commercial treaties. In opposing this motion, Disraeli vehemently insisted on the need for such treaties :

The motion of the honourable gentleman meant that they should fight against hostile tariffs with free imports, and nothing else. For himself, he believed that would be a policy financially of the most disastrous kind ; at any rate, there was sufficient evidence before them to prove that its immediate consequences would be tariffs more hostile to England. . . . The expression ' Free Trade,' as originally brought into public notice, designated very different principles from those it denoted in the mouths of the gentlemen opposite. . . . A peculiar characteristic of the Free Trade school was their total neglect of circumstances—they never took any circumstances into consideration. . . . If they meant to obtain advantages by negotiation, they must unreservedly announce it, and certainly it would not be long before they attained their end, because the Minister of England who negotiated was placed in a much more favourable position than the Minister of any other country. He could say what the Minister of no other country could say: he could say to the President of the United States with his hostile tariff: ' There is a country belonging to the Queen of England that, if necessary, can produce illimitable quantities of that cotton of which you boast so much ' ; he could say to St. Petersburg: ' That very same country, within three months, in 1843, has sent ships to the port of London with cargoes of flax, hemp, and tallow ' ; and without sending a special mission to Brazil, without the expense of the mission or the mortification of failure, he could tell the Brazilian Minister: ' That very same country in one of its valleys produces sugar enough to feed the whole world, and in another district produces coffee superior to that of the Brazils.' These were facts the knowledge of which was not confined within the walls of the House of Commons ; they were continually referred to in the political and economical dissertation in Europe ; there was not a statesman in Russia or America that was not frightened at the available resources of India. . . . These were the elements of negotiation ; as such they ought not to be forgotten ; they were the elements of our strength if we chose to resort to them. . . . He did not think they could do better in attempting to gain those commercial advantages which they all desired than to adhere to that system of negotiation by means which they could always have recourse to, which were always understood, which if they failed to-day might succeed to-morrow.

It will be observed that in this speech Lord Beaconsfield assumed, as a mere matter of common sense, that, seeing we have spent millions of money and thousands of lives in establishing the *Pax Britannica* in India—constituting that country the greatest and most lucrative market in the world, second only to the United Kingdom—we should in any case take care that we and our Indian

fellow-subjects retain some benefit therefrom. But there is no common sense in Cobdenites—as Lord Beaconsfield here puts it, ‘they never took any circumstances into consideration.’ As a matter of fact, Lord Morley has admitted that at this moment more than three-fourths of the whole export trade of India—which at the time of Beaconsfield’s speech was almost entirely in our possession—is now in the hands of the foreigner. Bengal has a monopoly of the production of raw jute, and she used to sell it to Dundee; now by far the greater portion of the Bengal export of raw jute is taken to Hamburg and other Continental protected ports, there to give employment to German and other foreign artisans, and, when made into jute cloth, to be exported to our colonies, to undersell the unprotected products of our Dundee and Indian jute mills. So with the Indian oil-seeds, which are the raw material of the great oil manufacture. When Disraeli made the speech I have here quoted, about the value to us of our possessing the territories that produce such immense supplies of raw material, the greater portion of the Indian oil-seed crop was taken to London, and pressed out in British mills by British workmen, the oil-cake utilised on British farms, and the oil sold in Germany and elsewhere, as well as at home. But Bismarck’s Tariff Reform in Germany soon put an end to this state of affairs. In the Minute that is appended to the Government of India’s great despatch of 1903 on ‘*Preferential Tariffs*,’ it is pointed out that Germany imposed a heavy protective duty on the oil, and as she admitted the seeds practically free, and subsidised the ships that brought them from India and the merchants that handled them, this lucrative industry has been transferred bodily from London to Hamburg.

All Disraeli’s earlier references to our colonies and dependencies were couched in the language of hopeful Imperialism, seen in the passage I have just quoted. But years of Liberal domination damped the confidence of that hope: and already in 1848 we find him bitterly complaining of the Liberal anti-Imperialism, that followed on the Liberal surrender to Cobdenism in what he sarcastically calls ‘the first and most felicitous effort of Her Majesty’s Ministers.’ In this great speech (August 1848), which established Disraeli’s position as leader of the Conservative party, he referred to the satisfaction felt by his followers that the Liberals had not succeeded in repealing the Navigation Laws, though, he added, ‘we should never have offered any factious or vexatious opposition to the Government in that respect.’ But on the Liberal treatment of the West India colonies he was far more severe:

The House will recollect that, when Parliament met, our sugar-growing colonies were beginning to experience the effect of the measure of 1846, the first and most felicitous effort of Her Majesty’s Ministers. But who cares

for the sugar colonies? Nobody attended to their complaints; they were recommended a little more competition—a little more energy—a little more enterprise—they were only to exert themselves and they would do in time. Nevertheless, packet after packet arrived with accounts more gloomy, details more disastrous, till at last the gloom blackened and the disaster assumed the aspect of despair. Fortunately for the sugar colonies there was one member of this House who, though not a Minister or connected with Ministers, has some influence; and, what is more valuable, an intrepidity that cannot be daunted, and a perseverance that cannot be wearied. The noble lord (Lord G. Bentinck) the member for King's Lynn, disregarding any imputation of wasting the public time when he thought a public interest was at stake, determined to see whether it was not possible that, as long as we pretended to have a colonial empire, there should be at least some appearance of justice on the part of the legislature to those colonies; whether, if we would not relieve them, we would at least inquire into their condition, they alleging that that condition was mainly, if not entirely, occasioned by our recent legislation.

Towards the end of his public career, in the great speech at the Crystal Palace in June 1872, Lord Beaconsfield reviewed in caustic language the history of the Liberal anti-Imperialism from the period of the Reform Bill onward. He said :

If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism—forty years ago—you will find that there has been no effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England. . . . It has been proved to all of us that we have lost money by our colonies. It has been shown with precise, with mathematical demonstration that there never was a jewel in the Crown of England that was so truly costly as the possession of India. How often has it been suggested that we should at once emancipate ourselves from this incubus. Well, that result was nearly accomplished. When those subtle views were adopted by the country under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the colonies, I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken. Not that I for one object to self-government. I cannot conceive how our distant colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff. . . . Well, what has been the result of this attempt during the reign of Liberalism for the disintegration of the Empire? It has entirely failed.

* Lord Beaconsfield's reference is to his famous letter to Lord Malmesbury, written in 1852, at the period which marks the nadir of the Imperialist sentiment in England, when the Liberals seemed to have succeeded in 'breaking the tie' between us and the colonies. Disraeli wrote, almost in despair, to Lord Malmesbury in regard to the dispute with the United States over the Newfoundland fisheries, on August 13, 1852: 'The fisheries affair is a bad business. . . . These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks.' Twenty years later, in the speech of 1872, quoted by me in the text, he explains that this was written at the time when 'I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken.' And yet Lord Cromer, with this explanation before him, had the temerity, in the debate on Preferential Trade in the House of Lords on the 20th of May, 1908, to quote Lord Beaconsfield's letter of 1852 to Lord Malmesbury as a proof that Lord Beaconsfield himself at that time, 1852, was a 'Little Englander,' and weary of the colonial connexion—to such straits does the fetish-worship of an obsolete superstition reduce its hapless votaries!

But how has it failed? Through the sympathy of the colonies with the mother country. They have decided that the Empire shall not be destroyed, and in my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.

It would be difficult to imagine a finer instance of political insight and prescience than that which is afforded by these eloquent words of Disraeli in 1872. What were these 'distant sympathies' worth to us and to the Empire in the dark days of the Boer War, after the disasters of Colenso and Spion Kop? From every corner of the world Britain's sons in every one of her oversea dominions sprang to arms in defence of the Motherland in her hour of need—and there were no Lloyd-Georges or Winston Churchills or other Liberals then about, to 'bang and bolt and bar the door' in their faces, for not even Liberals would have permitted it.

That great speech, which was acclaimed by the Conservative Party throughout the country, as well as by a great many patriotic Liberals, was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the Greater Britains beyond the sea. Its popularity at home marked the decline of the influence of the 'Little Englander' Liberals over the working classes, and the commencement of that resuscitation of the spirit of Pitt and the older Tories which, carried far by Disraeli himself and by Lord Randolph Churchill, has resulted in the Imperial Preference of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain.

How entirely Lord Beaconsfield was justified in his scathing criticism of the whole colonial policy of the Liberals from 1832 to 1872 may, I think, be gathered from the history of that period, even when conveyed to us, as so much of it has been, through strongly partisan Liberal channels. Take, for instance, Lord Grey's *Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, published in 1853—the naïveté of some of its boasts about the results of the introduction of 'Free Trade' into our colonial policy is most interesting.

Lord Grey came into office, as Colonial Secretary, in Lord John Russell's Ministry, late in 1846. In 1843 Lord Stanley (afterwards, as Earl of Derby, the Tory Prime Minister) was Colonial Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Ministry, and passed the Canada Corn Bill, which admitted colonial corn at a nominal duty of 1s., with a preference of 3s. over foreign corn, on condition that Canada should tax all imports of United States corn, whether for consumption or in transit, at the same rate of 3s.* Three years later came the 'Free Trade' revolution in England, which of course destroyed at a blow this Canadian preference. The Imperial Act of 9 & 10 Vict. c. 94 was passed to enable colonies to repeal their customs duties; and under this Act Canada, while losing her valuable British preference, sacrificed much revenue

by repealing all her differential duties, thereby admitting United States goods as freely as the products of the United Kingdom. The United States refused to reciprocate this liberal treatment, maintaining their high duties against Canadian goods, and thereupon Canada not unnaturally reimposed retaliatory duties. But pressure from London was brought to bear, with the result that was thus unctuously described by the Free Traders of the time : ' From this retrograde and suicidal policy we induced her (Canada) to desist, and so gave a happy instance of the compatibility of beneficial influence over a colony, exerted by the English Government, with perfect freedom of colonial action.' During the ten years between 1846 and 1856 the exports from the United States, consisting largely of wheat to England displacing Canadian wheat, rose from 156 million dollars to 293 million dollars !

To take another instance. The New Brunswick Legislature passed an Act for giving a bounty to the production of hemp. As this was stated to be only a temporary measure, Lord Grey allowed it ; but he informed the colony that all commercial legislation must be considered as an Imperial, and not a provincial, concern, and must therefore conform to one general policy. He added, in the peremptory style which is habitual with Cobdenites, ' As while we adhered to the policy of Protection we imposed some onerous restrictions on the commerce of the colonies, so, now we have abandoned our artificial system, we do not abdicate the power or duty of regulating alike the commercial policy of the whole Empire.' The late Lord Norton—who, as the Right. Hon. C. B. Adderley, was Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Derby-Disraeli Administration of 1866-7—in commenting on this arrogant dictum of Lord Grey, shrewdly observes : ' One is rather reminded of the King of Babylon consigning all his nations to perdition, first for worshipping one way, and then if they worshipped the other way, by this demand on the colonies, who had first submitted to our " commercial " system, instantly to conform with our adoption of Free Trade.'

To return to Lord Beaconsfield's great speech at the Crystal Palace in 1872 in favour of an Imperial Tariff, it is well to note that he spoke of the Imperial spirit of the British working classes in terms of absolute confidence. After denouncing the cosmopolitan anti-national sentiments that had been adopted by the Liberal party, he added :

I say with confidence that the great body of the working class of England utterly repudiate such sentiments. They have no sympathy with them. They are English to the core. They repudiate cosmopolitan principles. They adhere to national principles. They are for maintaining the greatness of the kingdom and the Empire, and they are proud of being subjects of our Sovereign and members of such an Empire. . . . I think that the Tory party, or, as I will venture to call it, the National party, has everything to encourage it.

The 'trust in the people' which was so confidently expressed in this speech proved to be well founded, and the elections of 1874 returned the Tory Party, not only to office, but also to real power for the first time since the introduction of Cobdenism into our fiscal system. But only seven short years of life remained to the veteran Tory statesman, and during the whole of that time our hands were full with such vital questions as the Indian frontier, the fate of Constantinople, our existence in South Africa, and the commencing 'scramble' for the rest of Africa among the nations of Europe. As I have before pointed out⁴, it was impossible to undertake great fiscal reforms at home at a time when a Russian mission was all-powerful at the gate of India in Afghanistan, or when the Russian armies were encamped close to Constantinople.

But as late as the 29th of April 1879, less than two years before the close of his eventful life, Lord Beaconsfield took occasion, in the debate in the House of Lords on Lord Bateman's motion on Agricultural Distress, to re-state *urbi et orbi* the rational principles in regard to fiscal policy that had guided him throughout his public career. And he also undertook to prove to modern Radicals that they and their predecessors, by resisting those principles, had put it out of our power, at least for the time, to have recourse to those methods of negotiation with foreign commercial Powers which are necessary for the establishment of our industries on an independent and stable basis. The words in which he opened that speech of 1879 are so remarkable, both in themselves and as summing up the experience and views of the Tory Party for over thirty years, that I will quote them *in extenso*. He said :

My lords, it cannot be denied that a state of great national prosperity is quite consistent and compatible with legislation in favour of the protection of native industry. That proposition, years ago, was denied; but viewing the position of things around us, with the experience we have had of France⁵ and the United States of America—the two most flourishing communities probably in existence—it cannot for a moment be maintained that the existence of a protective system to the industry of an ancient country is inconsistent with a flourishing condition.

Turning to the disastrous nature of the changes introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1846, he proceeded :

The scheme that was adopted was this: that we were to fight hostile tariffs with free imports. I was among those who looked upon that policy with fear—I believed it to be one very perilous; and these feelings were shared by numerous parties in both Houses of Parliament and by a numerous and influential party in the country.

⁴ See the article on 'The Evolution of Tariff Reform in the Tory Party' in this Review for June 1908.

⁵ These words, spoken early in 1879, were accurate at the time, for Germany had not had time fully to develop and benefit by the fiscal reforms of Prince Bismarck.

Just thirty-six years before the date of this speech he had said at Shrewsbury on the 9th of May 1843 :

My idea of Free Trade is this: that you cannot have Free Trade unless the person you deal with is as liberal as yourself. If I saw a prize-fighter encountering a galley-slave in irons, I should consider the combat equally as fair as to make England fight hostile tariffs with free imports.

On the 17th of March 1845, in the House of Commons, in one of the earlier debates on Agricultural Distress, he had said ' sooner or later we must come to the test on this great question, " Will you have Protection or will you have, not Free Trade, for that is not the alternative, but free imports? " '

But it was in the great debate on the Income Tax, on the 10th of March 1848, that he entered into a reasoned exposition of his view that Peel's ' Free Import ' theory of 1846 was a reversal of the Free Trade theory of 1842—a pitiful reversal due to the pressure of the unscrupulous agitation of the Cobdenite Radicals, that had been carried on with great vigour throughout the period intervening between 1842 and 1846. He said :

During that period a great commercial confederation had arisen, very completely organised and conducted by very able men. They made great way in the country, and they promulgated opinions on commerce very different from those propounded by the late Minister in 1842. They were not the opinions of Mr. Pitt, of Lord Shelburne, or of Lord Bolingbroke. They were not the opinions of Free Trade which I am prepared to support. Yes, I am a Free Trader, but not a freebooter—honourable gentlemen opposite are freebooters. The great leaders of the school of Manchester never pretended for a moment that they advocated the principles of regulated competition or reciprocal intercourse—on the contrary, they brought forward new principles, expressed in peculiar language.

These new principles were totally opposed to the principles of Free Trade. These were the principles, however, for which the country was agitated; and in 1845 the late Minister gave his adhesion to them. And here I must observe that during the whole period that elapsed between 1842 and 1845 the late Minister never produced one of those commercial treaties which he promised us in 1842. (Mr. Gladstone: Because foreign Powers would not agree to them.) I want no more important admission than that which I have just received from a late Secretary of State. The attempt to induce foreign Powers to enter into commercial treaties failed; and therefore the late Minister adopted a principle which denied the expediency of obtaining such treaties. That was the state of affairs in 1845. Now, I maintain that the principles then acted upon were not the principles of Mr. Pitt.

Later in the same speech he reiterated, with some vehemence, the arguments to which I have already referred, to show the disastrous effect of free imports on British labour :

Sir, I apprehend that the result of a trade carried on between a country which permits free imports and one which maintains hostile tariffs is, that the exports of the former are diminished in proportion to the amount of those tariffs, without diminishing, in the unprotected country, the demand

for the productions of the people by which the duties are imposed. What is the consequence? The country of free imports is obliged to give more labour for the production of the country which guards against interference with its labour by hostile tariffs. Thus England, by playing the game of free imports against hostile tariffs, entails upon the subjects of Her Majesty the necessity of labouring more to obtain the same foreign products; or, if labouring the same, receiving a less quantity of them in exchange. Our labour becomes less effective. What is this but the degradation of labour?

And, finally, he cites voluminous statistics of unemployment to prove that already, in 1848, this 'degradation of labour,' this impoverishment of the working classes, had followed on the adoption of Cobden's system of Free Imports:

Here is a picture of the state of the principal districts, drawn by Free Traders, for I quote from Free Traders only. One of the most consistent Free Traders states that within the last month—I quote from the *Morning Chronicle*—unprecedented distress has become general; and it speaks of meetings of operatives being held in all parts of Lancashire, Derbyshire, and parts of Yorkshire. Among these meetings there is one of a somewhat novel character; for, instead of discussing the rate of wages, the meeting confined itself to a consideration of the means of emigrating the surplus hands among them to the United States. The project was adopted unanimously.

As the years of the 'Free Trade' tyranny went on, the 'degradation of labour' of which Disraeli spoke in 1848—the spread of unemployment, with the consequent increase of the dread alternatives of emigration and pauperism—became more marked and more chronic, with the frequent recurrence of periods of acute trade depression and distress. In the debate of the 28th of March 1879, on the Marquess of Huntly's motion in the House of Lords for an inquiry into the causes of the distress in the agricultural industry, Lord Beaconsfield once more returned to this point in a speech of deep feeling and warm sympathy. He said:

No one, I think, can deny that the depression of the agricultural interest is excessive. Though I can recall several periods of suffering, none of them have ever equalled the present in its intenseness. . . .

There can be no doubt that the diminution of the public wealth by the amount of 80,000,000*l.*, suffered by one class, begins to affect the general wealth of the country, and is one of the sources of the depression, not only of agriculture, but also of commerce and trade. No candid mind could deny that this is one of the reasons for that depression. Nor is it open to doubt that foreign competition has exercised a most injurious influence on the agricultural interests of the country. . . .

That there is immense depression in trade and commerce no one can deny. . . . During all these years of depression, we have been producing an equal quantity of goods—the same volume of English manufactures has been sent into the world—only we have been obtaining for them lower and still lower prices.

Years before, as I have shown above, Lord Beaconsfield had predicted that such a disastrous state of affairs must be the

inevitable result of the abandonment of the policy of reciprocity, and the adoption of the Cobdenite fad that hostile tariffs can be met by free imports. He had pointed out that this fad hardly deserves to be dignified with the name of 'policy'—for it only rests on the economic fallacy of the international value of an artificial cheapness that degrades our national labour.

In 1860, Mr. Cobden himself—with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer—had endeavoured to go back from his sole reliance on Free Imports, and to revert to the Tory theory of Reciprocity or Commercial Treaties. Aided by the almost accidental fact that French wines and French silks were still dutiable articles in the British tariff, Mr. Cobden succeeded in negotiating a commercial treaty with France. Encouraged by this, the Liberal Government of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone turned to other commercial countries—Austria, Italy, and some others. But in the debate of the 17th of February 1863 Mr. Disraeli—anticipating the famous speech of the late Lord Salisbury at Hastings on the 18th of May 1892—proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that the Free Importers had already deprived us of the weapons by the use of which we could obtain Reciprocity from other nations. After showing that Reciprocity had always been the Tory policy, he proceeded

. . . Sir, I never heard that commercial treaties were connected with the abstract principle of a free exchange of commodities between nations. . . .

Why, sir, commercial treaties, even with France, have been negotiated successfully by Tory Ministers many years before the present commercial treaty with France. There was the commercial treaty of Mr. Pitt, which was only a reproduction of the treaty which Lord Bolingbroke, a Tory Minister, negotiated successfully more than 150 years ago for the exchange of products between England and France on terms much easier than those that at present exist. And why was that treaty negotiated, but not ratified? Why was it defeated? It was defeated through the opposition of the Whig Party in this House. . . .

Nothing can be more unfounded than to suppose that because we on this side of the House are in favour of commercial treaties we are in fact at all deserting those principles which have been habitually supported, I may almost say for centuries, by the Tory Party. . . .

Now, sir, if there can be anything opposed to the abstract principles of free exchange upon which unrestricted competition depends, it is, it must be, those regulations or conventions by which reciprocal advantages are sought in the commercial exchange of nations. . . . You have been told often and often by members of this House that whether it regards commerce or whether it respects navigation, you were too liberal in parting with the advantages and privileges you possessed. . . . Why, in navigation alone, I remember how constantly you were told that you were needlessly giving up a thousand points. The constant answer was, 'Only make the surrender, only endure the sacrifice, and you will see that your example will inspire others.' I am not aware myself of the satisfactory returns to which those sacrifices have tended.

Now this is exactly the point to which Lord Beaconsfield

returned in the last great speech of his life, that on Lord Bateman's motion in the House of Lords on Agricultural Distress on the 29th of April 1879. I have already quoted the passages in which he restated once more his firm belief—confirmed at this late period of his life by all recent experience—in the benefit of a moderate tariff to the industry of a community, and his dread of the results to the working classes of a fiscal system resting on Free Imports. He declared that the Tory Party had only submitted to such a system under coercion. 'It was necessary to bow to the decision of Parliament and the country, expressed by its representatives in both Houses, and ultimately by an appeal to the whole nation itself.' He intimated very clearly—as Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain have subsequently agreed—that another 'appeal to the whole nation itself' and a mandate from the people must precede any reversal of that unfortunate decision. Lord Bateman's motion asked only for an impossible half-measure—it asked for Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties, for which we no longer possessed the means, and proposed nothing to help the farmer and the agricultural labourer. Like Lord Randolph Churchill at Stockton in 1887, Lord Beaconsfield considered this to be a fatal flaw; and he went on to prove that, without a moderate tariff, neither reciprocity nor retaliation is possible. He declared that 'the country is now in a state of much suffering and some perplexity, and it is not unnatural that your lordships should be asked to consider whether the principles upon which for the last thirty-five years we have acted are really sound and true.' He was not prepared at the time—when India, the Afghan War, and other points of Imperial policy were the burning questions at issue between himself and Mr. Gladstone—to go to the country for a reversal of those principles; and in any case he could not have accepted Lord Bateman's proposals for Reciprocity without a general tariff and without Imperial Preference. But as in the Crystal Palace speech of 1872, quoted above, he had deplored the establishment of a colonial system without an Imperial tariff, so in the House of Lords speech of 1879 he deplored the perverse fate that had induced us to throw away our power of bargaining. Within a few months after the delivery of that speech, the whirlwind of Mr. Gladstone's 'Campaign of Passion' in Midlothian swept everything before it. By the Berlin Treaty and the settlement of 'Peace with Honour,' Lord Beaconsfield had succeeded in carrying through the foreign and the oriental side of his Imperial policy. But he was never to have the chance of again referring to the people the questions, equally Imperial in their bearing, that had been decided against him and his party in 1846 and in the following years.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

IRISH POLICY AND THE CONSERVATIVES

IRISHMEN of all parties, except those who have a preference for drowning, are beginning to look more and more to the Conservatives to extricate them from the political quagmire in which the vicissitudes of party government and their own ineffectual struggles have sunk them deep. 'I was born a Liberal, and have always called myself one,' says a distinguished advocate of Home Rule, 'but I am beginning to like the ways of the other side much better.' 'It is not the least use looking for anything while these blackguards are in office,' said another, a Nationalist legislator, to a constituent; 'when the Conservatives come in we may get some sort of a chance.' These remarks, both recently made, I venture to think sum up pretty accurately the present attitude of many Irish electors towards the 'historic parties.' They are by no means enthusiastic or complimentary, and not—let me add as my own opinion—quite just, towards either. To their minds up-to-date Liberals are simply 'blackguards,' and they are beginning to like the Conservatives better. It is true the Liberals have a sweeping Irish policy professedly based on Irish ideas, and must therefore be borne with; but then they do not carry their policy out, and their fervour for it froths on their lips only when they are out of office or otherwise explicably precluded from giving it effect. The Conservatives, on the other hand, though they have, from the Irish point of view, no comprehensive Irish policy at all, are at least felt to be sincere, and their leaders are known to be deeply concerned about the condition of Ireland. Even the apathy towards Ireland which characterises the rank and file of the party may be regarded as encouraging the hope that they may prove open to conviction. So the Irishman, who has no doubt about the justice of his own aims, and to whose sanguine mind all things seem possible, still trusts that the Conservatives, especially if returned to power with a narrow majority, may yet be induced to share and further his views. Looking back, he sees that most of the less doubtful legislative benefits he has received in recent years have come from the Conservative side. Moreover, in nine cases out of ten the whole bent of his mind is intensely conser-

vative, and in many respects firmly individualistic. Socialism, to which Liberalism is so clearly tending, is anathema to him; and, though he often exaggerates the power and duty of Government to promote his interests at everybody else's expense, governmental interference with his private rights, in the direction of curtailment, is the last thing he desires. Further, his estimate of what is desirable for him has of late undergone considerable modification, and is susceptible of more, and he has to a great extent lost faith in the efficacy of the Parliamentary campaign which he supports. An old campaigner of the Land League, the friend and associate of Michael Davitt, writes: 'It appears to me that the Nationalists have carried the ball as near to the goal as it is possible for them to do, and that the minority of Imperialists must do the rest.'

Thus there is clearly an opportunity for the Conservatives, should they triumph at the polls, and if their prejudices and their more cautious supporters will let them seize it. Incidentally there is a tangible reward in the shape of a solid and permanently Conservative Irish vote, if only Irish political thought can be released from the trammels which now constrain it to act in a direction opposite to all its natural tendencies.

Now, assuming an Irish policy to be rationally calculated to advance the material welfare of Ireland, there appear to be three further conditions which it must fulfil if it is to have any chance of success. It must tend to bring Ireland into better harmony with Great Britain and the Empire; it must have a prospect of continuity, that is to say, it must be one which the party not responsible for it will not subvert when next in office; and it must commend itself to Irish opinion sufficiently to secure for it a fair trial when it is put into effect. No argument is necessary to show that without considerable change of ground the Conservative party cannot adopt any comprehensive Irish policy calculated to comply with the second and third of these conditions. For to be comprehensive the required policy must deal with at least five great questions—all, unfortunately, more or less controversial—land purchase, congestion, industrial and agricultural development, education, and the reorganisation of internal government; and with regard to at least one of these the traditional Conservative attitude conflicts both with Liberal commitments, which can hardly be repudiated, and with Irish convictions, which show no sign of weakening. Then the question of Irish over-representation in the House of Commons is sure to be forced on any Conservative Government, however unwilling to face it; and it is difficult to see how it can be dealt with without either making some concession in the direction of extended local autonomy, which would be necessary to secure Irish acquiescence, or aggravating animosities which stand across the path of further reform.

It is not, however, a group of independent problems which has to be considered. No less important than the problems themselves are the many forces at work in Ireland which, unless counteracted, controlled, or turned to account, may distort the most carefully calculated results. Chief among these are the influence of the Catholic clergy and the system of organised disorder manipulated by the United Irish League. It is the interaction of these and other forces on inextricably interwoven problems which makes up the complexity known as the Irish Question. The difficulty in dealing with the various problems is due less to intrinsic intractability than to the way in which each of them affects the others, and all are affected by the extraneous forces. It must be admitted that much uncertainty will attend the issue of any attempt at solution. Yet the interacting conditions render a comprehensive solution of the whole question the only one which can be reasonably expected to succeed. Caution and gradual advance may be necessary, but the caution should not take the form of isolated attempts on particular points, which produce new and unexpected combinations of difficulty everywhere. The advance, however slow, should be made along the whole front. Speaking generally, Conservative policy has erred hitherto in attempting to attack in detail a group of problems which cannot be broken into detail; Liberal policy, in contemplating a single movement over ground too extensive and too treacherous to be covered without many halts.

Though the problems cannot be isolated, much has been done to determine for better or for worse the broad lines upon which three of them must be dealt with. Only minor changes of policy are now possible with regard to land purchase, congestion, and industrial development, though, as we have lately seen, there is still room for fatal error with regard to any of them.

Few will doubt that, whatever changes the future may have in store, land purchase and congestion, being problems which once solved will, it is to be hoped, disappear, may best be dealt with to the end by the Imperial authority which has undertaken their solution. The department charged with agricultural and industrial development is so closely concerned with education that probably its control and that of education generally could not advantageously be separated. Of the five problems, then, we may regard education and the reform of internal government as remaining to be considered. It is with these questions that any new departure of policy must be chiefly concerned.

With regard to education the difficulty in Ireland, as elsewhere, is not to devise methods, but to surmount obstacles to their effective application. As elsewhere, the obstacles have been raised in the name of religion, and take the form of too complete, inept,

and sometimes deliberately unprogressive clerical control. It is whispered that the Conservative leaders contemplate the drastic abolition of this control, so far as primary education is concerned—a course which, I am convinced, would lead to disaster, by driving all the Catholic clergy and laity into one camp in defence of their threatened position. I will endeavour to indicate at a later stage what appears to me the only rational way to secure the greatest measure of freedom and efficiency in education in a Catholic country.

No one, I take it, who knows anything of the subject will deny that the whole machinery of internal administration in Ireland is cumbersome, inefficient, unsuited to its purpose, and extravagantly costly. The system requires remodelling and to be brought under more direct control. Of course, it is a matter of opinion whether the control should be that of the Imperial Parliament or whether, to some extent at least, a local authority might not advantageously be interposed. It is, however, very certain that, in existing circumstances, merely to remodel and bring under Parliamentary control the various Irish departments would not fulfil any one of the three conditions which I have suggested as essential to success. Such a course would certainly do little in the present state of Irish feeling to reconcile Ireland to the existing form of union; it would in no way relieve the Liberal party from its commitments; and, as an alternative and obstacle to the fulfilment of their own aspirations, it would hardly commend itself favourably to the Irish people, who stand to lose more than they would gain by economies in Imperial expenditure in Ireland. On the other hand, to entrust the work of remodelling, or the control of remodelled departments, to Irish hands, would be a measure of Home Rule—though in what sense more strictly a measure of Home Rule than the successful Conservative Local Government Act of 1898 is not clear. And if such a measure of Home Rule could be relied on to create better and closer relations between these sister islands, it would surely be at the same time in the truest sense a measure of Union.

A scheme is in existence providing for the gradual concession of greater control of Irish affairs to Irish hands—a scheme so elastic, so capable of application in the most moderate degree, so well fitted for either slow or rapid extension, and lending itself so readily to the provision of every reasonable safeguard, that it certainly deserves the careful consideration of all Unionists whose conception of Union is concerned with achievement rather than with traditional prejudices. It has been outlined by Lord MacDonnell in a memorandum, which I am permitted to reproduce, addressed to the executives of the Irish Reform Association and the Imperial Home Rule Association, with a view to promoting their co-operation in pursuance of the policy advocated

by the Earl of Dunraven and the former of these organisations, a policy which Lord MacDonnell has always consistently supported.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE IRISH REFORM AND IMPERIAL HOME RULE ASSOCIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO THEIR AMALGAMATION ON THE SUBJECT OF IRISH ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

1. In last session of Parliament the House of Commons adopted the following resolution:—

‘In the opinion of this House the solution of the problem [Irish Government] can only be obtained by giving to the Irish people the Legislative and Executive control of all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament.’

This resolution should be accepted as the basis of amalgamation of the two Associations and as expressive of the ultimate object of a common policy.

2. There are only three methods of attaining this ultimate object. These are:—

(a) The policy of the Irish Parliamentary party.

(b) The policy of ‘Home Rule all round.’

(c) The policy of ‘Devolution,’ or step-by-step advance.

3. Since Mr. Gladstone’s time no one has attempted to give concrete shape to the policy of the Irish Parliamentary party. That party itself has never essayed to construct any scheme or plan of Home Rule, and it has always evaded a challenge to do so. The feeling is growing that no confidence can be reposed in the ability of the Irish Parliamentary party to win the Home Rule of their conception from a reluctant Legislature.

4. ‘Home Rule all round’ is not now a matter of practical politics. To merge the Irish Question in this larger idea is to postpone indefinitely Irish administrative reform. If ‘Home Rule all round’ be a desirable consummation, as many believe, Ireland will best help its attainment by leading the way. Other parts of the kingdom may follow.

5. It follows, therefore, that only in the policy of ‘Devolution’ is there any hope of immediate progress along the path of administrative reform in Ireland. Moreover, it is in this policy that the true interests of Ireland and the Empire lie. The concession to Ireland all at once of a full measure of Home Rule, even under the control of Parliament, would, in the opinion of moderate men, be good neither for the Empire nor for Ireland. It will, I hope, ultimately come, but in existing political conditions it is only by tentative and gradual steps that an Irish authority can best gain the confidence of all classes, and acquire business capacity, sobriety of judgment, and moderation. It is only by managing herself some department of Irish Government that Ireland can convince the ‘Predominant Partner’ of her trustworthiness and ability to manage all, not only without risk to the Imperial connexion, but with general advantage to the Empire and to herself.

6. The measure of ‘Devolution’ embodied in the Irish Councils Bill of 1907 was not fully satisfactory, but moderate opinion in all Irish parties at the time recognised the value of its principle; and there has been since great and growing regret that the Bill was not proceeded with in Parliament. It should be introduced in an improved form.

7. The principles of such a Bill would fall under the following main heads:—

(i) The creation of an Irish authority endowed with administrative and legislative functions. (The authority might be called the Irish National Council.)

(ii) The creation of an Irish Treasury with a suitable system of account and audit and subordinate to the Irish authority.

(iii) The immediate transfer to the Irish authority of the administration of certain existing departments of Irish Government—the remaining departments to be subsequently transferred at the will of the Imperial Parliament.

(iv) The endowment of the Irish authority with certain legislative functions.

(v) The maintenance of the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament over the proceedings of the Irish authority.

8. Under these five main heads would come numerous details—if indeed these can be called ‘details’—which in themselves are of far-reaching importance. Such ‘details’ would include:—

(a) The manner of constituting or recruiting the Irish authority with due regard to the representation of minorities; its functions and duties and its rules of procedure.

(b) The sources of the income of the Irish Treasury, whether its amount should be fixed or fluctuating; the Treasury’s procedure as to current business, budgets, periodic accounts, &c.; and its relations with the Imperial Treasury.

(c) What departments of Irish Government should be at once transferred to the authority’s management and what should be transferred later; what should be the authority’s procedure; what patronage should it exercise, and what control over the Irish Civil Service.

(d) What legislative functions should be conferred on the Irish authority, how should these functions be called into activity, and what intrinsic validity should the resulting Acts possess.

(e) How should the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament be exercised—

(i) As regards the administrative and executive proceedings of the Irish authority?

(ii) As regards its legislation? Should the office of Lord Lieutenant be retained; and, if so, what should be the Lord Lieutenant’s relations with the Irish authority?

It is not suggested that the preceding enumeration of points to be considered and dealt with in framing a scheme of Irish Government is exhaustive. It is only given as an indication of the trend and magnitude of the questions to be discussed; and for the satisfaction of those who wish to know, before joining forces, the character of the campaign on which they would enter and, if they were successful, the kind of possession they would acquire. That possession would be, it is confidently hoped, not an Ireland alienated from Great Britain and made powerful to injure her; but an Ireland, better administered, richer, more progressive, more contented at home, and beyond her shores more willing and better able to take her share in Imperial responsibilities and to help Great Britain in all that makes for Imperial prosperity.

Lord MacDonnell’s exceptional knowledge and experience of Ireland, his long training and achievements in statesmanship, and his unquestionable devotion to the cause of Imperial unity, should sufficiently secure his proposals against any suspicion of covering, intentionally or otherwise, anti-Imperial, anti-British, or other disruptive tendencies. His view, conveyed in the last paragraph of the memorandum, of what he conceives may be attained

through the adoption of those proposals is that of one practised as few men are in forecasting the effects of political action on the thoughts and destinies of masses. Is it to be contended that he is entirely mistaken, or does the only road to Union—Union in fact as well as in law—indeed lie along the dreaded path of Home Rule?

The number of those who think with Lord MacDonnell has greatly increased in recent years and is still increasing, as witness the existence of the two Associations to whom the above memorandum is addressed. The reason is twofold. First, the times and the situation have changed, as anyone will realise who will re-read the discussions on Gladstone's Home Rule Bills; and, secondly, many have lately done what few formerly dreamed of doing, and, like Lord MacDonnell and Lord Dunraven, have analysed the forces which govern Irish life, sought their true origin and significance, and reached the conclusion that they contain no permanent factor necessarily fatal to Irish progress or opposed to British and Imperial interests.

Lord MacDonnell, it will have been seen, lays aside the proposition known as 'Home Rule all round,' the federation of the kingdom, if not the argument underlying it, as still beyond the range of practical politics. Yet surely the Parliamentary session of 1909 must have convinced most of us that our legislative machinery is no longer adequate to its task; that some devolution of Parliamentary work, from the scope of which Ireland could not well be excluded, has become, from the purely British point of view, a pressing necessity.

My object, however, is to consider the dominating Irish forces whose strength, tendency, and character must be ascertained before others can be intelligently applied so as to give the ultimate resultant a new direction.

First among these forces it is natural to place that which has been most discussed, and, I believe, most misunderstood, on both sides of St. George's Channel—the influence of the Catholic clergy, the undue dependence of the great majority of Irishmen on their priests for opinions on subjects unconnected, or only remotely connected, with religion. I have no desire to under-estimate the extent or the evils of that dependence. I am well aware that, even if clerical guidance in secular affairs could be relied on to be the best, the mere habit of dependence would be in itself an evil which no amount of wise direction could counterbalance. I know how bad clerical guidance commonly is, all the world over, when it oversteps the proper limits of its activity. The habit of dependence is pernicious in itself and pernicious in its results. But it should not be represented as being itself the disease of which it is only a symptom, nor regarded as the creation of a priesthood to

whom it has in fact only come as an inheritance—and not always as a welcome one. The disease at the root of Ireland's helplessness is the weakness of character naturally engendered during centuries when dependence on the goodwill of some superior was the first condition of existence for every Catholic and for every peasant. It has been easier to remove the actual necessity for dependence than to eradicate the habit. The resulting power of domination, once the landlord's, the Government official's, or the moneylender's, has to a great extent devolved upon the priest. If the priest, believing that he can use it well, too often clings to the possession of a power which no man can in fact exercise widely to the advantage of others, he is but doing, and doing conscientiously, what few can refrain from doing even when well aware that their action cannot be justified. But it is an error and an injustice to suppose that all Irish priests, either conscientiously or otherwise, foster the habit of dependence. Many, on the contrary, fully realise its demoralising influence, and by every means in their power encourage self-reliance and independent thought in secular matters. Sir Horace Plunkett has never concealed the fact that one of the chief aims of his great work is to develop independence of character; yet priests have been from the first among his most zealous helpers, and are co-operating with him to that end in every part of Ireland to-day.

It is easy to convey, even unintentionally, a false impression as to the directions in which the Irish priesthood ordinarily exercise the tremendous influence they possess. It is unfortunately easy to do so without any absolute misstatement of fact; for priests are human and liable to err both morally and intellectually. But any presentation of facts calculated to induce the inference that the priest's influence is always deliberately employed to depress character, that in its proper field—that of religion—it inculcates a degrading cult of hate and terror, or that it is generally used consciously for purely selfish ends, constitutes a perversion of truth absurdly obvious to anyone really familiar with Irish life. Yet this method of misrepresenting the character of the priests has become so usual among those who are impatient of their shortcomings that a very false impression indeed has been produced in many minds—an impression which hinders more than any more tangible obstacle the efforts of those who are combating the root-causes of Irish failure, and who desire nothing more than that the truth shall be revealed fully and honestly explained. *

In the September issue of this Review Mr. P. D. Kenny has employed his brilliant and incisive pen to present Irish life under priestly influence in such a way that a reader unacquainted with Ireland can hardly fail to draw several false conclusions. Mr. Kenny, indeed, appears to have himself fallen into

what I believe to be a fundamental error, for he clearly regards 'clericalism' as a root-cause of Irish decay, whereas I believe nothing to be more certain than that what he calls 'clericalism,' and I, believing its cause to reside in the character of the people rather than in that of the priesthood, prefer to call the habit of undue dependence, is merely one result of a much deeper evil, though of an evil which we may fortunately attempt to remedy by means more hopeful than any attack from without on the relations of the Catholic laity and their priests. But, unless I am much mistaken, Mr. Kenny, in defending an erroneous view, has succeeded in forcing on his readers further false inferences which I feel sure he would not himself accept. For instance, it would be impossible for anyone ignorant of Ireland to read his article without being driven to the conclusion that the religion of the Irish peasantry is one of gloom and bitterness and fear, whereas Mr. Kenny must be well aware that probably there are not on earth any people more supremely happy in their religion, or any whose religious outlook is brighter. Then as to the priests themselves. Mr. Kenny, dwelling only on their faults and illustrating these only by the worst examples, causes them to appear as monsters of insincerity and greed, propagating superstitious terror, though he would probably admit that on the whole it would be hard to find a more earnest clerical body or one more efficient in maintaining a spirit of beautiful and unaffected devotion and a high standard of practical morality among their flocks.

But it is undeniable that the priests do possess, and that some of them, fearing the loss of spiritual influence, would maintain and exercise over the secular destinies of Ireland a power incompatible with healthy public opinion or real progress. It is certain that this power is often unduly and unwisely exercised, especially in the field of education, and that, so used, it does depress character and hinder recovery from the radical disease. It should, however, be remembered that all this is admitted, and admitted to be a great evil, by a large proportion of the priesthood and by practically all the educated Catholic laity. There is, therefore, within Catholic Ireland itself, and even within the priesthood, a considerable force at work to combat the original evil and to counteract the retarding influence of the secondary malady. If this be, as I believe, a fair summary of the situation, there is good ground for the hope that in favourable conditions Catholic Ireland would prove quite capable of working out her own mundane salvation. It should be our aim to render the conditions as favourable as possible. More than this, indeed, a governing power based on a mainly non-Catholic democracy cannot safely attempt, because, though there are two opinions in Ireland as to the proper functions of the clergy with regard to secular affairs generally and

education in particular, neither of them coincides with any which finds favour with either British party. The school of obscurantism in Ireland has its stronghold in the fact that the appeal against it, when it touches any interest under legal regulation, now lies to the mainly non-Catholic democracy of the whole kingdom, to which no Catholics are willing to refer any matter affecting the internal working of their Church. The non-Catholic attitude may or may not be wiser than that of broad-minded Catholics; but the task of governing Ireland is that of governing a mainly Catholic community, not that of converting it to views which Catholics hold to be incompatible with their faith. Any attempt from without to regulate the place of the priest either with respect to education, or with respect to any matter closely affecting religion, is sure to unite all shades of Catholic opinion in resentment and resistance; and Catholic opinion united is quite able to render nugatory in Ireland any measure embodying such an attempt. The question of 'clericalism,' in short, is one which can only be settled among Catholics themselves, and the one thing which we can do towards facilitating a satisfactory settlement is to set free the only force capable of effecting that settlement, by permitting an appeal to the mainly Catholic democracy of Ireland. A struggle between parties holding different views of the subject is impending in Ireland, or indeed has already begun. On one side are arrayed the increasing numbers of enlightened men of both the clerical and the lay orders, and on the other only the diminishing remnants of mediæval ignorance and prejudice. The issue is not doubtful; and nothing can delay it long but interference, or the dread of possible interference, from without the Catholic pale.

But an evil far more baneful and far less tractable than that misnamed 'clericalism' exists in the anæmia of the Irish body-politic which has made possible among an essentially moral people the domination of a wholly immoral agency such as the United Irish League. It is, I think, clear that this domination has been rendered possible by the same fault of character which underlies every Irish shortcoming; but other causes, not altogether Irish in their origin, have contributed to produce the League and to facilitate its ascendancy.

A double paradox confronts the inquirer who studies Irish thought and character in individuals and in the concrete. It is impossible to be acquainted with any considerable number of persons in Ireland, or even, if a physiognomist, to read their faces, without being convinced that the great majority, if lacking in moral courage, are high-minded, right-minded, not unreasonable, and devoted to Christian ideals. Further, a no less decided majority appear intelligently earnest and agreed with regard to

certain general aims, of which on the whole they have at least as clear a comprehension as any democracy, in our present stage of development, has of its own aspirations. Here are apparently the elements of healthy and purposeful public opinion, with a good guarantee that it will be uncorrupted and effective. Yet almost all collective expression of public opinion concerned with politics, whether exhibited in the Parliamentary representation, in the Press, or by the various bodies which either exist to express it or, existing for some other purpose, go out of their way to express it, is neither high-minded, right-minded, nor reasonable, and is scarcely tinged even with a reflection of the Christian virtues. And a political intelligence quite remarkable in the individual ever seems to act corporately in the manner most adverse to its main purpose. The individual and the mass appear to be characterised, morally and intellectually, by qualities diametrically opposed. The Englishman or the foreigner who visits Ireland is commonly delighted by the simplicity, the intelligence, the warm-heartedness and the high principle of the people he meets. Yet it is brought home to him from many sources that in the aggregate they are crafty, full of animosity, unprincipled; and that, owing to some hidden crassness, their chief activities operate fatally to their interests and to their cherished heart's desire. Moreover, he finds that these contradictory aspects of the Irish people are present in a peculiar way to the eyes of a section of the Irish upper class, and have produced a strange phenomenon; for many of that class seem convinced that in the mass their fellow-countrymen are, as tradition and their newspapers have taught them, hopelessly vindictive and criminal and politically impossible; yet they will admit that those of them with whom they live in daily contact answer to a very different description, and must consequently be among the rare but necessary exceptions to the general rule. So widespread is this belief that it is impossible to doubt that almost the whole population is classed by one or another of its exponents among the exceptions. Thus a theory which might appear tenable, if maintained only by a few, is exploded by its universality, and only emphasises the double paradox that Irishmen are each one intelligent, but imbecile in the mass; individually virtuous, but collectively full of iniquity.

To account for this discrepancy between the visible result and the total arrived at by adding together what appear to be the items is to get to the root of one of the most puzzling of Irish problems, the absolute dominion of the League over a people to whom its methods should be repellent. No allowance for the habit of dependence, no deduction on account of ignorance, will account for items of good totting up to a total of evil, or explain how a number of efforts in one direction can produce a resultant which

acts the opposite way. There must be something wrong with the calculations. Either the public expression, as presented under League direction, does not represent public opinion, or Irish character is radically vicious, in spite of appearances, and includes a gift of duplicity baffling to the imagination of ordinary men.

It will be seen that the discrepancy manifests itself only where politics are concerned, though in Ireland this limitation leaves open a wide field. An examination of the political system in force may therefore be expected to reveal some explanation. Such an examination will result in the discovery that the political and administrative machinery in use has been duplicated: it consists of the official system and another. The official system is what is known as 'Castle Government' *plus* numerical over-representation in a Parliament which exercises very slight control over Irish administration. And the duplicate system is the *de facto* government, apparently based on popular support, of the United Irish League, which substitutes where it pleases its own decrees for those of the legitimate authority, and to a great extent directs the action of the Parliamentary representatives, who are for the most part either of its own flesh or in its bonds.

Of 'Castle Government' Lord Dunraven has written:

The affairs of the country are administered by numerous departments. Some of them are fed by money voted by Parliament; others, partially at any rate—and some to a large extent—obtain supplies straight from the Consolidated Fund, or from other sources, which render them independent of Parliamentary control. In the first case it is just possible that the money provided may come under the criticism and, to a very slight extent, under the influence of the Irish members of Parliament. But in the other cases neither the Irish members of Parliament nor any other members of Parliament have any control over the money.

On the same subject a more recent writer, Mr. James O'Connor, K.C., says:

It is easier to say what it is not than what it is. It is not a democratic form of government, for the people have nothing to say to it. . . . It is not a despotism, because the Lord Lieutenant has very little power. It is not an oligarchy. . . . It is a sort, and a very bad sort, of bureaucracy—a government by departments in Ireland uncontrolled by Parliament, uncontrolled by any public body in Ireland, subject only to a department in London.

Apart from the fact that even over-representation, which, after all, amounts only to a small minority, is an unsatisfactory weapon in the hands of an electorate ambitious of political power, it is clear, if these brief summaries be even approximately correct, that Irish political thought could not act effectively on the administration through its legitimate channels. Whether it is desirable or not that the Irish democracy should exercise considerable influence over Irish administration, it is plain that it cannot exercise it through the machinery provided. Hence the duplicate

system, which, under further influences, has proved no more effective as the agent of public opinion than the other, and has developed into the tyranny of the United Irish League.

It is nearly forty years since British Liberalism revealed to Irish politicians the secret that it would yield to outrage the attention which it denied to argument, that alliance with, or at least acquiescence in, crime was the one sure way to secure redress of either real or imaginary grievances. Without the criminal the politician felt himself powerless for good or evil; with murder, arson, boycotting, cattle-maiming, the organised repudiation of contracts, and latterly cattle-driving, to point his arguments, there seemed no limit to what he might accomplish. The unholy alliance which followed cannot, of course, be defended; but no one should be surprised that it was made. In like circumstances men will be found in any country and in any age to avail themselves of similar means for self-advancement, and even sincere men who will take advantage of them for the advancement of good causes. Even among the most enlightened and the most virtuous communities some are always capable of crime, and many are willing to profit indirectly by actions which they condemn. That men willing to be the instruments of crime, men ready to gain by it, and leaders prepared to condone it, were found in Ireland, proves, not that the Irish are worse than other men, but merely that they are much as other men are. Indeed, it will probably come to be recognised that, debauched as they have been by long and systematic concession to crime, it stands to the credit of the Irish race that lawlessness and vice have not sunk more deeply into their character, and that the vast majority remain at heart averse from the methods by which their battles have been fought.

High principle being innate, as I am convinced it usually is, in the Irish character, the triumph of immoral methods could not have been so complete had not the weakness to which I have already alluded, and which is itself the result of external circumstances, and great poverty been present to facilitate it. And not only have these facilitated the organisation of disorder for political purposes, but they have without resistance allowed the organisers to rise to prominence and power in every locality. These men, now a professional class in every corner of Ireland, have not been slow to see and grasp their opportunities. They are but a very small minority; but once placed in power by a fatal combination of wickedness and weakness, they have not hesitated, by cruelty, by intimidation, by boycotting, by ridicule, by every form of persecution, to strengthen their position and to extort the means of maintaining it. They have silenced all utterance but their own; all opinion is suppressed except that which it suits them to propagate; only their character is allowed to appear as the public

character of Ireland; and their chief aim has come to be the protraction of the warfare by which they live. Deplorable as it is, all this is, in the circumstances, but a natural result of the Parnellite alliance with, and Gladstonian concession to crime during a social revolution such as, in its nature, always favours the unscrupulous.

But, however it be explained, the domination of the United Irish League remains by far the most serious obstacle in the way of Irish reform. No policy which fails to undermine it can be of real advantage to Ireland. Alternate repression and concession, which seem to be the most potent external remedies which party government can apply, have only strengthened it. I have tried to trace it to its primary sources, the fatal habit of dependence and the ineffectiveness of the legitimate mechanism through which public opinion should exercise its due influence on the acts of government. If these be the roots of the evil, they must be remedied if a cure is to be effected; efficient legitimate means must be provided through which the democracy of Ireland may learn to influence its own destiny, and the use of which cannot fail to strengthen character; and the other character-forming influences already at work must be encouraged and reinforced. But obviously while strength of character remains undeveloped, and so long as the evil elements retain their power, there are two strong arguments for placing reliance and strain very gradually on a force still weak and opposed to another in full vigour and for the time omnipotent.

To some the suggested remedy may seem a counsel of despair, and undoubtedly many have been brought to recommend it only by the failure of all other available methods. Of course, faith in the effectiveness of Lord MacDonnell's proposals must depend on the estimate accepted of the potentialities of Irish character. Sir Horace Plunkett, who first enunciated the doctrine that the Irish problem 'is in the main a problem of character,' has studied Irish character in America, where perhaps it develops in the least favourable conditions, as well as in Ireland; the writer in Ireland, too, but also in the British Army, where it is probably seen at its best. The result perhaps is that, though Sir Horace is no pessimist, I may be the more sanguine as to the rate of progress which may be expected if the discipline resulting from the recognition of individual duty, to the community, and the responsibility involved in the direct control of common interests, be allowed to produce their natural consequences. I believe that the latent, but apparently missing, element in Irish character, which is necessary to create the discipline of public spirit and to make responsibility productive of effort, lies very near the surface, and might be encouraged into steady growth by such means as

Lord MacDonnell has suggested. And I believe this to be the view which is gradually producing a powerful middle party among thoughtful Irishmen.

The inclination to turn to the Conservatives for release, so unmistakable in Ireland, is remarkable in view of the fact that the voice of the Conservative party is never heard by the great majority of Irishmen. It would seem to be essential to the success of the party system that the views of all parties should be kept before the public everywhere, without regard to the amount of support to be obtained immediately in particular localities. And if to make its policy understood throughout Ireland be a duty of the Conservative party, it is a duty which has been grievously neglected. Yet, even now, it is far from impossible that an appeal to Irish intelligence, sympathetically made, and expressed in a definitely progressive programme, however cautious, might meet with a response warm enough to come as an agreeable surprise to British Conservatism. In spite of noisy groups, moderate opinion in Ireland, though still almost inarticulate, is gaining recruits daily from both extremes, and is not inconsistent with the principles which have guided Conservative policy since democracy has been accepted as an inevitable fact. It cherishes no impossible dreams, desires no perpetuation of animosity, but seeks reconciliation, peace, and, above all things, continuity, on terms agreeable to Irish National sentiment, yet in no way irreconcilable with the unity of the kingdom and the Empire.

Of course, the immediate universal acceptance of any scheme of settlement is not in the circumstances to be expected. Many even of those who have clamoured most ostentatiously for peace will be found, some for selfish reasons and some owing to sincere wrong-headedness, bitterly opposed to its realisation. Firmness, based on a true appreciation of the facts and conditions, will be needed, and steady determination to press on through opposition, even if those who might be expected to welcome any policy of progress range themselves with the enemy, and though the moderates, little accustomed to encouragement or action, be slow in throwing their full energy into pressing the advance.

Mr. Stephen Gwynn, in his article 'Ireland's Need,' which appeared in this Review for October, does not seem to be much at variance with me on two important points on which I have ventured opinions—the origin of the 'excessive power of the priests in temporal matters . . . for which the clergy cannot be blamed,' and the gravity of the 'lawlessness from which,' he admits, 'great evils result,' adding, 'when Home Rule comes they will be sharply felt.' It is on views very similar to Mr. Gwynn's

on these points that the contention is based for the gradual and tentative transition which Lord MacDonnell recommends, and which must appear to many minds the only safe form of advance towards limited autonomy, unless the party of which Mr. Gwynn modestly calls himself the scribe can, and will as a preliminary, not only 'turn off' lawlessness 'like water from a tap,' but also cut off the supply. It does not, however, seem clear that even the key of the tap is any longer in the party leaders' keeping.

H. PILKINGTON (*Patrick Perterras*).

CAN RUSSIA ESCAPE THE FATE OF POLAND?

MANY highly competent observers acquainted with the domestic condition of Russia at this moment are of opinion that the fall of that Slav Empire, apparently one of the mightiest in the world but a few years ago, is now an inevitable consequence of the utter disorganisation of its finances and the well-nigh inconceivable demoralisation of its administrative officials. Although this opinion may be supported by long columns of figures and a wealth of documentary evidence which is daily increasing, it is invalidated by two historic facts. One is the huge financial ruin of the French national finances during the great Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. The other, which is still more decisive, is the declaration of bankruptcy on two successive occasions by the Austrian State Treasury in the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the depreciation of the monetary standard by the Government itself and the withdrawal of all gold and silver for the State, simultaneously with the worst possible administration by a narrow-minded officialdom, rigidly fixed in the principles of an absolutist and police-ridden system. Yet France speedily recovered from this political malady, as did Austria also, although somewhat more slowly.

Indeed, history teaches us that the fate of a State is not decided by its domestic administration, but mainly and in the last resort by its foreign policy.

By 'foreign policy' is meant that function of the State the object of which is to defend the community of citizens from outside dangers. For the fulfilment of this function the State requires certain material means, and in particular military strength. The protection of its citizens by force of arms constitutes the first task of the State. That protection takes many more forms than mere defensive or offensive war. Moreover, many wars which are regarded as offensive are in reality but protective measures, having been taken, for instance, with the object of preventing an unfavourable international situation, or in order to strike a blow at a single opponent before he can secure friends

or allies, or, finally, to overthrow a hostile Power before its preparations for war are completed. Many territorial conquests are also in reality, when their causes are considered, rather protective measures than raids dictated by land-hunger. In many cases the act of a State in seizing a river or a mountain chain is simply with the object of correcting an unfavourable geographical situation and permanently establishing its security, or is undertaken to prevent the growth of a powerful neighbouring State at some point of its frontier, or to gain a profitable market for its trade and industry. When the rulers of a State have, in the course of centuries, known how to protect their territory from loss, and to prevent the growth of powerful States upon their borders, or to counteract the strength of great Powers through an adequate system of alliances, then history must acknowledge that the foreign policy of that State was directed in a steady and clear-sighted way towards promoting the welfare of all its citizens. It is necessary to keep these theoretical considerations in mind in order to arrive at an approximately accurate view of the future of the Russian State as we know it.

Everyone who has followed the history of Russian foreign policy must realise that from the earliest beginnings of the Russian State at Moscow its dominant principle has been one of rapid and ruthless territorial expansion. The Grand Duchy of Moscow, out of which the present Russian Empire developed in the course of centuries, extended its territory in all directions. For the most part, and finally, however, that expansion took the line of least resistance—that is to say, the leading Russian politicians have in general failed to accommodate their policy of conquest to the real requirements of the State. They have neglected the most urgent demands of foreign policy by failing to defend the frontiers of their country and to prevent the growth of dangerous and powerful rivals in its vicinity. On the contrary, they have extended their conquests indefinitely, going ever farther towards the East, where they had to deal only with barbarian or semi-barbarian peoples incapable of offering them any serious resistance. The Russians have constantly acquired more territory to the East and South-East without asking themselves if these conquests would really benefit the State, or if they themselves had sufficient strength to populate and cultivate the newly acquired territory, and to convert it into a fresh source of national power. The last territorial conquest in the West was that made by Russia at the Vienna Congress in 1815, when she acquired, in the form of a personal union, the whole of the short-lived principality of Warsaw created by Napoleon I. Since the year 1815 the entire expansive force of Russia has been directed exclusively towards the East and South-East, inasmuch as the Turkish Empire may also be fairly regarded as

part of the Eastern sphere of Russian influence. The eventual result of this constant tendency towards the Orient, which lacked complete political justification, was that the centre of gravity of Russia was shifted towards the East in the second half of the nineteenth century. In consequence of this persistent policy Russia had become more an Asiatic than a European Power, even before the defeat of four years ago on the Pacific coast. That defeat—the first vigorous resistance encountered by Russia in the East since the time when the Cossack Chief Jermak entered Siberia—was a clear warning to the rulers of Russia that the epoch of easy territorial conquests in the Orient had passed away for a long time to come, if not, indeed, for ever.

Those acquainted with the history of the Slav States of Europe must be struck at this juncture with the close analogy between the foreign policy of Russia and that of the kingdom of Poland, which ceased to exist at the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, that analogy is so close that it may be followed in detail, the same blunders repeating themselves in the history of both countries with mathematical precision, as if the same evil star governed the two Slav States, and were leading both to the same ignominious political death.

The foreign policy of Poland also followed the line of least resistance towards the East. Poland had also, without firing a shot, through the marriage of its Queen Hedwig with the Grand Duke Jagiello of Lithuania, in the fourteenth century, acquired an immense extent of territory: Lithuania, White Russia, Little Russia, and further regions extending to the Donetz and the Black Sea. In the second half of the sixteenth century Poland had extended to nearly 940,000 square miles, with 35,000,000 inhabitants. That was attained, however, at the cost of a constantly increasing neglect of its Western frontier regions, and of a renunciation of diplomatic influence upon the policy of Central Europe,—at the cost, furthermore, of losing its authority as a European State, whose opinion and approval were necessary in all questions of international policy.

The period of a well-considered Polish foreign policy must be regarded as that in which King Jagiello and his son Casimir IV. protected and strengthened the Western Polish frontier by defeating the Teutonic Knights in 1410 and 1466, acquiring from them considerable territory even in West Prussia, and converting Eastern Prussia into a vassal State, a proceeding which considerably weakened the position of the Germans on the Baltic for many years. The successors of those two rulers, however, failed to pursue this wise policy in Bohemia and in Hungary, where sons of Jagiello were elected as kings in the middle of the fifteenth century, although by so doing they would have strengthened the

political influence of Poland and counteracted that of the young Hapsburg Monarchy on the Danube. Instead of following this course, the Polish rulers, during the sixteenth century, waged war against the Moscovites, until they finally succeeded, in the year 1610, in securing the election of Wladislaw, the son of the Polish Sovereign, as Tsar at Moscow, their intention being to weld Russia and Poland into a single monarchy.

The strength of the Kingdom of Poland proved insufficient for the execution of such a gigantic task. In the year 1612 the Poles were chased out of Moscow. This Polish adventure in the then Far East presented a certain analogy with the Manchurian defeat of the Russians. It was undertaken with insufficient force, no greater force, indeed, being possible, as the natural situation of the State did not admit of an adequate exertion of energy for the task.

This unfortunate expedition to Moscow resulted for Poland in a series of political defeats of constantly increasing gravity. Russia organised itself and gradually grew into a semi-modern State, in so far as it, at least, became a strong military Power. In consequence of its military strength it succeeded twice in the seventeenth century in annexing large Polish territories, thus following a sound policy of expansion towards the West, as it thereby acquired better cultivated soil inhabited by a more civilised population.

While Poland had pursued a policy of conquest towards the East which eventually led to disastrous defeats, two Monarchies arose on its Western frontier which steadily increased their area and consolidated their strength. These were the Hapsburg Monarchy, which had united the Alpine countries, the lands along the Danube, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and a part of Hungary; and, secondly, the Hohenzollern State, a military organisation of the first rank, which had begun with great success professionally to carry on wars of conquest as a regular industry. In 1660 Poland was obliged to renounce its overlordship of East Prussia, whereby the Brandenburg-Prussian Elector Friedrich Wilhelm acquired complete independence. In 1701 his son, Friedrich, proclaimed himself King. The negligence of the Polish politicians in presence of the growth of the Prussian State was their most fatal political blunder, as this State could only extend itself territorially and otherwise mainly at the cost of Poland. Poland had not realised in time the necessity of preventing the growth of a great military Power on its border, and consequently found itself wedged in between three powerful States which only waited the favourable moment to divide the territory of their weak neighbour among themselves.

The three partitions of Poland occurred in the years 1772, 1793

and 1795, Poland being struck out of the list of independent States on the 24th of October of the latter year.

The most flourishing period of the Russian Empire corresponds with the expansion of her territory towards the West under the Tsar Alexis (1645-1676), the Emperor Peter I. (1689-1725), Catherine II. (1762-1796), and Alexander I. (1801-1825), when she sought an outlet on the Baltic, and, through the destruction of Poland, actually extended her own Western frontier to the Warta and the Vistula. But already under Nicholas I. (1825-1855) the blunders of the former Polish policy were repeated and unconsciously imitated by Russia. A Russian army conquered the Caucasus, waged war with Persia and Turkey, and advanced its outposts to the Pacific Ocean. Meanwhile Prussia constantly increased its strength, developed from a State of second rank into one of the Great Powers, until finally at Sadova and Sedan it was permitted to acquire, through the political short-sightedness of Russia, an invincible position in the heart of Europe. Like Poland, after the years 1660 and 1701, so Russia, after the years 1866 and 1871, suddenly realised that its Western flank was blockaded by a strong neighbour, who afterwards succeeded, through its alliance with Austria-Hungary, in thoroughly checkmating Russia on her Western frontier.

So long as Russia was only open to attack on one side this neighbourhood was not absolutely perilous. The growth, however, of the military power of Japan on her Eastern frontier had thoroughly upset the whole military position of Russia, and thereby also her political position. Like Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century, so Russia to-day finds itself wedged in between three very powerful and dangerous military States, which certainly only wait for a favourable opportunity for a simultaneous attack upon their weakened neighbour. But, of course, the life of a State is not reckoned in years, but in decades. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that two small States, possessing however effective armies, would welcome an opportunity of settling accounts with Russia: Sweden on account of Finland, and Roumania in revenge for Bessarabia, of which she was deprived by Russia in 1878.

If, in addition to this unfortunate situation, those political tendencies in Russia towards a continuation of her miscalculated Far-Eastern policy should gain the upper hand, which would inevitably be accompanied by a renewed neglect of the European position on her Western frontier, then there would be every reason to take a gloomy view of the future of the Northern Empire. The maintenance of the Far-Eastern or Central Asiatic possessions of Russia will never decide its power and position in Europe, or its continued existence as an independent State. The

future of that Empire depends upon the question whether it will be able to resist on its Western frontier the expansive tendencies of unified Germany. To enable her to fulfil this task Russia must first develop her whole energy on her Western frontier, and, secondly, cultivate a constant understanding with West European Powers, as by that understanding alone will she be able to counter-balance the military power of the German Empire.

Possibly many Russian statesmen will meet these arguments with an ironical smile; but Russians may be reminded that, for instance, the Polish king, John Sobieski, when he raised the siege of Vienna in 1683 and rescued Europe from Turkish domination, would also have smiled ironically, if anyone had prophesied to him that in the year 1772 that Austria which he had saved from destruction would join with Prussia and Russia in the first partition of Poland.

The recent meeting of the Tsar and the King of Italy at Racconigi may well prove to be a turning-point in the direction of Russian policy. It shows that for the moment at least the great Slav Empire is disposed to return to a European policy, and to suspend, though not necessarily to renounce, that which has wasted its strength in the Far East. It is pretty evident that this altered attitude is due rather to changes in the diplomatic situation, than to any clear recognition at St. Petersburg of the fundamental blunder for Russia of a Far-Eastern policy pursued at the cost of diminished power and prestige in Europe. Still, the history of the past decade, and particularly the result of the Russo-Japanese war and the recent diplomatic defeat of Russia in the Balkans, can hardly fail to render the most stubborn promoters of the Moscovite *Drang nach dem Osten* somewhat more docile to experience.

There is, in any case, a marked and significant difference between the present attitude of Russia towards Italy and the deaf ear which she turned in 1902 to similar overtures by King Victor Emmanuel on the occasion of his visit to St. Petersburg. At that time Russian statesmen were still hypnotised by their Far-Eastern schemes, and wished to secure the benevolent neutrality of Austria-Hungary in view of an approaching struggle with Japan which they then anticipated. Moreover, the friendship between St. Petersburg and Vienna, concluded but a short time before, gave certain obvious advantages to Russia. The result was that while the Royal Italian guest was received with the greatest cordiality, no binding arrangements were made. Several possibilities of joint action were discussed, but in an academic way, the upshot of the whole visit being that the Italian sovereign had to console himself with hope of better fortune at some future time.

A year later the Tsar was the guest of the Emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna and at Muerzsteg. There a treaty was signed by the Russian and Austro-Hungarian foreign Ministers, Count Lambsdorf and Count Goluchowski, which, while ostensibly dealing with Macedonian affairs, in reality assured Russia of the safety of her Western frontier for the then well-nigh inevitable war with Japan.

During the continuance of that war and of the revolution that followed it, the attention of Russia was naturally diverted from the Balkans. Furthermore, throughout that whole period the attitude of Count Goluchowski, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, towards Russia was so loyal that the Russian Government had no occasion to seek an ally against the Dual Monarchy. It was not until Russia was offended by the policy, and still more by the tactics of Count Goluchowski's successor, Baron (now Count) von Aehrenthal, which she regarded as a slight upon her authority, that the St. Petersburg Cabinet recalled the ideas and schemes mooted by King Victor Emmanuel in 1902. The eventual result has been the meeting of the Russian and Italian sovereigns at Racconigi, the real object of which is clearly indicated by the Tsar's avoidance of Austrian territory on his journey to Italy.

The meeting at Racconigi is a further stage in the struggle between Austria-Hungary and Italy for predominance in the Adriatic—a struggle which it is daily becoming more difficult to conceal. That meeting coincides with the first great success of Italy in this direction, that is to say, with the declaration of the Montenegrin harbour of Antivari as a free port, and with the leasing of this port, the future terminus of the projected Danube-Adriatic Railway, to an Italian company for a period of sixty years.

It will be observed that in entering upon this struggle with Austria-Hungary, Italy is following the natural line of expansion indicated by her traditions, and by the still living results of the former successes of Venetian and Genoese policy. The Italians have not forgotten that Venice and Genoa had for centuries dominated the whole Eastern part of the Mediterranean, impressing the stamp of Latin civilisation upon its ports and shores, and establishing there the Italian language, Italian commerce, and Italian political influence. They remember, in particular, that the whole grandeur of Venice was based upon her command of both shores of the Adriatic, and her political and commercial expansion eastward, over the islands of the Archipelago to Constantinople and the coasts of Asia Minor and Egypt.

Neither the Italy of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, ruled by the foreigner and divided into petty states, nor the Unified

Italy of Victor Emmanuel the Second and King Humbert, was strong enough to follow the policy traced out by the history of Venice. Unified Italy was first obliged to devote some thirty years to fusing together the fragments of which it was composed, to harmonising the differences between the various provinces, and to winning over for the idea of the new Fatherland the Neapolitan and Sicilian partisans of the old *régime*. Such ideas of territorial expansion as arose during the last few decades were always directed towards the brethren still under the foreign yoke at Trieste and in the Trentino. And these aspirations were in practice effectively checked by the preponderant desire to guard what had been already won from all risk of loss. This desire accounts for the accession of Italy to the Austro-German alliance when she fell out with France over Tunis.

The present development of Italy is due to these years of tranquillity, dearly bought by her military armaments. She has built a considerable navy and improved her army. She has survived all her financial crises, and put her house in order in that important respect. In the North of Italy a magnificent industry has been created, which is daily gaining new markets. One of the most significant features of the new industrial Italy of to-day is that the expansion of its export trade is following in the footsteps of Venetian commerce. The Italian merchant seeks his customers in the Balkans, the Levant, and along the coasts of Asia Minor and Egypt. And, as everywhere in the lives of nations, the Italian flag seeks to follow the Italian merchantman!

This development coincides with the accession to the throne of the present sovereign, Victor Emmanuel the Third, in whom the nation has found a leader of exceptional intelligence. With the high political capacity which is part of his inheritance as a Prince of the House of Savoy, he has known how to turn to the best advantage the excellent training he has had in Balkan politics. His policy is greatly facilitated by his marriage with a Montenegrin princess, which has brought him, and through him the Italy of to-day, into closer touch with the Balkan peoples.

It was the sound political instinct of Victor Emmanuel the Third which showed him, when he ascended the throne, not merely that Italy alone was too weak to resume the traditional policy of the Venetian Republic, but that Russia was the only suitable ally in the task which he set himself. The question is how long will Russia remain an effectively European State pursuing a European policy? Or will she again—like Poland—fall into her traditional blunder?

Meanwhile the understanding between Italy and Russia is a heavy blow for Austria-Hungary. It threatens the only sea-route open to the Dual Monarchy, which could never tolerate the

establishment of Italy on the Balkan coast of the Adriatic. Such an eventuality would be equivalent to a complete abdication by the Hapsburg Monarchy of its position as a Great Power. Consequently, Austria-Hungary, in spite of her decidedly unsatisfactory financial position, must, owing to the fear of finding herself in a military situation similar to that of 1866, respond to this blow by heavy and expensive armaments, and by clinging more desperately than ever to her German ally, even at the loss of her own liberty of movement. Yet, unfortunately, she cannot be sure that all her armaments and precautions will suffice at the critical moment.

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THE CENSORSHIP OF STAGE PLAYS

IF the importance of a Parliamentary Commission is to be judged by possible results, the Report of the Joint Committee on the Stage Plays Censorship may be considered as a serious one; for if its suggestions are to be carried into statutory existence the outlook of all persons—including the public—interested in matters of dramatic amusement may be very different from the present.

The Committee was composed of five members of the Commons and five of the Lords. They began examining witnesses on the 29th of July, and had twelve sittings, during which time they examined forty-nine witnesses, including the Speaker, the Bishop of Southwark (suggested by the Archbishop of Canterbury), and Mr. Snead-Cox (suggested by the Archbishop of Westminster on behalf of Catholics). The main report is in four broad divisions: (a) Origin of the present Control over Theatres and Stage Plays and of Music Halls, (b) the Censorship, (c) Proposals with respect to the Licensing of Plays, (d) the Licensing of Music Halls.

The first of these (a) is a brief historical summary almost adequate to the subject of the report. Under the second heading (b) the following suggestions are made:

(1) The public interest requires that theatrical performances should be regulated by special laws.

(2) The producers of plays should have access prior to their production to a public authority, which should be empowered to license plays as suitable for performance.

(3) In view of the danger that the official control over plays before their production may hinder the question of a great and serious national drama, and of the grave injury that such hindrance would do to the development of thought and of art, we conclude that the licensing authority, which we desire to see maintained, should not have power to impose a veto on the production of plays.

(4) The public authority should be empowered by a summary process to suspend the performance of unlicensed plays which appear to be of an improper character, and that, where it is confirmed that they are of such a character, the performances should be liable to penalties.

(5) The authority to decide on the propriety of the future performance of an unlicensed play should be the courts of law in cases where indecency is alleged, and in other cases a mixed committee of the Privy Council.

Under the third heading (c) the Lord Chamberlain should remain the Licensor of Plays, his reasons for refusing license being limited to the following causes : (1) Indecency, (2) Offensive Personalities, (3) representing invidiously a living person or one recently deceased, (4) violation of the sentiment of religious reverence, (5) conducing to crime or vice, (6) impairing friendly relations with any foreign Power, (7) causing a breach of the peace.

Then follows a startling suggestion which must be read and studied to be even understood. (The italics are my own.)

It shall be optional to submit a play for license, and legal to perform an unlicensed play whether it has been submitted or not.

The meaning is made somewhat clearer by the paragraphs which follow, showing how in case of offence both the manager and the author may be punished and the process and measure of punishment allowable, all being *ex post facto*. The last of these explanatory paragraphs runs :

The measure of immunity conferred by the licensing of a play should attach only to the text passed by the licensor.

Under the fourth head (d) the recommendation is a single license for theatres and music halls, giving them equal freedom to give whatever class of entertainment they may choose. That dramatic performances (including songs) in all cases shall be licensed by the play licensor. That for the metropolis the London County Council should deal with the licenses of theatres as well as of music halls (as at present), and that smoking should be in both theatre and music hall at the option of the management.

There are various corollaries in the way of suggestion in case a Bill should follow the Commission.

For a sufficient understanding of the report before us it is necessary to make a comprehensive survey, however brief, of the history of statutory control of the theatre and all connected with it.

The direct control of theatres began with 'Walpole's Act' of 1737 (10 George II, cap. 28). Up to this time such regulations as affected the theatre, its literature and its working, belonged to the region of the Privy Council and the Department of the Lord Chamberlain; with, of course, such matters as affected the general good of the State—especially bearing on literature and the ordinary discipline of life. Incidentally, there were occasional points of contact with the Star Chamber and the Vagrant Laws, beginning with the 'Statute of Labourers,' A.D. 1349, and lasting in this connexion down to 1822. The im-

mediate control over players enacted in the Act of 1737 replaced in this respect the Act of Anne (12 Anne, cap. 23), entitled 'An Act for Reducing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, Sturdy Beggars and Vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent.'

The gradual growth and importance of the legislation begun with the Statute of Labourers brought all travelling persons into the domain of law, as witness 14 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1572), which included in the legal net, unless there was proof of the contrary, 'Roges vagabonds and sturdie beggars.' 'Common players in enterludes . . . not belonging to any baron of this realme, or towards any other honorable personage of greater degree' . . . which . . . 'shall wander abroad and have not licence of two Justices. . . .' This legislation continued—the penalties increasing in severity—down to 1603, when the Act 1 James I, cap. 7, abolished the privileges of nobles to give licenses, and so centred such privilege in the person of the Lord Chamberlain as an officer of the King. All this legislation concerned only the players; the theatre as such did not appear in the Statute Book till brought there by Walpole's Act in 1737, which, with an enlargement in 1787 empowering local justices to give occasional temporary licenses, regulated all matters of theatre, player, and play down to 1843, when was passed the Act (6 & 7 Vict. cap. 68) which regulates these matters of theatre and play down to this day.

Music halls—as we understand them—came into official recognition in 1751 under the Act 25 George II, cap. 36, entitled 'An Act for the better preventing Thefts and Robberies and for regulating Places of Public Entertainment and punishing Persons keeping Disorderly Houses.' This Act is, together with Building and General Acts, the controlling power of the present.

The Parliamentary Commissions held on these subjects were those of 1832, 1853, 1866, 1892, and that of 1909, whose report is before us. The first of these was to inquire into the laws affecting dramatic literature; the second into places of public entertainment; and the third and fourth were to inquire into the operation of the Acts of Parliament for Licensing and Regulating Theatres and Music halls . . . and to report any alterations which might appear desirable.

It is a pity that the Home Office representative sent to the last Commission (Mr. W. P. Byrne, C.B.) said (Question 6) of the report of 1832: 'The greater part of that report is irrelevant to the present inquiry.' For it was mainly on that report that not only the Act of 1843 was passed, but also the Act 3 William IV, cap. 15, which is practically the Charter of British Dramatists. Inasmuch as the Act of 1737

gave the first statutory authority for regulating theatres, and as it had existed for nearly a century, an inquiry bearing on theatre laws and facts was of transcendent importance. In this connexion—the evidence of Mr. Byrne—it may be as well to bear in mind that the witness also made—of course unintentionally—a misleading statement regarding the Theatres Act of 1843. Regarding this, he said this Act ‘was’ not preceded by any agitation which made itself substantially felt in Parliament,’ and goes on to infer that it arose from the Home Secretary of the day laying before Parliament ‘a representation which was a communication made to him by the Society of Dramatic Authors and praying for the enforcement of the law both as to the licensing of theatres and as to the censorship, and praying especially for the entire separation of the theatre from the tavern, the public-house.’ It would almost seem as if the witness, though evidently familiar with the finding of the Commission of 1892, was not well acquainted with the evidence on which it was founded—even if he had read it *in extenso*. For in the bulk of evidence given at that Commission was the rehearsal of some facts which were not specially brought to the notice of the last Commission or its predecessors in 1866 and 1892. For instance, it might have been useful to show the origin of certain powers or customs as given in the evidence of the then Controller of the Lord Chamberlain’s Department, Mr. Thomas Baucott Mash, who had been in that Department for forty-three years, so that his recollection of the practice of the Department naturally went back to about fifty years after the passing of Walpole’s Act. In that report was also the evidence of Mr. John Payne Collier, one of the great historians of the British stage, who had been for a time deputy for Mr. George Colman, then the Examiner of Plays; and of many celebrated actors, such as Charles Kemble, Edmund Kean, William Dowton, W. C. Macready, Charles Mathews (the elder, who had been then on the stage for thirty-seven years), George Bartley, and T. P. Cooke.

There was the evidence also of the popular dramatists of that period—Douglas Jerrold, W. T. Moncrieff (author of some two hundred plays), John Poole (author of *Paul Pry*), R. B. Peake (with forty plays to his credit), J. R. Planché (with seventy-three), Thomas Morton and James Kenny (both representatives of their time).

It was almost necessary that some such evidence should have been quoted, for some of the official witnesses of the late Commission were actually in error with regard to facts. For instance, Mr. Byrne said (Question 137) : ‘I think that all the Committees that have reported on the matter have suggested that the censorship should be extended everywhere, and to all classes of enter-

tainments and to all parts of the country.' This is not correct, as may be easily ascertained by reading the reports, covering less than a score of pages altogether. The Report of 1832 consists of eight clauses, of which in only three (Clauses 2, 5, 8) is censorship mentioned; Clause 8 (largely a corollary of Clause 7, which deals with authors' play-rights) has the one possible allusion to the extension of censorship: 'It is probable that the ordinary consequences of competition, freed from the possibility of licentiousness by the confirmed control and authority of the Chamberlain . . .' As the statement was made by the Home Office representative in answer to a question as to whether the censorship extended to Ireland, such an answer was quite misleading. Clause 12 of the Act of 1843, which regulates the examination of plays, says: 'Intended to be produced . . . and acted for hire at any theatre in *Great Britain*, shall be sent,' &c. (The italics are used in the Act.)

In his evidence, the Clerk of the London County Council—most learned and courteous of officials—in answer to a question (5830) whether the powers which the London County Council now exercise with regard to structure were not at one time possessed by the Lord Chamberlain and exercised by him, answered: 'I think not. The structural powers of the Council are under special Acts of Parliament passed at the instance of the late Metropolitan Board of Works.' Here there is a certain confusion, due, of course, to the fact that the London County Council is itself a comparatively recent creation, which only values authorities bearing on its own duties. The question alluded to general powers, without reference to their origin; but the answer alluded to statutory powers only, the witness manifestly having in his mind the 'Metropolis Management and Building Act Amendment Act' of 1878. Whereas the statutory power was given to the Lord Chamberlain to license, and as no restrictions were given he had power of all kinds under the Acts of 1737 and 1843. A power given, leaving it open to the recipient to use his own judgment as to how and when he should exercise that power, is really a larger power than if specific instructions had been given for its use.

I may say from my own experience that the Lord Chamberlain had and used to exercise those or similar powers. Before the licensing day came round each year Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane used to attend with certain officials, including an architect attached to the Lord Chamberlain's Department, and make survey of the whole structure.

Proof was given at the Commission of 1866 that 'the earliest evidence of a compulsory survey of a theatre by the Lord Chamberlain appears to be that of the Pantheon in 1812.' And again:

'In the autumn of 1855 the first annual inspection took place of the whole of the metropolitan theatres. It was made by an officer of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, assisted by a surveyor.'

There is a form of error, not altogether strange, in the reports of both 1866 and 1892, and in many cases made by witnesses who should have known better. That is, of speaking of a theatre as 'a place of public entertainment.' In law 'a place of entertainment' is a public-house. The phrase is still maintained in the common advertisement or designation of such places: 'Entertainment for man and beast.' The phrase which groups in law a 'theatre' and a 'place of entertainment' is a 'place of public resort.'

It may seem trivial to place stress on this error, but if *ipsisima verba* of the present report be carried into law it is necessary to be exact. In page xvii of the report before us is the following recommendation:

We are of opinion that all *places of entertainment* holding the new single licence should be required to obtain a Justice's licence if it is proposed to sell intoxicants upon the premises, but that existing *theatres* which now hold an excise licence should be entitled . . . to continue to sell under that licence.

It will be observed that here a distinct difference is made between the existing 'theatre' and 'place of entertainment.' But in the very next paragraph is the following:

We recommend that . . . it should be left to the managers of *places of entertainment* to decide whether smoking should be allowed in the auditorium or not. The law should enable a penalty to be imposed by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction upon persons who, after warning, or in spite of notices conspicuously exhibited, persist in smoking in the *auditorium of a theatre* where smoking is not allowed. (The italics are my own.)

Comparison of these extracts will show that in the very report itself is material for endless difficulties.

Another piece of verbal criticism may be made as to the name suggested for the new 'single licence': 'The Dramatic and Music Licence.' It is at least unusual to use an adjective and a noun harnessed in this fashion in an important public document. The only analogy is that both words end in 'ic.'

Indeed, the general mosaic effect of the whole report is shown by such verbal inaccuracies, or even by the varied spelling of an important word, which is spelled at first 'license' and afterwards 'licence.'

The Question of a Single License for Theatres and Music Halls

The findings of the various committees on this subject are as follows:

That of 1832 found that it was advisable to have all theatres

then existing in the metropolis, 'minor' as well as others, licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, who should be the sole authority for the purpose, and that they should be allowed 'to exhibit at their option . . . all such Plays as have received or shall receive the sanction of the Censor.'

The Commission of 1866 recommended that 'theatres, music halls, and other places of public entertainment be placed under one authority,' and that this duty should be placed on the Lord Chamberlain with a proper staff to aid him. Also that there should be one form of license for places where drinking and smoking are allowed in the auditorium; and another where they are not so allowed.

The Report of the Commission of 1892 suggests that the Lord Chamberlain should be the sole authority for theatres. It also suggested three forms of license—(a) 'for theatres proper,' without smoking and drinking in the auditorium; (b) for music halls; (c) for concert and dancing rooms.

But the recent Commission recommends a single license for all theatres and music halls and that the licensing authority for all such places should be (in the metropolis) the London County Council. This does not seem in accord with abstract justice. Such a way of treating different institutions dealing with similar matters seems in the circumstances lacking in fairness. For more than a century and a half one of these institutions, the theatre, showed absolute propriety and fairness in all matters of law and discipline, keeping in advance of all requirements made for public good—witness Garrick's doing away with the 'footman's gallery,' which was a centre and prolific source of brawling, and Macready's stopping the promenade. But the other institution—the music hall—following the 'minor' theatre, kept up an everlasting series of encroachments on the rights of others, and having once got a foothold, made illegal efforts to accomplish its ends, growing ever bolder in proportion to the leniency shown. It is surely a questionable policy for the law to be coerced into partisanship by breaches of the law.

The Theatre License

The power of licensing theatres in the metropolis, as that division of space was in the reign of George the Second, has since the passing of Walpole's Act (1737) been in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain, as shown at the beginning of this article. But at the above date only two theatres were officially recognised, those regulated by the patents given in 1662 by Charles the Second to Sir William Davenant and to Thomas Killigrew. Davenant's patent was a repetition of that granted by Charles the First and surrendered in 1661.

These two patents, almost identical in their wording though the clauses are differently arranged, largely influenced the wording of the Theatres Act of 1843. This was especially so with regard to Censorship, it being a condition of the vitality of the patent: 'We do hereby strictly command and enjoin that from henceforth no new play shall be acted by either of the said companies' (Davenant's or Killigrew's—both names are mentioned in each patent) 'containing any passage offensive to piety and good manners, nor any old or received play containing any such offensive passage as aforesaid, until the same shall be corrected and purged by the said masters or governors of the said respective companies. . . .' Then follows a clause, not only of historical interest, but bearing on the contention made by certain modern 'advanced' dramatists, as to full freedom of choice of subjects:

And we do likewise present and give leave that all the women's parts to be acted in either of the said two companies for the time to come may be performed by women, so long as these recreations may . . . be esteemed, not only of harmless delight, but useful and instructive representations of human life.

But whilst the patent theatres were trying to cope with the demand for theatrical performances their inadequacy to do so was becoming apparent. Despite the wail of Edmund Kean at the Commission of 1832—'We are not generally a dramatic nation, and it [the drama] is more on the decline than ever'—the people of England were showing that they wanted, and would have, the drama. Though it was believed that the patent theatres had monopoly, other theatres were actually licensed annually by the Lord Chamberlain, among those in London being the King's Theatre (St. James's, Haymarket), the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, the Lyceum, the Olympic Pavilion, the Adelphi.

In addition to these, there had grown up a host of theatres held under the 'Disorderly Houses' Act (which even now applies to music halls), but in which a practice had gradually grown up of giving theatrical performances. There were occasional prosecutions; but as a working practice they had immunity. Edmund Kean on being asked, regarding his playing at one of them, if he considered himself liable to an action at law for so doing, answered cynically: 'I never paid any consideration to the subject.' Among these 'Minor' theatres, as they were called, was the Cohurg Theatre, larger than Drury Lane, and employing a *personnel* of at least five hundred people. Also the Surrey Theatre, holding two thousand three hundred persons.

It will be seen that the situation of a hundred years ago, between the licensed theatres and the 'minor' theatres, is reproduced to-day in that between the 'theatres' and the 'music halls.'

The 'Censorship'

Some of those who have been lately liberating their thoughts in print regarding the 'Censorship' seem to take it that it is a comparatively late exercise of Royal Authority through the King's nominee, the Lord Chamberlain. Some take it as beginning with the Act of 1843 ('The Theatres Act'). Others, a little better educated on the subject, place it as far back as 1737 (Walpole's Act). But in reality the earlier of these simply put into statutory form, and endowed with statutory force, the regulations which had for long controlled theatres; in fact, the Lord Chamberlain had exercised the power over plays and players from 'time immemorial.' The office of 'Master of the Revels' was appointed in 1545—at least it has been traced back as far as that date. He was originally appointed to superintend the household of the King in relation to Court entertainments. The third holder of the office in sequence, Edmund Tylney (Elizabeth and James the First), was the first to exercise authority in licensing and correcting plays publicly acted. He appears to have acted in this respect just as did the Examiner appointed by the Act of 1737. He read the plays; he erased such parts as he objected to; or if he objected to them entirely he forbade them. The Master of the Revels was appointed by patent under the Great Seal, and was controlled in a degree by both the Privy Council and the Star Chamber, and up to the above period he by his own authority licensed theatres. The Crown licensed the players with the power to open a theatre, but the actual license to such theatre was given by the Master of the Revels himself. Up to 1624 the Lord Chamberlain did not exercise direct authority over players; before that time the Master of the Revels did not look to the Lord Chamberlain for authority. Sir John Astley (*temp.* James the First) was authorised to exercise a complete control in every way over both plays and players; but in 1624 the Crown exercised its power directly through the Lord Chamberlain. This power lasted down to 1737, when Walpole's Act was passed.

Thus it will be seen that a censorship, or control of some sort over plays to be presented in public, was exercised by the King from the very beginning of the Theatre as a national institution. As theatres and players grew in popularity, and so in importance, the law regarding them enlarged also; but at no time was the question of a censorship deleted from the rules of authority. The Report of 1832 said: 'In order to give full weight to the responsibility of the situation, it should be clearly understood that the office of the Censor is held at the discretion of the Lord Chamberlain, whose duty it would be to remove him, should there be any just ground for dissatisfaction as to the exercise of his

functions.' Herein are two marked inferences: firstly, the strengthening of the sense of the responsibility of both the Lord Chamberlain and his adviser, the Examiner of Plays; and secondly, that the inferred appeal from the Examiner is to the Lord Chamberlain himself, the official in whose hands the responsibility is placed by statute. The correctness of the recommendation on which the Statute of 1843 was based is shown in the Report of the Commission of 1866 on the working of the various theatrical Acts, where the Committee stated (Clause 9): 'That the censorship of plays has worked satisfactorily, and that it is not desirable that it should be discontinued. On the contrary, that it should be extended as far as practicable to the performances in music halls and other places of public entertainment.' This opinion is re-endorsed by the Commission of 1892, where in the last clause the above words are repeated verbatim.

In the Report before us all this is changed. The words 'Censor' and 'Censorship'—not used in either of the Acts of Parliament—are retained; but the retention is a misuse of words or, at best, a new application to the word of a meaning so different from that already accepted of it as almost to become a marked 'terminological inexactitude.' This is shown by a comparison of various suggestions. 'We recommend that the office of Examiner of Plays should be continued' (p. xii). 'The Lord Chamberlain should remain the Licensor of Plays' (p. xi). 'The producers of plays should have access, prior to their production, to a public authority which shall be empowered to license plays as suitable for performance' (p. viii). 'It should be his (the Lord Chamberlain's) duty to license any play submitted to him unless he considers that it may reasonably be held to be' . . . and here follows a list of offences (p. xi). 'It shall be optional to submit a play for license, and legal to perform an unlicensed play, whether it has been submitted or not.' Quite comfortable indictments, to be made by the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Attorney-General, may follow in case of breaches of the ordinary laws, the Commission evidently considering that better justice is done by allowing the horse to be stolen and then to punish for a committed offence, than to lock the stable door *before* the entry of the thief.

In the ordinary belief the duty of a Censor is to prevent offence, his action being *before* publicity has been effected. This was the view taken by the framers of the Acts of 1737 and 1843. By the twelfth section of the later Act, the judgment of the Lord Chamberlain as to suitability of a play or of any part of it may be given before or after the production. Purely legal authorities already can take action *after* offence has been committed; it is the exceptional and manifest duty of a Censor to prevent rather than punish offence. This is quite in accord with

the first finding of this very Commission : '*the public interest requires that theatrical performances should be regulated by special laws.*' Why, then, in the name of common sense, do the Commissioners call by the name of 'Censor' an official who not only does not forbid at all, but who is not even empowered himself to take or direct even *ex post facto* proceedings?

The reason is only too painfully plain. The Committee, seemingly unwilling to take direct or effective measures, has worked into one inharmonious patchwork the opinions and wishes expressed by every class of witnesses examined—most notably when the individual witnesses are either 'crank,' vain, or self-interested—if not swayed by all three of these motive powers.

In plain fact, the Committee has been largely actuated by the sentiments of that Midland mayor who, in his inaugural speech, declared his intentions during his year of office to 'show neither partiality on one side nor impartiality on the other; but to hold the balance equal between right and wrong.'

Authors

A thing which entirely puzzles a student of the subject with regard to the late Commission is to know where, except under one condition, the authors come in at all. Up to 1832 they had a very distinct grievance which Lytton Bulwer brought before the House of Commons in that year, the Commission on Dramatic Literature being the result. At that time that form of literary copy-right which Scrutton speaks of as 'play-right' did not exist. As the learned author says, 'the law of the drama is entirely statutory.' It was due to the Report of the Commission of 1832 (Clause 7), that the Act 3 William IV, cap. 15 (which with 5 & 6 Vict. cap. 45 regulates play-rights), was passed. But it must not be forgotten that the very Commission which suggested this Act, which was passed a year afterwards, also endorsed the institution of Censorship (made statutory in 1737), in the shape of the Lord Chamberlain's right to license plays if satisfactory to him; that the Act of 1843 actually enlarged and defined the Censorship established in law in 1737, and that two Commissions since have endorsed that finding.

As a matter of fact, there is no direct censorship whatever on the author. He can publish his play when and how he pleases, so long as he does not offend against certain laws made for the public good and enforceable by the police. The licence given by the Lord Chamberlain as 'Censor of a play' is given to the manager who wishes to produce it on the stage. It is not a license for the play at all, but for the *acting* of it; and its cause is entirely due to the fact that human beings are different from words. There can be no confusion if people will only bear in mind that human

beings are different from other animals, let alone from words. The customs and the laws which are at first the embodiments of—and later the authorities for—customs ruling human action, have long ago ruled that for the general human good even the impulses of nature must be kept in check. And so, although we do not bear the cause always in mind, we do not allow to the human what we overlook in other animals. Hence arise such words expressive of ideas as ‘discretion,’ ‘decency,’ ‘reticence,’ ‘taste,’ and the whole illuminative terminology based on higher thought and ambition for the worthy advance of mankind. It is somewhat hard that at this late date it should be necessary to recall attention to such basic principles of advance as are the real furtherers of civilisation—which must be always progressive. It is the knowledge of this which induces their exponents to take militant action even to a small degree against such movements of reaction and decadence as are made by the defenders of indecency of thought and action—even though these masque under the name and guise of ‘freedom.’ Were such base efforts continuous, some effective means of repression and punishment would have to be brought to bear. These forces of reaction claim in substance: ‘We are entitled to do wrong if we choose—even if we are punished for it afterwards.’ The opposing forces, justified by the experience and practice of many centuries, say also in substance: ‘Prevention is better than punishment.’ It has always been held by responsible authorities that in decent life some things—the list varies—are not allowable. No one in this enlightened age wishes to go *contra* to natural laws; but surely the mysteries of life are to be treated with decorum. We do not discuss at the dinner-table or in the *salon* the needs of morbid physiology; we do not obtrude hygienic science on the gentleness and refinement of life. These things are all necessary and right, and an adequate knowledge of them is essential. They are a part of the organisation of complicated life, and must be treated—and respected—as such. Why then should we allow the conditions of the hospital, the lazar house, and the Assize Court to be treated in the fair realms of romance? These grim realities are bad enough as realities without being thrust upon us with our food—be the same physical, spiritual, or intellectual.

If, as was said by author and journalist witnesses, ‘A play is not a play until it has been acted,’ the matter is more complicated. If this view is to be accepted by Parliament, legislation will be a difficult matter; for that which can be expressed in general terms in written words must be given in detail on the stage—or else the stage loses altogether its poignancy of expression. It is all very well to speak of a play as being ‘killed before birth’; but how is such a matter to get into the wording of an Act of Parliament?

If the idea as elaborated by Mr. Hall Caine is to be accepted, the word 'impossible' will have to be substituted for 'difficult.' For Mr. Hall Caine defines the collaborators as three—the author, the actor, and the audience. An official can deal with the work of an author—this is already done by the Examiner of Plays. The actor and manager can be dealt with *ex post facto* by the police in case of breach of any law of decency. But who is to deal with the audience, either beforehand or after the harm has been done?

But all this is refining, and may be classed with the evidence given by Mr. Walkley, the journalist, on the academic question of 'collective psychology.' Let it suffice that the law says through the Act of 1843, superseding that of 1737, that each play written shall *before being performed* be submitted for licence to the Lord Chamberlain, giving to that high functionary power to delegate his authority for primary examination to an official of his department. This authority (together with the power of delegation of it) is a statutory power. At its first giving it was accepted by the House with very few comments, and after a trial of over a century was strengthened instead of being relaxed. Moreover, it has been brought before two Parliaments since then, and their Committees have endorsed it to the full. In the circumstances it may be a difficult matter to get any Parliament to pass a new Act at the bidding of any body of men, however noteworthy they may be in their own craft. The probable note of parliamentary action was struck by one of the Commissioners, Lord Newton, in a question :

3620. But upon the whole you think that all the parties concerned are taking themselves too seriously—Yes, that is my view.

3621. It is my opinion too.

Any attendant at the sittings of the Commission might have fairly come to the same conclusion. It is, of course, but natural that men who look for fame and fortune to the results of their work shall earnestly endeavour to get all they can. But when they ask for a revision of the law it would be well to come to the seat of judgment with some sensible plan of reform. Such was hardly apparent. True, most of them came with fixed ideas; but even the best of them—authors, journalists, actors—seemed lamentably deficient in practical suggestions of reform. Over and over again Lord Gorell, who stood for law, and as a Judge of the High Court naturally wished to see that any changes in the existing law should be practical, asked the witnesses as to what alternatives they suggested, explaining that as they wished laws to be altered it would be necessary to have the new law put in such a shape and with such wording as would be practicable as well as understandable. But he was never able to get satisfactory

answers—at least so it seemed to a spectator. When pushed to a logical conclusion of his own theories the witness would in each case avoid the subject directly or indirectly.

Q. 816. Interference by whom?—A. Well, I am not a lawyer.

Q. 828. . . . who according to your scheme?—A. Well, I may say that I do not think that I ought to be asked to draft an Act. . . .

Q. 1834. . . . one wants to see the means which you suggest by which it could be practically done?—A. I do not see the means, but I hope that some means may be found. . . .

Q. 1970. Do you not think that there are a good many difficulties of a practical kind?—A. Yes . . . but I should think that it might be possible to thrash that out!

Q. 2170. I should have liked to have had some suggestion from the authors about it?—A. Our feeling is . . . that we have never done anything as authors so bad as to make it necessary to have this extra strong machinery to suppress us.

This is the logic of the Suffragette, not that of the Statesman.

Q. 2321. . . . That does not tell us whether you mean by trial before some magistrate or judge . . .—A. I have not followed it up to that extent, and I do not profess to be able to say what would be the most advisable.

Q. 3699. . . . have you formulated any notion at all how you would put it in force?—A. I have not considered it. I think it would require a lawyer really to consider that point. I have nothing to suggest.

Q. 3964. (By Lord Plymouth) Could you define the grounds?—A. No, I would sooner not define the grounds, because I am not sufficient of a lawyer. I have not anything like sufficient knowledge of the possible legal offences.¹

Yet these witnesses are the very persons who wish to change a system of law on a subject which has been deemed by four Commissions, including that now before us, to require special legislation, and which has stood the test of practical working for nearly two centuries of varying aims and views.

It really seems as though the dramatists, acting under the advice of the egregious Society of Authors, have been ill advised in asking for change of the law under which their craft has developed in freedom, status, and wealth. If the suggestions made in this Report should be carried into law they will assuredly find themselves in troubled waters. Their work will run the risk of being censored by local *as well as* by imperial authorities; for no local authority with power to license theatres (in which by the new law would be included music halls) would submit its own freedom of action provided for the good of its own public, to be interfered with. It would take steps to secure that freedom before giving

¹ At the same time it is right to say that there was no lack of schemes—mostly elaborate and impracticable, or aimed to make ineffectual any law which might be passed—to take the place of the present law and practice. Indeed, some of the witnesses seemed to produce elaborate schemes with the facility with which, according to Carlyle, the Abbé Sieyès produced to the National Assembly ready-made constitutions.

license to any theatre under the new conditions. Such would necessitate that the local manager who asks for theatre license should pledge himself beforehand not to permit any play to be given that had not at least the Lord Chamberlain's license. In addition such would have to require, in a general rule, that under no circumstance should an unlicensed play, though not prosecuted under the new rules, be performed in any playhouse subject to its jurisdiction.

Then, too, the local manager would for his own protection have to add a clause in any agreement with an author, getting indemnity from him in case of any loss resulting from prosecution. Indeed, should an Act be brought in to carry out the suggestion of the Commission, it would be necessary to enlarge the suggestion made on page xiv as to entitling a theatre-owner to cancel an existing lease or add to it a clause prohibiting the performance of unlicensed plays, so that an author's agreement with a manager would contain a similar protection for the latter.

In addition, under the suggested conditions the author with the manager would be liable to prosecution for indecency—a danger from which he is at present exempt, for under the present scheme of censorship the license is only for *performance*, in which the author has no responsibility.

If any author should act on the supposition that men of business, such as managers, would incur unnecessary risks or any not at present existing, without some form of indemnity or coercion to be exercised ultimately, they are vastly mistaken. If such an Act should pass, managers of theatres (under the new scheme) would, if seriously undertaking their business and intending to work it worthily and profitably, have to make some agreement or combination among themselves for mutual protection. They certainly would not permit of a system whereby the daring or unscrupulous author would advertise or benefit himself at their risk and expense. And to such a body a new manager more adventurous or less scrupulous than themselves would be a common foe, and could in any case have but a stormy career.

In fine, the Commission can hardly prove a success. So far as one can see, there is no reason for any interest involved—including the public—being pleased in case its finding should be carried into law. The theatre would lose status; inasmuch as instead of being on a royal and national base it would be purely local, and would after a certain time lose the right to sell excisable refreshment without going annually to the magistrates for license. The greater music-hall managers grumble. They would not have any advantage except an easiness of conscience from acting within instead of without the law; whilst their rivals in trade would have the right to smoke in

the auditorium—a privilege hitherto denied them. The right given to them to present 'full' plays as well as sketches they did not ask for, and do not want. The author would be in danger of punishment *ex post facto*, in common with the manager, for the production of an unlicensed play having any of the offences scheduled as barring the Censor's license; and would also be subject in his contract with the manager to new and stringent conditions, harder than any censorship.

In addition, there is an endless field for litigation in any of the following ways: The relative responsibility, in case of offence, of author and owner of the play when the former should have sold his rights; the clash of opinions—with corresponding right—between imperial and local authorities; the decision as to rights between makers of contracts—expressed or implied—in any branch of stage work; managers against authors, actors, owners, and the public; authors and managers against actors who might create offence, dangerous to rights and properties, by additions to or alterations of the licensed text, and by their manner of acting and speaking; action taken by the Public Prosecutor in case of indecency in unlicensed plays, or by the Attorney-General in *ex post facto* arraignment; in Excise matters under quite new conditions. This latter would be no chimerical thing, for the passing of such an Act as is suggested would bring under the London County Council and the Brewster Sessions all the theatres at present under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain, and regarding which no question purely of Excise can arise.

Newspapers, the day after the Report was presented to Parliament, called it a 'mosaic of Compromise.' They might have added a note on the lesson of the fable of Poggius: 'An Old Man and an Ass': 'The old man was willing to please Every Body, but had the Ill Fortune to please No Body, and lost his Ass into the Bargain.'

BRAM STOKER.

OF THINGS THEATRICAL IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND :

A COMPARISON

THE drama is moribund that receives no support. It is flourishing only when the intellectual drama plays to paying houses. There never was a time, I read in a book the other day, in which there were so many capable and gifted and strenuous young playwrights as at the present moment. Granted that there are men willing to sacrifice their time to give their message to the world in dramatic form, let me at the same time point out that without the possibility of reading their plays in book form the public would never have an opportunity of seeing their work at all ! A play in book form is literature and not theatre, and where can I go to a playhouse if I desire to do so this very night to see a comedy of purpose by Shaw, Barker, Galsworthy, Bennett, or Massfield ? It is childish to talk of the flourishing intellectual theatre when none such exists ! Since this was written, the one finely analytic play that has been produced this autumn has ceased to be performed after a short run of a few weeks. I refer to ' Mid-Channel ' by Pinero.

Within the last month I have journeyed to Munich with the object of visiting its theatres and subsequently to Nuremberg, that ancient city of Albrecht Dürer and Peter Flötner and Hans Sachs and other giants of the Renaissance, which is now sufficiently modern to have an ' Intimes Theater ' (Intimate Theatre) of the kind that I have long since desired to inaugurate here, and I have come back with a deeper sense of oppression and misgiving about the theatre in England than I felt before.

I am not going to discuss the much-vexed question of the Censor. I am not going to press the point that has been driven home so often, how the players are being treated here as if they were naughty children with nasty habits and tricks that are usually punished in children. I am not going to speak of the insult to those men and women of the stage who have earned an honourable name for themselves in a difficult profession, but who

are considered incapable of understanding decency and morality sufficiently well to be allowed their own selection of plays to be put before the public. I shall not here touch on the belittling of the women of the stage who, more than all others, are called upon to give their time and labour in the cause of charity, in the cause of patriotism, in the cause of philanthropy, and who are yet made to suffer under social disabilities. All this has been said *ad nauseam*. But I will show the difference between the theatre in England and the position of the theatre in Germany in the life of the people; I will quote parallel for parallel, how in the one country the theatre is fostered as part of the national growth, and how in the other it is baulked and stifled; I am going to put up common sense *versus* County Council; I am going to establish the plea of economy *versus* extravagance, of imagination *versus* convention. I am going to try to prove that whereas with us the theatre is considered a superfluous luxury rather more than less injurious to the country that encourages it, and every vexing restriction that statute can devise is brought to oppose its natural forces, in Germany the State acknowledges that the theatre is a factor in the existence of a nation, and nothing is neglected that can materially increase its prosperity. The theatre is to them a business, an industry that must be run by experts, and the best energies of the trained mind must be brought to bear upon it. The very fact that in every town of moderate size there is a 'Stadt-Theater' (town theatre) usually built by the governing body of that town, and that in some instances that body guarantees a subsidy, is proof enough that it is considered of importance to ensure a theatrical entertainment for the inhabitants, and hardly a town exists in which there is not a striking or handsome building devoted to that purpose.

Let me at once dispose of a recent assertion that the high prices of theatre seats in England often account for an empty house, though I agree that any money is too much for a bad entertainment; the assumption that all German theatres are cheap is not quite accurate. In Munich, for instance, where you may still get a perfectly cooked dinner of five courses for two marks, equivalent to a little more than two shillings, showing that the cost of living is still low, the stalls nearest to the stage cost as much as ten marks or shillings, and a shilling extra for booking in advance. These prices, however, are charged at the very luxurious 'Künstler Theater,' which is the last word in modernity of outfit and management, and for an entertainment organised by the distinguished Berlin manager Herr Reinhardt; indeed, at his 'Kammer Theater' in Berlin the most expensive seats are fifteen marks or shillings.

The auditorium of the 'Künstler Theater' is constructed much on the lines of the Wagner Theatre in Bayreuth, that is, stepped tier upon tier of seats ascending to the Royal Box behind; but the hall being long and straight the stage can be seen equally well from every place in the house, the difference in price depending merely on its distance from the stage. This shape of auditorium cannot, I am told, be adopted in England on account of certain regulations concerning gangways. (We have arrived at a pitch of caution at which we should, properly speaking, have almost an 'island site' for every theatre seat!)

The exits from this theatre, about one door to every three rows of stalls, are at the side, and have thus the advantage that there are no draughts. It might be instructive—seeing that we have commissions of enquiry for every question that common-sense could easily settle for itself—to take a census of how many of our population die annually from the chills contracted in currents of air brought about by precautions against fire, in compliance with the Lord Chamberlain's regulations. The fact is that the fire-worshippers on the governing bodies are so blinded by the smoke of this imaginary scare that no thought is bestowed on the ordinary comfort and health of the spectator. I will cite an example. There is over every stage, 'by order,' a ventilator that is to act as a blower in case of an outbreak of fire, the exact use being to draw the flame up and away from the auditorium. This is a constant source of danger to the health, not only of the actors, but also of the occupants of the front rows of stalls when the curtain is up, as in winter time or in inclement weather the current of air set up by this ingenious contrivance is one that no manager is able to prevent, however dearly he values the comfort of his patrons or the health of his company, for it is strictly in accordance with the regulations and to make it air-tight or a fixture is punishable by law. As to the simple expedient of putting up a screen or curtains behind the pit or stalls or across any opening through which a draught may come, that again is forbidden 'by order,' as it is presumed that in one of those panics with which the theatre-going public is particularly credited this might cause an obstruction. Yet in no other building that caters for the public is the most ordinary supervision maintained, because it has not yet occurred to the legislator that eating-houses and old houses let out for lodgings, often totally unsuitable for the accommodation of people herded together, are much more subject to the chances of fire than places of entertainment where a well-drilled staff is kept and every attention is called to the risk of it.

Mark how the German meets this danger. The theatres, not having any necessity for direct exits into the streets, not being

perforce built on island sites, though they have far wider passages than ours, are also far more free from draughts. In Germany I have never been obliged to wrap myself in my cloak in order to protect myself against the cold wind that blows across me as the curtain goes up. Either German carpenters do their work more neatly—and that I doubt, knowing the workmen of both nations—or the wonderful patent blower is unknown to them; but as there is no icy blast to contend with, the management very wisely insist upon coats, cloaks, umbrellas, walking-sticks and other impedimenta being deposited outside in the cloak-room. Reflection will at once disclose the common-sense reasoning of this.

The problem of the wardrobe has been thought out with characteristically meticulous care so that it may not prove merely a source of delay and irritation instead of a wise precaution. There is an attendant and cloak-rack to each class of seat, and the number of the seat corresponds to the cloak-room ticket for which in some cases a charge of twopence is made on first obtaining it. There is also a very simple practical system of getting cabs after the play. On going into the theatre, if you desire to have a conveyance to take you home at the end of the performance, you apply to an official who gives you a card with the number of your cab on it. On coming out, the card is given up and your cab is called. The porter knows approximately by this means how many vehicles are required, and there is none of that waiting about in a cold or wet street long after the theatre is empty. A police regulation also exists that the cabman who drives up must demand his fare some yards before he gets to the entrance of the theatre, and so avoid the irksome wait at the door while other people just in front of him are fumbling for change, a delay that invariably occurs if anyone is late for the opening scene. It may be argued that these are all vexing restrictions for the Englishman who likes to take his own time to come into his stall and to keep hold of his own fur coat, brushing the back hair of every spectator more punctual than himself and tearing laces and chiffon on his road; but therein lies, I contend, that disrespectful treatment of the drama that I so bitterly resent. It is precisely this painstaking habit of the Germans of making things easy for the man of moderate means, that is all part and parcel of the scheme to facilitate and encourage the custom of visiting the theatre in the same manner that any other trade or industry is nursed into prosperity. •

Indeed, the general impression that the traveller gets at the present moment is one of a beneficent State pushing every individual effort at commercial or artistic or scientific development. I leave the reader who has tried to float a new idea on the British market to see how much of this fatherly intention is left after

both Houses have done with any measure in favour of some particular enterprise.

The excellent practice of asking the audience to leave the auditorium in order to air it between the acts is one that might be adopted here with advantage. In most of the new buildings in Germany there is a spacious foyer more elaborately decorated than the theatre itself, and again the creature comforts of the visitor are attended to, for if his artistic enthusiasm has brought him out early, to see a play that begins in the dinner hour, there are substantial and appetising sandwiches of caviare, smoked salmon, or the national sausage; there is steaming soup, hot tea, iced coffee, cold lager beer, ready for consumption during the entr'acte, and no one is so delicate or so 'refined' that he disdains it.

At the Künstler Theater there was only one long pause of twenty minutes; the rest of the evening the audience remained seated, although Herr Reinhardt has an unconventional way of lowering his curtain very frequently, and sometimes merely to mark a lapse of time instead of 'making business' to fill it in. The long interval in the middle of the performance is one that is of great artistic value to the player, and it is noticeable that in France and in Germany the spectators accept the longest wait without a murmur out of respectful consideration for the artists, so understanding are they of the strain of a hard-working part on a player's vitality. The wear and tear of a quick change in a long run with an exacting part is often terrible, and must necessarily affect the performance. A slight accident in dressing causing a delay may throw the player into such nervous tension that it may be almost impossible to recover before the next emotion has to be portrayed, and I never remember to have seen the greatest of all emotional actresses, Sarah Bernhardt or Eleonora Duse, do themselves the injustice of a hurried interval after a scene that taxed their strength. But in the countries from which they come the audiences are theatre-lovers and not mere theatre-goers.

In Munich, while I was there, the Künstler Theater performed the following plays: 'Lysistrata' from the Greek of Aristophanes, 'Hamlet,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and a comic opera of the period of 1850 very quaintly staged in the fashionable 'Biedermeyer' style of that date. A great deal of the present movement in German architecture, decoration, and furniture is a free adaptation of that particular period, but to my mind it is rather trivial for big buildings, giving the appearance of gigantic dolls' houses with red roofs, green painted woodwork, and stiff straight balconies that lend a comic rather than a dignified air to a public edifice. It is

an attempt to invent a distinctive style to mark the beginning of 1900, which in reality is one only suitable to country cottages. There seems to be a great straining at something that shall be peculiar to the twentieth century, and everywhere artists of some standing are employed to contrive a new form of decoration; wall-papers being no longer acceptable as too uninventive, walls are painted and stencilled according to the designs of well-known painters. On the stage the simplicity and straight lines of this novel tendency are distinctly noticeable in the scenery and mounting of the plays. Everything is a trifle stiffer, and more elongated than we are accustomed to here, except perhaps from the band of painters who describe themselves as members of the New English Art Club.

The scenes in the Shakespearean plays were more suggested than presented. There was no attempt on that small stage to give us any impression of the canals and 'calles' of Venice. A blue sky and a deeper line of sea, a stone parapet along it, two solidly built walls with the door of Shylock's house in one, a flight of marble steps, and that was all; yet when Antonio and Gratiano stood side by side looking over the stone parapet you felt they were straining their eyes to scan the horizon for the sight of the missing 'argosy' across the lagoon. Portia's casket scene was a simple background of curtain with a view of a moonlit terrace through a narrow door; the hall of Justice a wide platform of steps stretching from left to right of the stage on which the Doge was seated and Portia pleaded, leaving the 'parties to the suit' at the foot of the staircase with their backs and profiles to the audience. The intention was obviously to present a Veronese-like impression in order to heighten the Venetian setting, and it certainly succeeded, for the grouping of Antonio's friends on the steps as they took farewell of him before the Jew bares his knife was in effect exactly like a big canvas of the master's. The absence of minutiae was quite as remarkable as the prevailing presence of imagination. The artist's, the thinker's mind had been brought to bear on every detail that was omitted. The scene appealed to an audience, not so much by what was there as by what was not there, and the audience, an essentially German one, were apparently riveted, for they sat in silence through the many intervals of varying duration with something of the devotional silence of an audience at Bayreuth; theatre-tasters every one of them. A great feature of the Shakespearean performances was that they played them with a rapidity and a modernity—if I may be permitted that word for a description of their work—that were intensely refreshing. There was none of that unction and self-consciousness of fine diction that is so often associated with blank

verse. Shakespeare is so humanly applicable to all ages that his characters gain in comprehension by being played with a natural emphasis instead of with that conventional phrasing that we traditionally presume to be Elizabethan. In dramatic criticism the word 'modern' has been used as a term of opprobrium where the word 'human' might oftener have been applied with greater felicity, but with us tradition dies so hard that anything of the nature of a classic must perforce be treated academically rather than realistically.

In Munich Shylock was a very Jew with the half-comic gestures and facial distortions of the race, and had little of that limelight dignity with which there is such a striving to invest him here, for no doubt our Elizabethan friends in Southwark had each their little account to settle with some Shylock or Tubal in Globe Alley. Portia was a light-hearted, something frivolous girl, perfectly adjusted to the idea of a marriage of reason arranged by the ingenuity of her dead father's will, for we have but to read in the annals and private memoirs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to note how customary was the marriage of convenience, and how rare were love matches. The enormous romantic importance that the love story of the heiress of Haddon Hall assumed is, I think, a proof of that, else the later runaway matches at Gretna Green must surely have taken the brilliancy out of Dorothy Vernon's escapade. As for Launcelot Gobbo, he was the best 'clown' I have ever seen, and for once I was not tempted to yawn over the Shakespearean comic relief as portrayed on the stage; he was a sly and intelligent rustic in place of the *pazzo* or village idiot, grinning and slobbering at the mouth, to whom we are so often treated. Bassanio, it is regrettable to say, left much to be desired in the way of looks and bearing, for if that gentleman-like adventurer is not played by a handsome man there is not much to charm Portia with after all, for his motives have always appeared to me entirely unromantic, and his assumption of borrowed grandeur not particularly estimable. It was, indeed, only during the Victorian era that it became an accepted canon of the theatre that a hero and heroine should invariably be what is described as 'sympathetic.' Sheridan's gallery of portraits were not all painted in the monochrome of perfect virtue. But it has long been the habit of all actors and actresses who can afford themselves the luxury of choosing their own parts, to refuse any that does not directly ally them to the glorious company of saints or martyrs and endear them to the gallery by the possession of all the cardinal virtues; and so long has it been the test of success to play the rôle of the rescuer and the defender of the innocent, that it is a matter of doubt whether any capable artist acting the *villain* will ever be enshrined

in the hearts of the British public as firmly as the ordinary walking gentleman who has sufficient good looks to be made into a stage hero.

But to return to the Künstler Theater at Munich. 'Lysistrata,' which to the student of Greek is well known, was taken not at the same gallant pace but at one of still more unrestrained frolic. The keynote of it was Bacchanalian, as befits a comedy by Aristophanes, that author to whom the Athenians allowed unbridled liberties and personalities as to a spoilt child, that poet who was crowned with laurels in the very face of the all-powerful Cleon whom he had held up to ridicule, to whose pen nothing was sacred except the Truth, and whose hatred of the unreal made him welcome to the authorities in spite of his uncurbed and dissolute wit, because he was held to have a stimulating influence on the people.

And here I must pause to pay a tribute to the artistry of the German actresses; nothing could surpass the rich sense of fun and the unconsciousness of self with which they tripped over quicksands in which the players of other countries would have been engulfed; for I still remember the French version of that same comedy in Paris where the impression produced was by no means devoid of offence. I think that part of the effect of mental activity and alertness produced by the Germans in this play was due to the rather spare draperies in which the women were clothed, and if I quarrel with the want of beauty in the short chiton and scanty himation from the point of view of the picturesque, I am still obliged to admit the logical reason of it. In any other production this might be accounted hypercriticism, but where nothing is done without intention I may be permitted to dwell on it. Our eye is accustomed to the full pleats and ample folds of old Greek art, which the sculptor chose as the most plastic for his purpose, paying no heed to the practical inconvenience of flowing lines; yet without doubt there must have been Greek women who could not afford the time or leisure to lounge in the lazy attitudes of a Tanagra figure on marble benches, and who had something more useful to do than the bathing of limbs in splashing fountains, while the double girdle of the Amazon when she gathered up her garments for running has never seemed to me the easiest way of solving the question of short skirts. On the Munich stage, although, as I have said, the draperies were too meagre for beauty in action, the colours vivid with the insertion of much gold and yellow, still it made for swiftness in movement up and down the wide steps of which the scene was constructed, and the mass of rainbow-hued raiment lit up a background that would otherwise have been grey in its stone-coloured simplicity. Indeed the base of the columns that reared and lost themselves

in the 'flies,' the low bronze gates against the sky horizon at the top of steps that descended to the footlights, made up a massive picture imposing and handsome on account of its rigid absence of ornament; for it is lamentable to notice how often the fine lines of a scene are broken by unnecessary addition of painted stencil, as though the painter, having some spare colour on his palette, had felt himself obliged to utilise it; again and again a good room is spoiled by superfluous arabesque (probably of the wrong period to add to this vandalism). The favourite sin is against that style of architectural decoration known as 'Adam's' of which the distinguishing feature is its classical severity—always, so it would appear, too bare for the scenic artist's taste—and more often than not some redundant excrescence of another epoch is added.

Of 'Lysistrata' as a play it would be out of place to speak here. It is too familiar to the student to need a commentary from one who is not a classical scholar, and for a place of entertainment licensed by the Lord Chamberlain it is, I presume, a trifle too unlicensed in its merry-making, nor is an audience in England ever tolerant of plain speaking unless it be to a musical accompaniment or in the broader lines of farce. 'The Merry Widow' and 'The Waltz Dream' dealt very freely with the sex question of 'Lysistrata,' but there it was buried in orchestration and masked with the luscious dancing that no British spectator is too prudish to observe through the strongest glasses. There seems to be something in the directer method of speech without music and without extravagance that alarms the pruriency of the nation when spoken in our tongue and on our shores. In Paris it is always said that the *cabarets* or singing booths of Montmartre with their outrageous numbers are largely supported by visitors from Great Britain, and would not survive if they depended on local support alone.

At other playhouses while I was in Munich the works of Hendrik Ibsen held their own, for the 'Pillars of Society' was to be seen at one house while 'John Gabriel Borkman' was performed at another. Both are dramas that but for an occasional *matinée* are never to be found on an English playbill; this is all the more to be marvelled at when we reflect that Ibsen is as much the father and master of the modern drama as Stendhal was forerunner to Balzac, and the whole band of analytic novelists in France of which Zola and René Bazin are the more recent exponents. Let it be understood that by the expression 'modern' is meant 'modernist' drama and not the work that is daily advertised—and no doubt with truth—as turning money away at the doors, comedy that for the most part is built on well-thumbed subjects treating of men and women that are to be met with nowhere and in no place save on the stage. Everyone will

recognise the popular stuff that I do not call modernist, for it is of the kind that serves up platitudes and sentiments that have done duty as the 'plat du jour' with successive generations, dished up with the highly seasoned sauce most in demand at the moment, and by the literary 'chef' also most in demand; plays in which the cigarette, the telephone, the bridge-table, the motor-car, the aeroplane, and a plentiful supply of fashionable inventions are pressed into service to hide a pitiful lack of inventiveness; this has no link with the genius of Ibsen. Perhaps in lieu of 'modern drama' should be used the phrase 'modern thought,' of which the fiction of the day is more representative than the drama. It was Ibsen who first dissected women for us with the patient scalpel of the great anatomist of souls. It was Ibsen who introduced us to 'Nora,' the type for all time of the wife enslaved, held in bondage by the tyrant husband, and never has his indictment been summed up with more damning evidence and never has the wife's case been drawn up with more skill and pleaded with more subtlety. But for this great precedent assuredly the whole succession of portraits of which Paula Tanqueray heads the list would never have been tolerated in the gallery of heroines, and but for the judgment on Helmer's wife, 'Magda' would never have been translated into English to bear her company, and many of the most powerful dramas of our day would not have seen the footlights at all. Shakespeare has not done for women what Ibsen never ceased to do. In no play of the former is woman so closely or so narrowly observed. Indeed probably from practical habits of business Shakespeare elaborated his female characters only very rarely; the woman's rôle being confided to boys young enough to masquerade as such, it was not to be expected they should have any experience of life, and Shakespeare's reticence therefore was not only prudent but desirable for his own era, or was it the work of that husband who left only 'his second best bed to his wife'?

Certain it is that George Meredith in fiction and Hendrik Ibsen in drama have been the two great exponents of the woman's soul during the nineteenth century; of Meredith's influence on the writer of to-day there can be no question, however reluctant the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey may feel to let his ashes rest in the company of the Great Dead, but while George Meredith may be read and studied by our generation at the very small outlay of a few shillings, Ibsen, who has founded the only school of drama that counts for anything among thinkers in our time, and who wrote with the essential object of being *acted*, cannot be heard or seen unless by the costly expedient of a journey abroad.

In Germany, at any rate, he can be seen in great perfection,

for the Germans are never so happy in their methods as when they are playing that kind of introspective piece in the setting of the educated middle-class, while the English, on the other hand, are not to be found at their highest level in such surroundings. This is not the fault of the player but is due to a peculiar trait of the nation. Save for the squalor and filth in which the poor of our country exceed any other in the world, we are wanting in that atmosphere of homely and even ugly simplicity that permeates every stratum of German society from the highest to the lowest. If in England there is ceremony without ceremoniousness, it may also be said that in Germany there is ceremoniousness without ceremony, for the characteristic of the German is a great deal of formal etiquette to the stranger with very little understanding of stateliness in the home, while with us there is an almost uniform standard of comfortable luxury among the educated classes, no matter what their rank, with a studied neglect of etiquette. We differ only in the size of the staff that is kept and in the quality of service rendered by efficient or inefficient domestics, otherwise the household etiquette at No. 1 is precisely the same as at No. 2 on the other side of the street. On this account the German actor is devoid of the polish that the English actor supplies so well in the modern comedy of manners.

This was especially noticeable when I saw the same company on two successive nights in plays of total contrast to one another. In the first—a comedy of a somewhat *risqué* nature translated from the Italian dealing with the aristocratic society in Florence, the players were ill at ease, awkward, and clumsy; in the second, that was cast among the schoolmasters of a boy's school, no swifter, subtler or more easy performance can well be imagined. This took place moreover in the 'Intimes Theater' in Nuremberg of which the most costly seat was to be had for the sum of half-a-crown, and on Sundays half price was charged! In the comparison of these prices with ours it must be remembered that in Bavarian Germany the cost of living is one-third of what it is with us, though I do not know how Free-traders reconcile that fact with their theory of dear food and protection. (Perhaps most of these politicians only visit the Germany of hotels patronised by British visitors, and know nothing of the actual home life of the middle classes.) For example, in this city there is a garden club with a handsome new club-house containing a ballroom and other reception-rooms, very exclusive in its membership in a present-day city of commerce, in spite of its ancient tradition and charter of freedom when it was governed by its 'Patrizier' or patrician families, who many of them, by the way, still occupy in direct succession the mansions built by their ancestors. The annual subscription of this club is 25 marks. The club-house itself

was designed and decorated by the same architect that is responsible for the exquisite National Museum in Munich and is a model of tasteful simplicity.

At the 'Intimes Theater' for the modest sum of one shilling and threepence I saw a comedy of purpose by Max Dreyer, setting forth the schoolmaster's difficulty of reconciling the modern Darwinistic theory of evolution with the religious doctrine of the Creation of the world in seven days that is taught to children; and an absorbing drama was woven round the reactionary evangelical dogma of the governing body of the school, and the conscientious scruples of the teacher of modern science. I thus counted my Sabbath afternoon better spent than over the picture puzzle and game of bridge of the Sunday afternoon at home. Nor had it prevented the good citizens of Faust's antique city from flocking to their 'St. Lorenz' and 'St. Sebaldus' churches for an early service at 9.30 a.m., and worshipping where Albrecht Dürer, Veit Stoss, Adam Krafft and Peter Fischer erected monuments to the glory of God that shall sing His praises for all time. Within this little city, as wonderful in its way as opal-coloured Venice itself, side by side with the veneration and care in which every relic of the past is preserved, there is an alertness to husband and push each modern opportunity of commerce that is amazing. The same municipal body that buys any ancient house in danger of falling into hands that will not care for its preservation, in order to safeguard it for the community, has built outside the wide moat of the city walls a new and spacious theatre. When we recollect the discussion over Crosby Hall in the colossally wealthy City of London, and all the long parley and correspondence until the idea of a Shakespeare memorial in the shape of a national theatre was carried through (and then only if public subscription renders it possible), I confess I feel very little hopeful that our political house will ever be put in such order that the vast public revenues will come to be available for public purposes.

Nuremberg, with its small population of 200,000 souls, is able to erect, as I have said, a generously capacious playhouse, too large it is true for the light comedy I saw acted there but admirable for opera and romantic drama, decorated with that fantastic effort at twentieth-century style for which I have only a reluctant appreciation, but which is at any rate a change from the variations on the 'Louis' theme, as it is generically dubbed in the cheap furniture trade. Perhaps what impressed me most in the complete scheme of organisation that is so indicative of the capacity for taking pains in the Teutonic race was the surprise that awaited a foreigner like myself on leaving the theatre after the performance. Drawn up outside was a long train of electric tramway cars, waiting to take the spectators back to their homes,

east and west and south and north. There was none of that breathless struggle and rustle of silk cloaks and folded programmes that make the last quarter of an hour of a play almost inaudible to those who would rather lose their omnibuses and trains, than miss the finale of a play or a player that they have been interested in; from the actors' standpoint I know of few things more disheartening than to struggle with the wandering attention of an audience already mentally on the steps of a cab or carriage. This observation of practical details minute in themselves, which helps to avoid the pin-pricks and inconveniences for theatre-lovers of moderate resources, all tends to demonstrate the niche that the theatre occupies in the existence of the people.

Heartily tired as we are of the manifold perfections of the German intellect to which we have been treated in print in every newspaper article of the last eighteen months, I still feel it is part of the duty of a lover of the drama to dwell on the qualities that have made the Teutonic race a pattern and an example to all Europe. The drama of the present day in Germany is at least a quarter of a century in advance of the French. In Paris the demand for the academic has hardened into such a craving that what was once the perfection of a school has become a mere stereotype, what in the slang of the day the Parisian very aptly calls 'cliché.' There are no longer any surprises in their drama; scene follows scene in its accepted rotation until we can almost foretell the given moment at which we are to be thrilled. I do not, of course, refer to such works of purpose as 'Maternité' or 'Les Avaries,' which are manifestly the successors to 'Ghosts,' but I mean those plays of which a large number find their way over to England, and which rarely deal with any subject excepting the illicit relations of the sexes. Now, the Germans, although they are far more daring in the choice of their themes, are also far more catholic. As will be seen from their playbills, there is hardly a subject that is not discussed on their stage, because they appeal to a public that takes its theatre seriously and that starts out with the intention of carrying home something that is discussable. In no country in Europe is there the same latitude of discussion as in Germany, where it would be considered the height of vulgarity, and possibly of impropriety, to avoid argument on any topic, no doubt on the assumption that to the purely intellectual all things are intellectually pure. Things are weighed and considered in a mixed company of men and women over there that they would treat as mere nastiness of mind to refuse to inquire into, while other matters we take pleasure in conversing upon they look upon as trivial and childish. Those plays of ours, for instance, that are successful for their very sentimentalism and prettiness, they disdain as mawkish and fit only for the young, and yet the different

points of view of the two countries lead, curiously enough, to a mutual desire to imitate one another. The German, who has for nearly half a century lived strenuously and economically with the sole object of the development of the Fatherland, finds himself now with a large balance at his banker's and an ignorance of how to spend it. The Englishman, who has used the same fifty years in perfecting himself in cricket and in football, finds himself now with no balance at his banker's and an ignorance of how to work for it. Each envies the other his success. While the German has a secret jealousy of the unostentatious luxury and cool indifference that are born of generations of leisured idlers, the Englishman resents with the same grudging dislike the thoroughness and industry that have made German institutions an example.

The remarkable trait of the German nation is that they have as a foundation to their success little or no imagination. What they have accomplished they have done by watching the growth of ideas in others and improving on what has already been discovered. Their decoration and their scenic arrangements in the theatre are a proof of this. Seeing the immense development of theatrical productions here they determined to adopt something of it. They had the artists, they had the knowledge, and there was only one reason why they could not emulate it. Their theatrical managers are not leading actors looking for parts, but men of business looking for profits, and to put on plays as lavishly as did the late Sir Henry Irving does not, as all the world knows, lead to riches; so they evolved, by dint of knowledge grafted on economy, that original and suggestive simplicity that fascinates the lover of the theatre who is moved to applause by mind and not matter. Economy and knowledge are the cornerstones of wealth, and these are precisely the two elements that have dropped out of our national edifice. The State sets the ball rolling downhill. There is no country in the world in which the cost of administration is more exorbitant, even though its actual legislators in both Houses of Parliament bear the cost of their own representation, and in spite of the stern statute known as the Corrupt Practices Act I have often heard members of Parliament declare that they cannot afford to live in their own constituencies on account of the continual drain on their purses. Much of the money collected for every public purpose in England goes on the upkeep of offices in order to collect it, and where the State sets the example the country is not slow to follow. The idea of economy in any governing body is never for one minute under contemplation, and nothing is more recklessly and callously indifferent to the pocket of the individual than a municipal body of local government. If anyone questions this, let them ask the Marylebone ratepayer his opinion of it. It follows, therefore, that when any private

enterprise is under consideration less than no regard is paid to the pocket of the promoter. Thus sites for theatres are dismissed with the approval of a collection of men chosen by a majority of votes who are entirely ignorant of the possibilities or requirements of a dramatic enterprise, and thus the honest theatrical manager is thrust out of the market because he has not the gigantic capital that is required to conform to the frivolous and exorbitant regulations of a council of amateur architects. Then in struts the speculative builder who builds the theatre and leases it to the man who can make the handsomest offer, probably also merely a speculative lessee, and then, at last, the manager who is honestly desirous of running a legitimate dramatic entertainment is forced to rent the building at a price that no enterprise on a sound commercial basis is able to afford. Thus we have an incessant change of temporary managers who, by dint of collecting some thousand pounds, are able to secure a theatrical building for a few weeks at an inflated price, and only such managements remain stable and consistent as have in previous days secured for themselves the lease of a house compatible with the varying fortunes of theatrical business. Beginning with a governing body that will on no account take individual effort into consideration, we end with an American trust.

It is proverbial that no board or committee of government has a public conscience nor is it concerned with the legitimacy of any individual enterprise, and it certainly is not required to have any technical education on the subject upon which it is called upon to give an opinion. When, as in the case of an actor-manager on the London County Council, it has actually a man of sound practical experience—and I know of no theatre more admirably and methodically conducted than this actor-manager's theatre—he is at once put as far out of reach of the Theatres Committee as can be devised. Verily, we are strange creatures of contradictions. We set a country attorney to adjust our finances and a lawyer to reconstruct our naval programme, yet we know all the while that the nation that we most dread at the present moment is only dreaded by us because they make use of their experts' opinion and advice.

Until the State acknowledges that the theatre is as much an industry or business as any other commercial undertaking, until it assists and facilitates theatrical enterprise to provide wages for many hundreds of persons employed as in any other shop or factory engaged in the production of marketable wares, and does not allow it to be at the mercy of every shifting public body which requires more and more vexing and harassing regulations, and for which there is not even any guarantee of stability, as each new Council can ask for new measures, there will only be a precarious and vacillating living in the theatre for everyone concerned, and the swell

ing ranks of trained and respectable unemployed will count still more among their numbers. The theatre, according to most public men in England, is of the least importance. They can spare no time for anything that does not increase the balance of party votes, and in the matter of the Censor the successful actor has now ranged himself against the literary playwright. For my part I cannot help feeling that a united front in this matter, a determined revolt against the indignity of being the only profession for which a direct spiritual control is thought indispensable, would have fostered a feeling of respect for the drama in the British mind which it cannot have for a profession always in swaddling clothes.

In talking of the Censor I mean only the materialisation of an offensive and obsolete measure, and if I have by this paper on the attitude of the Germans towards their theatre demonstrated how poorly our own is supported in the very quarter from which we have a right to expect help, then I trust that others may come forward who agree with me and will keep up the war-cry of 'Fair play for the Drama!' Yet I fear that more likely I shall have meted out to me the fate of all who, in an age of gracious and graceful paraphrasing, have the temerity to let the truth trickle between the lines and spoil the fair page of contented literature that some of the recent evidence on the Censorship of Plays has provided for our reading. Mr. Robert Harcourt, in his determined and energetic attack on the injustice to dramatic authorship, has shown himself a Liberal in the true sense of the word, namely, a lover of liberty, and has pursued it from sheer desire to see justice done to one of the noblest arts. If I have from the outset declared that I do not here intend to go into the question of the Censorship, I cannot refer to the healthy condition of the German theatre at this present moment without pointing out that the full strength to which it has attained is achieved by the absolute freedom in which it has been planted and cultivated. The theatre has taken firm root in the souls of the German people and nothing can eradicate it; it has become a habit that nothing can shake. Can it be said that that nation has neglected its work on that account? I think not. I remember to have read a great deal latterly about their labour colonies, their old-age pensions, their Dreadnoughts, their quickfiring guns, their airships and aeroplanes; but they manage, notwithstanding, to put in an enormous amount of theatre-going with it all, nor can it be said that the so-called degeneracy of the subjects they choose for their drama has in any way led to the deterioration of their industry or vitality. The capacity for taking trouble is the only one that can keep a country up to its standard, and that is one that we in England have lost grievously enough. It is altogether unfashionable and out of date to put a hand to any work that does not yield

the most immediate and lavish return for our trouble. The inflated wages demanded and earned by incompetent domestic servants are a proof of this. Apprenticeship is abolished, if not by statute by custom, and a training that requires services gratis raises an outcry amongst the demagogues that has done more than all else to banish efficiency from our shores.

If this want of energy, if this inertia, arises from too much theatre-going, then by all means let us close the theatres down at once, for the country and the pride of the country must come before all else; but let us remember at the same time that it has been and is a theatre controlled by the State, that it is a drama checked and muzzled and reined in, one that cannot raise its head or stretch its limbs at will. When the spirit of Truth is eliminated out of the drama, when the essence of life is destroyed in it, it has neither purpose nor possibility and cannot help a nation to face its own bitter problems nor teach it to fight its own desperate evils. There is nothing to be learned from the theatre when the most serious and searching questions of the day are not permitted to see the light in it. There is no influence to be exercised by the author whose most noble intention is condemned as blasphemous, and whose most ignoble thought is encouraged as amusing. A few overworked financiers tired out with money-making in the City, a few weary lawyers sick of the grimy view of life acquired in the Law Courts, may assert that they go to the play to be amused (and these are the men that I have always heard express this sentiment); but we must keep in mind the vast majority of playgoers who do no thinking at all, and for them it should be in some sort an education to go to the theatre.

The time has come when the fine arts must be put on some sound and solid basis in England, just as in France and other countries where a public office exists to deal with all questions appertaining to the arts. The question of the theatre must no longer be left to the arbitrary judgment of an individual without special training for it, nor must the sites of public statues and monuments be left to the accidental and haphazard discrimination of the *olla podrida* of which local government is composed. The serious problem of the depletion of the works of Old Masters from England has at least attracted the attention of politicians. In Italy a law has long existed forbidding the sale of historical works of art to non-resident foreigners; in England this solution has never been mooted, and the speeches of the two politicians of opposite parties at the opening of the Loan Collection in the Grafton Galleries, in which they referred to this serious danger, in no way suggested that legislation should be employed to prevent it. All these conundrums it would, however, be the province of a

Ministry of Fine Arts to clear up, and the establishment of such an office, with its political and permanent staff, is so patent a necessity that it can only be a matter of wonderment that it does not already exist. If and when such an office is instituted, we can but hope that a reasonable selection will be made of men with something of an education in that direction, and with a natural love and bent for the fine arts, and that the choice will not be left to the dictate of party expediency alone. Then and not till then may we look forward to relief from the present deadlock of the intellectual drama, then and not till then may we look for a renaissance of the theatre.

GERTRUDE KINGSTON.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MANNING OF THE FLEET

A VISITOR once remarked to Dr. Johnson that there were men who were fond of being sailors. Dr. Johnson, who hated the sea and had a poor opinion of all who had to do with it, replied, 'I cannot account for that, any more than I can account for other strange perversions of nature.' Many persons still share Dr. Johnson's feelings, and cannot be convinced that the Admiralty have no difficulty in securing the services of sufficient seamen and others to provide crews for every man-of-war we possess.

Since the Government were definitely committed to the largest shipbuilding programme ever authorised—eight Dreadnoughts, six protected cruisers, twenty destroyers, and ten submarines—a great deal has been heard of the problem of manning the Fleet. In Germany, in face of British determination to maintain the supremacy of the sea, the naval expansion movement showed signs of flagging. In these circumstances, in one paper after another—inspired or uninspired—the same line of argument was employed. It is true (it was stated) that England is laying down all these ships, and no doubt they will be built, but England's difficulty is not ships, but men. She cannot obtain sufficient men to form the crews of the new ships, and therefore her position is becoming more desperate the greater the number of ships she builds. The ships are being laid down in a spirit of bluff.

Statements of this nature have appeared in numerous German newspapers. Recently in the *Der Tag* of Berlin a reputable writer remarked :

England possesses a fleet strong enough to be matched against any two others in the world. The fleet's weaknesses, however, are the doubtful quality of its guns and the unreliability of the *personnel*. Moreover, the more ships England builds, the more recruits are lacking, and desertion is another evil that has to be reckoned with.

Such are the stories of the British Fleet which are being spread. They have crossed the Atlantic to the United States in German newspapers. Throughout Europe the belief is becoming widespread that we can build ships but cannot man them. The intention of those who originally circulated this mis-

representation in Germany is not far to seek. The idea is to bolster up the naval movement and to prevent its supporters from being discouraged by the renewed spurt in British warship-building. This effort has been encouraged by reports in the English Press as to 'recent reductions of the *personnel*,' the present alleged undermanning of the Fleet, and the desperate measures claimed to be necessary to provide crews for the new ships that are now being built.¹

What are the facts? The position has been succinctly described in the *Naval and Military Record* in the following paragraphs:

(a) The present numbers are just sufficient for the manning of the initial war fleet with regular officers and men, and without recourse to any reserves. This year the numbers voted were 128,000, whereas in the past the numbers have been as follows:—1876-85, 57,000; 1886-1895 (when the Liberal Government resigned), 57,000, rising to 88,850; 1896-1904, 93,750, rising to 130,490, the maximum ever reached in modern times; 1904-1906, 127,667; 1906-1910, 127,431, rising to 128,000. There is nothing in these figures to suggest starvation of the *personnel*. In fact, the votes for the *personnel* never before approached the figure at which they stand to-day; a *personnel* which enabled upwards of 300 ships of various classes to be put to sea for the last manœuvres without inconvenience or fuss. The existing regular *personnel* has been proved to be just adequate to the fleet as it exists to-day.

(b) The fleet is now about to undergo considerable expansion owing to the very rapid growth of the German navy. A large number of new vessels of the largest types, and an even greater number of torpedo craft, will be passed into the fleet in the course of the next few years. Some of these vessels will merely replace older ships, and will therefore put no strain on the manning department, but others will be net additions, and for these additional men must be voted, unless ships are to be passed into the Fourth Division of the Home fleet before their time.

Yet there is a vague impression that the *personnel* of the seagoing fleet has recently been sacrificed and that our ships are actually short of men. The total naval *personnel* has, it is true, fluctuated in the past nine years, but this is only one side of the picture. The numbers voted—the aggregate *personnel* for duty ashore and afloat—have varied as follows:

Estimates			Increase	
1901-2	.	.	3,745	—
1902-3	.	.	3,875	—
1903-4	.	.	4,600	—
1904-5	.	.	4,000	—
1905-6	.	.	—	2,100
1906-7	.	.	—	No change.
1907-8	.	.	—	1,000
1908-9	.	.	—	No change.
1909-10	.	.	—	No change.

¹ One particularly foolish rumour was circulated recently to the effect that the Second Sea Lord had threatened to resign unless the *personnel* was increased by 16,000 men immediately

The present First Sea Lord is always referred to as 'arch-traitor' in all discussions of Admiralty policy. If, however, he is regarded as having been responsible for the reduction of the aggregate *personnel* which has taken place in the last few years, it must also be remembered that he was Second Sea Lord and therefore mainly responsible for the *personnel* from June 1902 to September 1903, during which period the aggregate vote was increased.

Only those who have some appreciation of the niceties of naval organisation can hope to understand completely the process which has been going on during the past few years. In the first place, the Admiralty have been providing the Fleet with an increased proportion of skilled mechanical and other ratings, and there has been a decrease in unskilled ratings. This decrease has not been so large as the limitation of crews due to the introduction of the all big gun ships and the adoption of turbine machinery and oil fuel. The result is that the Navy is better manned than ever before because it has a larger proportion of more highly-trained ratings. This fact, and the series of reforms affecting the pay of the lower deck, account for the increase in the wages vote which has taken place during the past five years. These points may be fittingly emphasised by a comparison of figures taken from the Estimates of 1904 with the corresponding statistics for the present year :

	1904-5 £	1908-10 £
Total vote for wages, &c., of officers and men	6,691,000	7,280,200
Total vote for victualling and clothing	2,428,000	2,416,800
Numbers of Officers and Men Voted :—		
I.—SEA SERVICE.		
FOR HIS MAJESTY'S FLEET.		
Flag Officers	20	28
Commissioned Officers	4,342	4,688
Subordinate Officers	812	615
Warrant Officers	1,730	1,762
Petty Officers and Seamen	86,680	91,978
Boys (Service)	3,400	1,794
	96,984	100,865
COASTGUARD.		
Commissioned Officers	95	103
Chief Officers' Divisions and Stations	244	280
Petty Officers and Seamen	3,964	2,934
	4,303	3,267
ROYAL MARINES.		
Commissioned Officers	468	457
Warrant Officers	37	45
Staff-Sergeants and Sergeants	1,459	1,329
Buglers and Musicians	995	1,607
Rank and File	17,019	13,915
Band Boys	400	250
	20,378	17,603

II.—OTHER SERVICES.

Including Naval and Engineer
Cadets, Pensioners in Home Ships,
Boys under training, and Mis-
cellaneous services ashore . . .

9,435

6,265

Total

131,100

128,000

Reduction of Aggregate *Personnel*
(due to reductions in Marines and
'other services')

3,100

• These figures indicate the movement which has now been in progress for some years. It will be seen that the number of officers and men of the seaman and stoker classes voted for the Fleet has actually increased in these five years, the net decrease being due to reductions in the Coastguard and in the Royal Marines, and in 'other services.' It is not necessary to pause to condone or condemn these reductions, which are not germane to the particular point under discussion. It is sufficient to emphasise the conclusion that the number of officers and men voted for 'sea service' is much greater to-day than it was five years ago. Confirmatory evidence is also supplied by the return of the numbers actually borne—as distinct from the number voted—at these two periods. The figures are as follows :

	Numbers borne January 1	
	1904	1909
(1) For His Majesty's Fleet	93,666	99,170
Coastguard	4,160	3,490
Royal Marines	19,583	18,048
	<hr/> 117,409	<hr/> 120,708
(2) Other Services	9,264	6,570

These are the facts which govern the discussion of the needs for an increase in the *personnel* of the Fleet. The actual number of officers and men for sea service during this period has been increased, and at the same time, owing to the withdrawal of a large number of non-fighting ships from foreign waters in accordance with Service opinion, the fighting portion of the Navy to-day is far better manned than it was in the earlier part of the century. The withdrawal of non-fighting ships alone placed about 11,000 at the disposal of the Admiralty. The crews of these small ships were condemned to a period of useless banishment, and month by month they were deteriorating as members of a fighting service. The duties which occupied them had little or no relation to the requirements of war, because in such small vessels, cruising in isolation, war drills were almost entirely neglected. The fighting fleet is consequently better manned than it was in 1904 by over 14,000 officers and men ; in other words, 11,000 have been recalled to the fighting fleet from a number of non-fighting ships, and the number on sea service has been increased by 3299.

In addition to the advantages which have accrued from this readjustment of the *personnel*, the effective strength of the Fleet

has been greatly increased owing to an improved dietary, better ventilation, and a vast amelioration in the conditions of service afloat. The result is that the Navy loses the service of far fewer men owing to illness and death. The ratios have been steadily falling for years past, and the withdrawal of non-fighting ships from the unhealthy regions in which they doddered to and fro in the past, and the concentration of a larger proportion of men in healthier British waters has also contributed to the general efficiency of the *personnel*. Nothing indicates more clearly the vast change which has occurred than the statistics issued by the Director-General of the Medical Department of the Navy. His report contains a table showing the ratio per thousand of deaths from (a) all causes and (b) diseases alone in the service afloat from 1856 to 1907. In 1856 the general death-rate was 15·5, and the death-rate from diseases alone 12·1. Down to 1867 the former ratio never fell below 10·2, and the latter below 7·9; while in 1858 the general death-rate was as high as 25·8, and the death-rate from diseases 22·0—abnormal figures due, of course, to war service. In subsequent years, at intervals of five years, the ratio has been as follows :

Year	Death-rate from All Causes	Death-rate from Diseases alone
1868 . . .	8·9	6·5
1873 . . .	8·3	6·0
1878 . . .	14·41	5·32
1883 . . .	5·88	4·05
1888 . . .	5·71	3·95
1893 . . .	11·29	4·07
1898 . . .	4·91	3·56
1903 . . .	4·19	2·79
1908 . . .	3·37	2·07

It is unnecessary to adorn this tale with any comment beyond this, that the remarkable decrease in mortality has been accompanied by a more than corresponding falling-off in general sickness. The latest report of the Director-General records that in 1908 there was an average loss of service due to sickness of only 10·36 for each 1000 officers and men, being a decrease of 92 in comparison even with the average of the preceding five years. In other words, even in contrast with the state of affairs in the preceding five years, the Navy in 1908 was on the average nearly one man per 1000 to the good in its effective strength owing to the improved general health of the force.

There is, again, no cause for anxiety as to the future manning of the Fleet. The Admiralty can obtain as many men as Parliament votes. As recently as the early part of the present year it was publicly reported that the Admiralty had more recruits

for the Navy than they wanted, and more than Parliament had authorised, and therefore recruiting had to be suspended.

As a rule (it was stated by an official) we can obtain six times as many men as we require, but I am not far wrong if I say that at present we could count upon twenty times as many recruits as we could possibly use. We have raised the standard of entry; we get men of better physique, and with our educational tests the average bluejacket is now an intellectual giant. Yet in spite of more exacting requirements they still come forward, and so we have had to shut down the recruiting stations, or we should have the Auditor-General on our track.²

The Navy has become popular; boys and men compete to serve in it.

The impression is very deep-rooted that the Navy is always short of men. A not inconsiderable number of people in the British Isles have never seen the sea, and, though we pride ourselves as a people upon our nautical qualities, the sea still inspires in most of us feelings of dread and terror. The number of Englishmen who really love the sea and delight in her moods and varying tempers is exceedingly small. We can understand the enthusiasm of boys, but cannot believe that men like the life afloat.

Probably we owe more than any nation to the influence of the sea on our history, in times when the sea was a far harder taskmistress than to-day. When the British people were still stretching outwards and making their rule and influence felt for the first time in the uttermost corners of the world, the sea was the channel of expansion and the highway of adventure. Friedrich Ratzel has wisely remarked that, as the consequence of possessing an infinite horizon, maritime nations show a strong tendency to become, in spirit and character, intrepid, circumspect, and persevering. 'Maritime nations have contributed most largely to the raising of the political standard. Narrow territorial politics are to them an evidence of shortsightedness, for the wide sea widens not only the merchant's, but also the statesman's outlook, and only the sea can produce truly great Powers.' The position which is occupied to-day by the British people in the scheme of civilisation is due mainly to the spirit of daring and love of the sea which inspired our forefathers and the great pioneers of Portugal and Spain who went before. The allurements of life ashore were less magnetic than to-day, but the comfort which was to be obtained afloat was contemptible.

In these days of leviathan ships of 30,000 to 40,000 tons burthen, veritable floating hotels, propelled from shore to shore across the Atlantic at a speed of twenty-five knots, we are apt to forget the conditions under which the great captains of the past roamed the world's seas even as recently as during the Elizabethan

² *Westminster Gazette*.

age. Drake's early voyages, when as a lad he left his home at Tavistock and began the sailor-life, were made in a little ship of only 50 tons burthen. He made his home for many months on end in vessels little larger than this, putting out from Plymouth to encounter seas just as changeful and stormy as they are now, in his quests of bold adventure. The *Golden Hind*, in which he circumnavigated the world, was of only 100 tons, and was the biggest ship of the little flotilla which put out from Plymouth on the very eve of Christmas in 1577 on a secret mission. Consummate sailor and audacious man of courage, Drake beat his way across the Atlantic to the Straits of Magellan in this relatively small barque, battling with violent tempests daily for nearly two months, during which one of his squadron foundered with all hands, while the captain of another lost heart and determined to return home. Then the *Golden Hind* was driven far to the southward, and not until after many weary weeks was Drake able to make his way northward to Valparaiso. Fourteen months after he had put out from Plymouth Hoe he reached Callao, and, fortune having blessed him with a rich prize off Cape Francisco, he determined to return home by crossing the Pacific in his little storm-beaten ship. With no thought of fear or lack of confidence in success, he started on his long voyage, and after touching land at a creek on the northern side of Golden Gate, he was tossed to and fro on the sea for sixty-eight days on end, a joyful prisoner on board a vessel little larger than a fishing smack. He at length reached England, after a voyage of two years and ten months, to be visited by Queen Elizabeth at Deptford, and there knighted upon the deck of the *Golden Hind*. The mere recital of Drake's achievement throws into insignificance all the triumphs of these days of mechanical sailanship, and reminds us how far we have travelled since the sea captains of the Golden Age placed their girdle round the world. In those days no one thought of the sailor's life as one of particular hardship. It was only as the convenience of existence ashore improved, as commerce became confined within regular and less piratical channels, and as men became increasingly absorbed in the business of making fortunes and living at ease, that the sea life came to be regarded slightly, and those who chose it as a career earned the commiseration of landsmen, who contrived to woo fortune in greater comfort.

Thus the time came when it was extremely difficult to obtain sufficient sailors—suitable or unsuitable—to man the King's ships; and at last, on the eve of Nelson's final triumph at Trafalgar, the ruling powers thought they had arrived at the best solution when they gave criminals the choice between going to sea or being immured in one of His Majesty's prisons ashore. Not a few of these malefactors were of Dr. Johnson's way of thinking,

and chose prison life—hard though it was—rather than the uncertain fortunes of the sea. It is, indeed, hardly surprising that the gaol should have been preferred to a man-of-war. In his admirable book on *Sea Life in Nelson's Time*, Mr. John Masefield has described the means which were then adopted for manning the King's ships, and the hardships due to cruel treatment, bad food, and heathenish accommodation between decks. It is no wonder that at that time volunteers could not readily be obtained. The Navy was the fit reservoir into which to throw all the flotsam and jetsam of the towns. 'The greater number of our seamen were pressed into the fleets from merchant-ships, or sent abroad by my Lord Mayor, or by the sheriffs of the different counties. A large number volunteered in order to get the bounty. But a certain percentage joined the fleet as boys, either through the Marine Society or from love of adventure. The Marine Society sent a number of lads to sea in each year. Their boys were generally between thirteen and fifteen years of age. Some of them were "recommended" by magistrates for petty crime or vagrancy. Some were beggars, or street Arabs, snatching their living from the gutters. Some were errand-boys, horse-holders, shop-lads, &c. Most of them were poor children, whose parents could not clothe or feed them. Some were apprentices, or charity boys, who were more inclined to hazard their necks than to live a sedentary life.' The Marine Society was an old institution which gave such lads a short preliminary training aboard a ship in the Thames, under a boatswain's mate. They afterwards went to sea in men-of-war, as ships' boys or volunteers of the second or third class. As ships' boys they were paid 7*l.* or 8*l.* a year, sufficient just to keep them in clothing till they were strong enough to rank as seamen. These young sailors had a hard time. They were generally put to all the dirty and trivial work of the ship, such as cleaning the pigsties, hencoops, and other menial and unpleasant tasks. Others were rated as servants to the midshipmen, boatswains, warrant, gunroom and wardroom officers. These wretched creatures led the lives of dogs, particularly those allotted to the midshipmen. Those who were not made servants were harried and bullied by the sailors, and such as survived the brutality to which they were subjected, and were not successful in deserting—for a tight hand was kept on them—in time became ordinary seamen, drawing 25*s.* a month.

Life on the lower deck in His Majesty's Fleet in the early days of the Napoleonic wars was so brutal as to defy description in these later days, when our sensibilities are more acute, and we revolt against even the memory of the hardships which the lowest orders of society—and they were very low—suffered at that time.

In a man-of-war (a chronicler records) you have collected the filth of gaols ; condemned criminals have the alternative of hanging or entering on board. There is not a vice committed on shore that is not practised here ; the scenes of horror and infamy on board a man-of-war are so many and so great that I think they must rather disgust a good mind than allure it.

Mr. Masefield, who has described life on board His Majesty's ships with great particularity, has remarked that 'Our naval glory was built up by the blood and agony of thousands of barbarously maltreated men.' Sea life in the late eighteenth century, in our Navy, was certainly brutalising and cruel.

There was barbarous discipline, bad pay, bad food, bad hours of work, bad company, bad prospects. There was no going ashore till the ship was paid off, or till a peace was declared. The pay was small at the best of times, but by the time it reached the sailor it had often shrunk to a half or third of the original sum. The sailor was bled by the purser for slops and tobacco, by the surgeon for ointment and pills, and by the Jew who cashed his pay-ticket. The Service might have been more popular by the granting of a little leave, so that the sailors could go ashore to spend their money. It was the long monotonous imprisonment aboard which made the hateful life so intolerable. When the long-suffering sailors rose in revolt at Spithead they asked, not that the cat might be abolished, but that they might go ashore after a cruise at sea, and that they might receive a little more consideration from those whose existence they guaranteed.

There are many men still living who have received first-hand descriptions of sea life in Nelson's time. Sir Evan MacGregor, who recently resigned the position of Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, is a grandson of Nelson's 'faithful Hardy,' who died, an Admiral of the Fleet, two years after Queen Victoria came to the throne. There are still many officers with us who served with one or other of Nelson's band of brothers. The Navy, as many of its oldest officers entered it in the earlier years of last century, was very much the same in ships and men and customs as the Navy which took part in the great battles of the opening of the century. Admiral Sir William Luard, who joined the Service in 1833, is one of many living links with the old *régime*, and even as comparatively young an officer as Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund Fremantle can carry his mind back to the old three-decker wooden line-of-battleship *Queen*, when she flew the flag of Admiral Sir William Parker, 'the last of Nelson's captains,' who served with the great sailor from 1802 to 1811, and is still remembered by his exploit in capturing the French frigate *Belle Poule* under conditions of the greatest gallantry. In the middle years of the nineteenth century the conditions of life afloat were entirely lacking in comfort. Rear-Admiral the Hon. Victor Montagu, who entered the Navy under the protection of his uncle Lord Clarence Paget (for many years subsequently in command of Queen Victoria's yacht), has a vivid recollection of his early

days at sea on board the 91-gun line-of-battle ship *Princess Royal*. The food and accommodation even of the midshipmen was bad; 'we certainly were shockingly fed in those days,' the Admiral states. The rations of these gently nurtured young officers, the admirals of to-day, were the same as those allowed to the ship's company: '1 lb. of very salt junk (beef) or of pork as salt as Mrs. Lot, execrable tea, sugar, and biscuit which was generally full of weevils, or well overrun with rats, or in hot climates a choice retreat for the detestable cockroach.' This veteran officer of the old Navy tells of one ship in particular which was 'swimming with cockroaches, and at night, when they were on the move, I have seen strings of the creatures making a road over one in one's hammock.' In many ships rats also were particularly plentiful and lively, and invariably nested among the biscuit bags. 'We mids,' Admiral Montagu relates, 'used to lie awake and watch them coming up at night from the yard on the cockpit deck, and, well armed with shoes, slippers, &c., we persecuted them.'

Very slowly did the conditions of life afloat undergo alteration. It was only when the Duke of Clarence went to the Admiralty in 1827 as Lord High Admiral that any effort was made to check by salutary regulations the very general use of the cat. The Navy is essentially conservative—probably always will be—and it was not until the early 'forties that corporal punishment was entirely abolished. Very gradually the old *régime*, which had been introduced when the Navy was manned with the scourings of the streets, was replaced by a new and better one founded upon humane instincts. In recalling the apparent brutality of the old Navy it must not be forgotten, however, that the conditions under which officers were called upon to preserve discipline, so essential to war efficiency, were extremely difficult. It was not until 1852 that the system of continuous service was introduced, and the problem of manning the Fleet placed on the road to solution. The late Admiral of the Fleet Sir Harry Keppel has himself described how he commissioned his first ship of war, the 16-gun brig *Childers*, at Portsmouth, in 1834. When he reached Portsmouth he found his ship in dock, not even afloat, much less fitted out for sea, and there was no crew available. His first act was to visit the dismantled brig in company with his first lieutenant. A small staff with a yard and a half of narrow bunting was secured to the taffrail, and H.M.S. *Childers* declared to be in commission. After this event had been reported to the Commander-in-Chief and the Superintendent of the Dockyard, this typical sailor of the old school had to bend his mind to the problem of obtaining a crew. He selected the 'Bedford in Chase,' a famous public-house on the Hard at Portsea, as his headquarters, and from the first-floor window a pole, flying the

Union Jack, was suspended, and a notice put up on the house, 'H.M.S. *Childers's* rendezvous.' The next step was to issue a number of handbills to be exhibited in all adjoining coast towns. The wording was as follows :

Wanted: Petty Officers and Able Seamen for H.M.S. *Childers*,
Commander Henry Keppel,
Now fitting for the Mediterranean Station.
N.B.—None but the right sort need apply.

The *Childers* hoisted her pennant in May, but, in spite of her captain's popularity, it was not until the 28th of July that she was able to cast off from the Dockyard, fully manned and well found, and work her way out to Spithead. Those were the times when seamen entered for a commission, voyages were of long duration, and captains, particularly if they were unpopular, hardly dared let them go ashore at intermediate ports for fear they should take 'French leave' of the service.

No doubt the widespread impression as to the difficulty of manning the Fleet to-day is a survival from those old times when the Navy was run on happy-go-lucky lines, and officers picked up their men as best they could, not always disdaining to employ means of impressment which to-day would be regarded as incompatible with the action of an officer and a gentleman. If Necessity is the mother of invention, she is also a hard taskmistress. Another fact contributing to the survival of this impression as to a scarcity of men in the Navy is no doubt due to the failure to obtain sufficient British seamen for the merchant service. Landsmen find it difficult to believe that there can be this scarcity of British labour in merchant ships side by side with an ample supply of ratings for the Royal Navy. The two manning problems are, however, entirely distinct. The Navy is a unified service under one control, and the men engage, not for a voyage, but for a term of years, with the prospect of pensions; many of them spend the whole of their working years under the White Ensign. At the same time, the conditions of life in the Navy have been steadily improved and the opportunities of promotion greatly increased. The ordinary boy who enters the training barracks at Shotley, opposite Harwich, or the last surviving training-ship, H.M.S. *Impregnable*, at Plymouth, may with ease rise to be a commissioned officer of the Fleet, and opportunities of promotion to high rank with generous pay are open to other ratings—stokers, engine-room artificers, and others—not even forgetting the wireless telegraphist.

Simultaneously with this amelioration of the conditions of life—better food, improved accommodation, ample leave ashore—a revolution has occurred in the *matériel* of the Navy which has reacted upon the composition of the crews. A ship of war to-day

requires comparatively little unskilled labour. In the Nelsonian period the larger portion of a ship's company comprised men without art or judgment, who were stationed in the waist of the ship. They were sea labourers, who had practically no relation to the 'quarter bill,' which is the foundation upon which a ship's fighting complement is based. As machinery—actuated by steam, hydraulics, pneumatics, and electricity—has been introduced to perform the various tasks which were formerly done by hand, so the need for unskilled labour has decreased, and the seaman has been slowly changed from the square-built man of the past, 'heartly and strong, with the odour of ocean about him,' into a sea mechanic, who combines a higher type of courage than the animal courage of the old sailors, and possibly a less complete knowledge of the lore of seamanship, with a very intimate acquaintance with simple mechanics for the control of the hundred-and-one auxiliary engines which are distributed about a man-of-war, and for the management of the delicately contrived guns and that wonderful triumph of man's ingenuity, the torpedo. About half a ship's company to-day works down below the armoured deck in the engine-room and stokehold. In command of these men, on and below deck, is a relatively small number of warrant officers and officers.

The line-of-battle ship *Queen*, in which Sir Edmund Fremantle served under Admiral Sir William Parker in the 'fifties, had a crew of a thousand men, who were mainly employed in managing the sails and in manning her 116 guns—smooth-bore weapons, all of them of small power, of which the long 32-pounders of 56 cwt. were not only the heaviest, but the most considerable carried at that time by battleships. The 32-pounder had a range of about 300 yards only. The *Queen* was a typical three-decker of the early Victorian era. To-day the pride of the Navy is the new battleship-cruiser *Indomitable*, the light-footed sister of the *Dreadnought*. This ship depends for offence on ten 12-inch guns only, but they are 850-pounders, capable of firing twice every minute with a velocity sufficient to penetrate 19 inches of armour at 5000 yards. In addition, she carries sixteen 4-inch quick-firers, throwing ten 25-lb. shells a minute with sufficient force to pierce 5 inches of the hardest armour at 3000 yards. Her armoured sides, with a thickness of 7 inches, are reinforced by a deck of armour 2½ inches in thickness, and canopied in this house of steel are the turbines, supplied with steam from water-tube boilers. On her trials this ship exceeded a speed of twenty-eight knots, and on her passage from Canada with the Prince of Wales she maintained a rate of steaming from shore to shore of 25.13 knots, whereas the old *Queen* and other ships in which many of the older admirals of to-day began their service could travel at only about eight knots. There is no basis of comparison

between these old men-of-war and the vessels which are now being passed into the Fleet, because the progress in artillery, the development of armour manufacture, the adaptation of machinery to needs formerly met by hand labour, and the tremendous consequent increase in fighting power render any comparison impossible. Yet, in spite of this progress, the *Indomitable* has actually a smaller crew than the old line-of-battle ships. Whereas the *Queen* carried 1000 men, the *Indomitable* is fully manned with 731 officers and men, and the *Dreadnought* with 742.

The impression that it is difficult to obtain the 128,000 officers and men needed for the Fleet ought to be well founded. Many reasons could be advanced in explanation of a shortage if it existed. We have become essentially a comfort-loving people; we place greater store than ever on amusements—theatres, music-halls; the lower classes are nicer in their way of living; the modern ships of war are not homes, but floating barracks, in which, until quite lately, the sailors were not even provided with knives and forks. Again, as Dr. Johnson once remarked, 'the great increase of commerce and manufactures hurts the military spirit of a people, because it produces a competition for something less than martial honours—a competition for riches.' Discipline in the Navy, if humane, is still strict, because war efficiency depends on instant, and indeed unreasoning, obedience to orders; and democracy does not care to be cribbed, cabined, and confined all day and every day. So long as a bluejacket is a bluejacket he is under discipline; he lives and sleeps with the Naval Discipline Act an ever-present and restraining influence.

Yet the truth is that the Navy is manned without difficulty, and the explanation is only in part due to the better food, higher pay, and improved prospects of promotion. One of the main causes of the change must be found in the officers. Nelson not only won victories for us, but he taught how discipline might be maintained without brutality. Anyone who has seen an admiral revisiting a naval port and grasping the hand of some gnarled old seaman, with whom he served in his younger days, will understand the deep significance of the change which has occurred in the relations between the quarter and the lower deck. The phrase, 'a band of brothers,' has a wider and deeper significance to-day. The Navy is all one, as are the seas. There is a community of sentiment between officers and men which reacts on the general well-being of the Fleet, for a 'happy ship' is invariably an efficient ship. It is a case of cause and effect.

Finally, we have the ships and the men, and it depends on Parliament how many more ships and how many more men we shall have in the future. Our capacity for building ships and arming them is still unrivalled; as many men as are required can

be obtained without difficulty, because the Navy is becoming increasingly popular. It may be hoped that the recent statement in the House of Commons by the First Lord of the Admiralty with reference to the progress of recruiting in the first half of the present financial year can be regarded as evidence that numbers are again on the 'up grade.' Mr. McKenna stated that approximately 6000 boys and men had entered the Royal Navy and Royal Marines between the 1st of April and the 30th of September. Last year the numbers were 5330. These figures suggest that the Admiralty are beginning to study the manning policy in the light of the responsibility of future years, when the many large ships now building will join the Fleet, and when men will be 'loaned' to the new Colonial navies in accordance with the agreement reached at the Imperial Defence Conference. It is essential that the *personnel* of the Navy, sufficient for to-day, should be steadily increased if the new Fleet now being constructed is to be adequately manned and ready for war. Men highly trained for their duties are as necessary as ships. The ships are now being built. The country will scrutinise the next Estimates carefully to ascertain if proper provision is being made to man them.

ARCHIBALD HURD.

THE OUT-CASTES OF INDIA

SOME years ago I was walking through the streets of Calcutta with a young English sailor, an apprentice in one of the sailing ships in the port, and as we turned into Cornwallis Street a magnificent carriage drove past with a Rajah gorgeously dressed seated inside. My companion exclaimed in astonishment, 'By Jove, that's a fine-looking coolie!' To the young sailor all Indians were coolies. His only idea of the three hundred million people in India was derived from the coolies who loaded and unloaded the ships in the Hooghly. People in England are apt to make a very similar mistake and to form their idea of the peoples of India from the highly educated Indians at the opposite end of the social scale, or from what they hear and read about the political movements in the large cities. They forget that about 95 per cent. of the people of India live in the village districts, and that only 5 per cent. of the whole population can even read or write. The townsfolk form a very small part of the whole people; and the highly educated men are only a small fraction of the townsfolk. It is quite possible to have even a very intimate knowledge of town and city life in India and yet hardly to know India at all. The real India is in the villages; and even the educated Indians of the higher castes in the towns often know as little of the great mass of the lower castes in the villages as a Londoner, born and bred, knows of the peasantry of France. My object, then, in writing this article is to draw attention to a class which forms about a sixth of the village population of India, but whose very existence is almost completely ignored in discussions about the wants and demands of the Indian people. The out-castes of Hindu society form all over India a distinct section of the population, numbering about fifty millions. They are the descendants of various races who inhabited India before the Aryan invasion, and who were through various causes reduced to a state of slavery or serfdom. Some of them were the slaves of the ruling races before the Aryans entered India. Certainly in South India slavery was a regular institution long before the appearance of the Aryans. But some of the servile classes of the present day have in historic times fallen from a high estate and were originally ruling classes

in the countries where now they are slaves. Sir W. W. Hunter says that the Bhars were formerly the monarchs of the centre and east of the province of Oudh in North India, that they were the traditional fort-builders to whom all ruins are popularly assigned, and that they were reduced to slavery by a Mahomedan ruler of Jaunpur. So again, he says 'the Gaulis are ancient ruling races of the Central Provinces, the Ahams of Assam, and the Gonds, Chandelas and Bundelas of Burdeltund are other instances of crushed races. In centres of the Aryan civilisation, the aboriginal peoples have been pounded down in the mortar of Hinduism into the low castes and out-castes, on which the labour system of India rests' (*The Indian Empire*, p. 112).

The same is true of the Pareiyars of South India. There is a great deal of evidence to show that originally they were the ruling race in the Tamil country. They had their own priests, the Valluvas, who were priests to the Pallava Kings in what are now the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, before the advent of the Brahmans. The greatest poets among the Tamil people, the weaver-poet Tiruvalluvar and the poetess Avvaiyar, who wrote about the ninth century A.D., before the Brahmans had secured a dominant influence in the extreme south of India, both belong to the Pareiyar race; and even to this day there is a familiar saying all over the Tamil country, which literally means 'Pareiyar the elder brother of the Brahman.' Marshman, in his *History of India* (vol. i. p. 21), says: 'A Tamil literature existed before the introduction of Brahmanism, and some of the best authors in that language were of the tribe now stigmatised as Pareiyars, which incontestably proves that the Pareiyars were . . . a highly cultivated people, who were reduced to subjection and degraded by the triumphant Brahmans.'

These out-caste races are called by different names in different parts of India and have various occupations. Large numbers are agricultural labourers, many are leather-workers, some are weavers, others again are scavengers and sweepers. But, whatever their occupation, they are invariably treated by the Brahmans and the upper castes as degraded and polluted. As a rule, the Hindus feel no sympathy for them and are unwilling to concede them any rights whatever.

The Abbé Dubois, the great Jesuit missionary, who lived as a native among the people of South India for some thirty years, from 1792 to 1823, in his well-known book on the manners and customs of the Hindus, gives the following account of the out-castes of South India as he knew them at that time from personal experience :

Throughout the whole of India the Pariahs are looked upon as slaves by other castes, and are treated with great harshness. Hardly anywhere are

they allowed to cultivate the soil for their own benefit, but are obliged to hire themselves out to the other castes, who in return for a minimum wage exact the hardest tasks from them.

Furthermore, their masters may beat them at pleasure; the poor wretches having no right either to complain or to obtain redress for that or any other ill-treatment their masters may impose on them. In fact, these Pariahs are the born slaves of India; and had I to choose between the two sad fates of being a slave in one of our colonies or a Pariah here, I should unhesitatingly prefer the former.

The contempt and aversion with which the other castes, and particularly the Brahmins, regard these unfortunate people are carried to such an excess that in many places their presence, or even their footprints, are considered sufficient to defile the whole neighbourhood. They are forbidden to cross a street in which Brahmins are living. Should they be so ill-advised as to do so, the latter would have the right not to strike them themselves, because they could not do so without defilement, or even touch them with the end of a long stick, but to order them to be severely beaten by other people. A Pariah who had the audacity to enter a Brahmin's house might possibly be murdered on the spot. A revolting crime of this sort has been actually perpetrated in States under the rule of native princes without a voice being raised in expostulation.

Anyone who has been touched, whether inadvertently or purposely, by a Pariah is defiled by that single act, and may hold no communication with any person whatsoever until he has been purified by bathing, or by other ceremonies more or less important according to the status and customs of his caste. It would be contamination to eat with any members of this class; to touch food prepared by them, or even to drink water which they have drawn; to use an earthen vessel which they have held in their hands; to set foot inside one of their houses, or to allow them to enter houses other than their own.

It is indeed a piteous sight, the abject and half-starved condition in which this wretched caste, the most numerous of all, drags out its existence. It is true that amongst Pariahs it is an invariable rule, almost a point of honour, to spend everything they earn and to take no thought for the morrow. The majority of them, men and women, are never clothed in anything but old rags. But in order to obtain a true idea of their abject misery one must live amongst them as I have been obliged to do. About half of my various congregations consisted of Pariah Christians. Wherever I went I was constantly called in to administer the last consolations of religion to people of this class. On reaching the hut to which my duty led me I was often obliged to creep in on my hands and knees, so low was the entrance door to the wretched hovel. When once inside I could only partially avoid the sickening smell by holding to my nose a handkerchief soaked in the strongest vinegar. I would find there a mere skeleton, perhaps lying on the bare ground, though more often crouching on a rotten piece of matting, with a stone or a block of wood as a pillow. The miserable creature would have for clothing a rag tied round the loins, and for covering a coarse and tattered blanket that left half the body naked. I would seat myself on the ground by his side, and the first words I heard would be: 'Father, I am dying of cold and hunger.' I would spend a quarter of an hour or so by him, and at last leave this sad spectacle torn asunder by the sadness and hopelessness of it all, and my body covered in every part with insects and vermin. Yet, after all, this was the least inconvenience that I suffered, for I could rid myself of them by changing my clothes and taking a hot bath. The only thing that really afflicted me was having to stand face to face with such a

spectacle of utter misery and all its attendant horrors, and possessing no means of affording any save the most inadequate remedies.

Since those days, thanks to the influence of the British Government, the legal position of the out-castes has greatly changed for the better. The out-caste is now legally a free man, with the same rights in the eye of the law as a Brahman or as his Sudra master. And this legal equality has enabled many of the out-castes greatly to improve their condition. But in some villages their lot is still a miserable one, and they are treated with great harshness. In many parts of India the bonds of debt, poverty, and ignorance are as effectual as a legal system of slavery, and the out-caste is to all intents and purposes the serf of his master. And he still remains to the castes above him an object of aversion and contempt. In the native State of Travancore, and even in British territory on the Malabar coast, if an out-caste meets a Brahman or any high-caste man on the road, he is compelled by custom to cry 'Unclean, unclean!', and to step off the road lest his presence should pollute the high-caste man as he passes by. It is often a pitiable sight to see the poor out-castes, with heavy burdens on their heads, waiting patiently in the field by the roadside, crying 'Unclean, unclean!' till the stream of caste people has gone by and they are free to continue their journey. In other parts of India, especially in North India, the contempt for the out-castes does not express itself quite so openly as this; but nowhere is the out-caste regarded as a man and a brother. A few years ago I visited a small town in South India, where a political meeting had just been held to proclaim the principles of Nationalism. One of the villagers, either through taking the principles of Nationalism too seriously or possibly through a sense of humour, brought to the meeting half a dozen Madigas, belonging to the lowest section of the out-castes. When the meeting was opened, and the first speaker began to descant on the unity of the Indian nation and the brotherhood of the Indian people, a cry was raised that there were some Madigas in the room. A scene of wild confusion followed, in about three minutes the room was cleared, and the meeting came to an abrupt and untimely end.

I am glad to say that a few leaders of the National movement have frankly recognised the fact that the position of the out-castes is a disgrace to Hindu society, and a fatal obstacle to social progress. Some of them realise fully that it is idle to talk of the brotherhood of the Indian peoples so long as the Brahman regards himself as defiled by the touch, or even the presence of an out-caste, and that the attitude of the higher castes towards this large mass of fifty million people renders the cry of 'India for the Indians' at the present time somewhat premature. Many people who heartily

sympathise with the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their own country are still constrained to ask, What treatment are they prepared to mete out to the out-castes? The only people in India who have attempted, so far, to do justice to the out-caste and shield him from oppression are the British officials. The only people who hold out to him the right hand of brotherhood, and work for his social and moral elevation, are the Christian missionaries. But if India is to be governed in accordance with Indian ideas, by the Brahmans and higher castes, what hope is there for the out-caste? His one hope of redemption from oppression, poverty, ignorance, and contempt lies in India being governed, not in accordance with Indian ideas, nor by the Brahmans and the higher castes, but in accordance with English ideas and by English officials. This cannot be stated too clearly or too strongly. British rule in India stands now for justice to fifty million out-castes. Those who propose to abolish, or seriously to weaken, the influence of the British officials are trying to rivet more firmly upon the necks of this large mass of poor and helpless people a heavy yoke of bondage.

Meanwhile, under the protection of the British Government, the redemption of the out-castes is slowly drawing nigh. Many influences are now at work to improve their lot.

In the first place, the rise of industries, the growth of railways, and the improved means of communication with other countries have done a great deal for them during the last fifty years. In South India about twenty thousand coolies are employed on the Mysore Goldfield alone, and the majority of them are out-castes from the Telugu and Tamil countries. Thousands, again, are employed in the coal mines, and thousands more in the various mills and factories of India.

Then there is a constant stream of emigration to Ceylon, Burmah, Mauritius, Natal, and even to British Guiana. Thousands of out-castes go to these countries every year; many settle down in their new homes, but many come back with their savings to their villages in India. The out-caste is no longer *ascriptus glebae*, as he was in former times. He is beginning to move about freely, and prospects of comparative wealth are open to him now which were undreamt of fifty years ago. When I first visited the Mysore Goldfield nine years ago I went into the large European store there, and to my astonishment saw a number of coolies come in straight from their work in the mines, and proceed to buy some Parisian scents and embroidered baby-linen! I found on inquiry that these men with their families were earning as much as 25 to 30 rupees a month. The ordinary wage of a family in their own villages would be from 5 to 7 rupees. The result of this opening-out of new sources of employment is already making

itself felt, and will do so more and more as time goes on. The out-caste will soon learn his value. If he is treated badly in his own village, he will go elsewhere and earn double the wages he receives at home.

Then, to a very much smaller extent, the Indian Army is an educative and elevating influence among a small number of the out-castes of South India. In spite of the oppression by which they have been ground down in the past, and the miserable poverty in which for the most part their lives have been spent, there are still fine qualities in them which under proper influences are capable of wonderful improvement. Many of them enlist in the Madras Sappers and Miners, of whom Lord Wolseley said :

'The best native soldiers, taking them all round, whom I ever served with in India were the Madras Sappers. Their coolness under fire, indifference to danger, their discipline and pride of regiment, marked them out on all occasions as first-rate soldiers.'

The following extract from a report on recruiting in South India for the Sappers and Miners, which the author kindly allows me to quote, will show that the South Indian Paraiyar forms the backbone of this splendid corps :

Parayers form above a third of the 2nd Q.O.S. & M. The Tamil word 'Parayer' is the original from which the English 'Pariah,' or out-caste, is derived, and is an unfortunate name for a class which contains a large proportion of intelligent, strong, hard-working men, who make excellent soldiers and sappers. Outcasts, or rather out-castes, they certainly are from the Brahman's point of view ; but as they form the majority of the population, and are its most useful members, there is no reason why any European should consider them as such.

The Abbé Dubois, in his *Hindu Manners and Customs*, gives a heart-rending account of the Parayers, describing them as a dirty, drunken, abject crowd, with no sense of discipline and no proper pride. In the century that has elapsed since the Abbé wrote, however, the Parayers, owing to the efforts of good missionaries like himself and to the general progress of civilisation, have made great strides. I know no better native than the good Parayer native officer, whom one considers a native gentleman, and who is as smart and clean as any Asiatic.

When a Parayer recruit first joins, he is apt to be less particular as to cleanliness than he might be ; but a rigid course of bodily sanitation while he is a recruit gradually impresses him with the advantages of cleanly habits, besides making him feel they are part of his military duty.

As to their former drunken habits complained of by the good Abbé, there must have been a great improvement in this respect since his days, for, in looking through the 'crimes' for the past year, I find not a single case of drunkenness against any of the Parayers in the corps.

Nor is it now possible to endorse the Abbé's remarks on their lack of discipline. They have no headman in their villages, and seem to be a thoroughly independent class, caring for nobody and cared for by none ; but there is no doubt that the British officer has real authority over them, and under him they make the best disciplined soldiers of all. However, the Abbé described them as he saw them, and lived among them a

century ago, before they had come under the wonderful influence of military discipline.

As to the tracts whence they come, their name is legion. They come from cultivating the soil in Arcot, from working on the railways, from gold-mining at Kolar, or from the rice fields anywhere. They seem to have in them something of that spark of roving energy that is so seldom found in the native of India, but which is an invaluable military quality.

There is no general type of Parayer by which they can be described, and even a native cannot tell a Parayer at sight, though he can find him out at once. Their dress is usually nondescript, and their hair short. I know of no other distinctive marks.

For recruiting purposes, it is only necessary to add that if a Parayer is up to the mark mentally and physically, and if his antecedents are found all correct, it is quite safe to enlist him. They seldom turn out failures, and naturally never have any caste prejudices.

No doubt it is true that Pareiyar soldiers in the Sappers and Miners are a small body. Still, they show the latent capacities of the class from which they come. If, as a matter of fact, this class produces some of the best and bravest troops in the Indian Army, it is not a class to be despised, and under more favourable circumstances may yet prove a valuable addition to the military power of the British Government in India.

But the most potent influence of all in the elevation of the out-castes is, and will be increasingly in the future, their conversion to Christianity. In many parts of India, and especially in South India, large mass movements towards Christianity have been taking place among the out-castes during the last forty years, and every year these movements gather strength. In the Telugu country about 250,000 out-castes have become Christians during the last forty years, and in the native State of Travancore about 100,000. In the North of India the movements are only just beginning, because it is only within the last few years that the attention of the various missionary societies has been drawn to their importance. But it is hardly rash to prophesy that within the next fifty years some 30,000,000 or more of the out-castes throughout India will be gathered into the Christian Church; and if this prophecy is fulfilled, a social revolution will take place in every village, and a new force will arise in Indian politics and Indian religion. The effect of their conversion to Christianity, indeed, can as yet be seen only on a small scale; but even now the results of two generations of Christian training are often very remarkable. A little while ago I visited a town which has been for the last fifty years the headquarters of one of the five districts into which the Telugu Mission of the Church Missionary Society is divided. During my visit I distributed the prizes to the Hindu girls of the Mission Girls' Schools in the town. The schools are attended largely by the daughters of the leading Brahmans, merchants and high-caste families of Ellore; but I found that every

single teacher in all the schools was a Christian woman of out-caste origin. It is only a few years ago that the Mission High School in the same town was four times emptied of all its Hindu scholars because a single Christian boy from the out-caste classes was admitted as a pupil; yet here were the out-castes actually teaching the Brahmans! And this is by no means an isolated case. In many of our Mission schools and colleges Brahman students are taught by out-caste masters. The hereditary custodians of learning are actually sitting at the feet of the despised out-castes. In large numbers of our village schools, too, Brahman and Sudra boys sit side by side with Christian Pareiyars.

To anyone who has experienced the strength of the caste feeling against the out-castes these facts will speak volumes; and they are only an illustration of a steady process of social and moral elevation that is going on throughout all the mission districts where these mass movements are in progress. The process of education may be slow, and there may be many disappointments, but it is going steadily forward. The clergy, catechists, and school-teachers who are drawn from the out-castes show a striking advance, intellectually, socially, and morally, upon the ordinary life of the people from which they are sprung. In the last list of men who passed the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examination for Candidates for Holy Orders, the name of a young Mala from the S.P.G. Telugu Mission appeared in the first class. Considering that he had to do all his papers in English, and had also to learn Greek and Latin during the three years he spent in the Theological College in Madras, this was a very creditable achievement. The Christian out-castes, too, often show remarkable powers of leadership. Some of them administer mission districts with striking vigour and ability. There is one Pareiyar village in South India which is so dirty that the European missionaries can hardly enter it. One family in the village was converted to Christianity two generations back. Three members of the family are now pastors in different missions. One of them is in charge of the whole mission district in which the village itself is situated, with a large body of clergy, evangelists and teachers working under him, and is a leading member of a vigorous and progressive Christian community drawn from all classes and castes. These are only a few instances out of a very large number which might be quoted to show that in the Church, as in the Army, the Pareiyar has already proved that he has gifts worth cultivating, and even powers of leadership.

But more remarkable than these individual instances of men who have risen above the level of the class to which they belong, is the social and moral progress of the Christian out-castes as a body. To expect, indeed, that they would in a few years rise

century ago, before they had come under the wonderful influence of military discipline.

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No doubt it is true that Pareiyar soldiers in the Sappers and Miners are a small body. Still, they show the latent capacities of the class from which they come. If, as a matter of fact, this class produces some of the best and bravest troops in the Indian Army, it is not a class to be despised, and under more favourable circumstances may yet prove a valuable addition to the military power of the British Government in India.

But the most potent influence of all in the elevation of the out-castes is, and will be increasingly in the future, their conversion to Christianity. In many parts of India, and especially in South India, large mass movements towards Christianity have been taking place among the out-castes during the last forty years, and every year these movements gather strength. In the Telugu country about 250,000 out-castes have become Christians during the last forty years, and in the native State of Travancore about 100,000. In the North of India the movements are only just beginning, because it is only within the last few years that the attention of the various missionary societies has been drawn to their importance. But it is hardly rash to prophesy that within the next fifty years some 30,000,000 or more of the out-castes throughout India will be gathered into the Christian Church; and if this prophecy is fulfilled, a social revolution will take place in every village, and a new force will arise in Indian politics and Indian religion. The effect of their conversion to Christianity, indeed, can as yet be seen only on a small scale; but even now the results of two generations of Christian training are often very remarkable. A little while ago I visited a town which has been for the last fifty years the headquarters of one of the five districts into which the Telugu Mission of the Church Missionary Society is divided. During my visit I distributed the prizes to the Hindu girls of the Mission Girls' Schools in the town. The schools are attended largely by the daughters of the leading Brahmans, merchants and high-caste families of Ellore; but I found that every

single teacher in all the schools was a Christian woman of out-caste origin. It is only a few years ago that the Mission High School in the same town was four times emptied of all its Hindu scholars because a single Christian boy from the out-caste classes was admitted as a pupil; yet here were the out-castes actually teaching the Brahmans! And this is by no means an isolated case. In many of our Mission schools and colleges Brahman students are taught by out-caste masters. The hereditary custodians of learning are actually sitting at the feet of the despised out-castes. In large numbers of our village schools, too, Brahman and Sudra boys sit side by side with Christian Pareiyars.

To anyone who has experienced the strength of the caste feeling against the out-castes these facts will speak volumes; and they are only an illustration of a steady process of social and moral elevation that is going on throughout all the mission districts where these mass movements are in progress. The process of education may be slow, and there may be many disappointments, but it is going steadily forward. The clergy, catechists, and school-teachers who are drawn from the out-castes show a striking advance, intellectually, socially, and morally, upon the ordinary life of the people from which they are sprung. In the last list of men who passed the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examination for Candidates for Holy Orders, the name of a young Mala from the S.P.G. Telugu Mission appeared in the first class. Considering that he had to do all his papers in English, and had also to learn Greek and Latin during the three years he spent in the Theological College in Madras, this was a very creditable achievement. The Christian out-castes, too, often show remarkable powers of leadership. Some of them administer mission districts with striking vigour and ability. There is one Pareiyar village in South India which is so dirty that the European missionaries can hardly enter it. One family in the village was converted to Christianity two generations back. Three members of the family are now pastors in different missions. One of them is in charge of the whole mission district in which the village itself is situated, with a large body of clergy, evangelists and teachers working under him, and is a leading member of a vigorous and progressive Christian community drawn from all classes and castes. These are only a few instances out of a very large number which might be quoted to show that in the Church, as in the Army, the Pareiyar has already proved that he has gifts worth cultivating, and even powers of leadership.

But more remarkable than these individual instances of men who have risen above the level of the class to which they belong, is the social and moral progress of the Christian out-castes as a body. To expect, indeed, that they would in a few years rise

suddenly to a high level of Christian morality, and shake off at once the faults and vices that have been ingrained in them by two thousand years of slavery, would be unreasonable. But after reading the account given by the Abbé Dubois of the out-castes of South India as they were a hundred years ago, it is difficult to believe that large masses of our Christians belong to the same class of people. Wherever I go in our village missions among the out-castes I find most reverent congregations and large numbers of devout communicants. I am astonished, too, at their liberality. The thirty thousand Christians from these classes in our Telugu missions last year out of the depth of their poverty gave over 1000*l.* for Church work. And frequent testimony is borne, not only by the missionaries, but even by the Hindus themselves in our mission districts, to the change effected in the characters and habits of the out-castes by their conversion to Christianity. The mere fact that the caste people in many places send their children without scruple to our mission schools, and allow them to sit side by side with Christian out-castes, shows clearly enough that Christianity has already raised the whole social status of the out-castes, and to a very large extent softened down the aversion felt towards them by their fellow-villagers.

These few facts are sufficient to show that when the whole 50,000,000 of the out-castes are brought under the elevating influences of the Christian Church they will certainly become a new force in Indian society.

In the first place, they will be a new force in politics. Fifty million Christians will be a far greater power in the land than the sixty million Mahomedans. They will be better educated, more progressive, and even more homogeneous and united; and they will be still more loyal to the British Government. The out-castes have no reason to trust or love the classes that have despised and oppressed them for so many centuries: on the other hand, they will have abundant reason to trust and support the Government under whose sheltering *ægis* they have been able to shake off their chains.

In the second place, they will be a valuable asset from a military point of view. The experience of the past has shown that even under existing conditions the Pareiyars of South India make admirable soldiers. When large masses of them are converted to Christianity, and raised in the social scale, they will furnish a fresh supply of recruits to the Indian Army that will be of the greatest value in the years to come.

And, in the third place, they will be a great force in the religious development of India. Hitherto religion in India has been mainly identified with class privilege and the oppression of the poor, and for that reason it has formed a fatal barrier to social progress. The admission of the Pareiyars to the Christian Church

will deal a powerful blow to this false ideal of religion, and teach the people of India, as nothing else could teach them, the true meaning of the Fatherhood of God.

The elevation of the out-castes will be, too, the most effective demonstration of the essential difference between Christianity and Hinduism. Here are fifty million people whom Hinduism has reduced to a state of utter misery. The Christian Church holds out to them the right hand of brotherhood, and gives them a new life. No amount of subtle reasoning can turn the edge of this argument as a witness to Christ. Its force will be felt in every village and town and by every class, from the highest to the lowest.

And the conversion of the out-castes is the first step towards the conversion of the Sudras, who form the great mass of the village population. Wherever large numbers of the out-castes have already become Christians, a marked change is now taking place in the attitude of the Sudras. In some places a movement towards Christianity among them has already begun; in others there is a growing friendliness and an increasing readiness to send their children to Christian schools. The presence in their midst of a community of Christian Pareiyars, advancing steadily in education and influence, is a testimony to the power of Christianity which they cannot ignore. When they see their slaves becoming their teachers they cannot help feeling that Christianity is a power to be reckoned with. When once the out-castes have been won, the Christian Church will have gained a strong vantage-ground for the conversion of the Sudras; and when the Sudras are converted, India will be a Christian country. It cannot be too often repeated that the problem of the conversion of India is not the problem of the conversion of the Brahmans, or of the educated classes in the towns, but of the conversion of the Sudras in the villages.

HENRY MADRAS.

SAUL AMONG THE PROPHETS

A PHILOSOPHER'S PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

THE arguments which this paper will set forth are not those which my own convictions would supply; but, persuaded as I am that the banishment of religious instruction from our schools would tend to the degradation of the national character, and apprehensive that our politicians may be tempted to ostracise it, if only to protect themselves from the missiles of sectarian rivalries, it seems worth while to make an appeal to those who are anxious for the well-being of the community, but are not able to subscribe to the doctrines of any religious body, and to attempt to show that from the purely philosophic and agnostic point of view religion should be an essential feature in the instruction of the young.

Briefly stated, the reason (from this point of view) why religion beneficially influences the human character is that it powerfully stimulates the imaginative faculties. Be it not said that these faculties are of little practical account, or that they take low rank by the side of the intellect. It is his imagination rather than his understanding that has placed man above the brutes; the lower animals exhibit fewer traces of imagination than of reason. On the wings of his imagination man's understanding has been borne to the conquest of the material world; and to its flight he owes, specially and entirely, his conception of a pure and unselfish morality, and those feelings of sentiment from which have sprung the ideas of the home, the race, and the nation.

To men of religious convictions this reason will appear grotesquely inadequate; but these men do not constitute the jury to which this argument is addressed. Nor have scientific anthropologists generally recognised the imaginativeness of religion as its most essential feature. To many of them its core seems to lie in ceremonial observances. M. Salomon Reinach has recently concluded that religion can be comprehensively and accurately defined as a 'collection of scruples which check the free exercise of our faculties,' and he finds the germs of religious feelings in the *fetish* and in the *tabu*. But surely this definition fails in omitting all reference to the supernatural; in ignoring the fact that the 'collection of scruples' rests not upon human experience or human reason, but upon imagination—upon the apprehension, that is to say, not of things as they are, but of things as they

might be? We may accept the finding that in the development of mankind the simplest and earliest fruit of religious imagination was the *tabu*. But the characteristic feature of the *tabu* is that it makes no appeal to experience or common-sense; it is purely arbitrary and unreasoning. Yet there are no tribes, however primitive or degraded, whose daily conduct is not to some extent influenced by rules that have been forced upon them by experience; certain elementary rules of sanitation, for instance, which correspond to the civil law of more advanced societies. Beyond these rules there are others, the stock illustration of which is the *tabu*, which owe their force to vague feelings of dread, born not of observation or of suffering, but of the imagination. The characteristic feature of religion is, then, it appears, not the control it exercises over conduct, but the workings of the imagination which originate this control. Religion in its most primitive form is not merely a scheme of action: it is an imaginative scheme. Nay, more, it represents the highest effort of the imagination, since it recognises existences and forces that lie altogether beyond the limits of human perception. It transcends in this respect fiction or poetry. For these, when unadorned by the supernatural, deal with incidents or situations each of which has come within the experience of mankind, and they exhibit the workings of imagination not so much in the creation of facts or emotions as in their combination. Taken by itself, each ingredient of a romance is gathered from life; the imaginative novelty lies in the mixing and transfusing of the ingredients. There is nothing new in the lover's embrace, or in any other thread of a love-story; the originality of the author is manifested in the process by which he weaves the threads together. But religion apprehends forces of which human experience can tell nothing; it creates the material of its imaginings as well as fashions it. Materialists may well be asked to explain whence have come the promptings that have led human imagination beyond the limits that are imposed by Nature. But this question has no connexion with the present argument, which is that religion represents the most daring effort of the imaginative faculties of mankind, and that, therefore, its cultivation tends to invigorate those faculties.

'No man hath seen God at any time,' and the human imagination in her quest for Him has sought for stepping-stones in the natural world around her. She listened for His voice in the rolling of the thunder, and for the movement of His passing in the whirl of the tempest; she marvelled at His glory in the sun and at His power in the stirring of the deep waters; in pestilence and famine she felt the breath of His displeasure, and the imminence of His judgment in the shadow of death. This simple Nature-worship outlived in some cases the childhood of the race:

it sufficed for the Persians and Hindus at a stage when they were capable of hymning with taste and eloquence the pure brilliancy of the fire-flame, the messages of the winds, and the speaking silence of the sky. But, generally, the imagination of mankind was not satisfied with the vagueness of these conceptions; she pushed her way beyond them, and endeavoured to realise the form and character of the gods whose hands were to be seen in the marvels of Nature. The appearance with which the Deity was invested by the Man illustrated the character of the Man's surroundings. To a Greek, amidst the brilliant scenery of the Eastern Mediterranean, a smiling sea embraced by gardens of vines and olives, hill slopes carpeted with wild flowers in scarlet, white, and yellow, green valleys framing visions of distant snow-peaks, suggested, above all things, beauty and gaiety, and forces which in their least friendly aspects were mischievous rather than malignant. Accordingly, to the Greek imagination the gods were beautiful, and their awfulness was tempered by a certain levity of disposition. To the Hindu very different images were suggested by Nature. The scenery at its best lacks the cheerfulness of Europe, and at its worst is a plain alternately rank with vegetation under drenching rain and scorched into desolation by a burning wind. Death waits close upon life. The serpent lying hid in the cottage garden; the tiger on watch about the village pasturage; cholera, fever, and plague; the sudden ruin of hailstorm or locusts and the blank despair of famine:—overshadowed by such evils, existence appeared to be an endless struggle with malignant influences. The Hindu gods are, then, imagined as monstrous and inhuman; the most popular of them all, the Great Mother, is depicted as a bloodthirsty ogress, with glaring eyes, long, protruding teeth, and adorned with a trophy of human skulls:

Thou madest Death, and lo! Thy foot
Is on the skull that Thou hast made.

In such a struggle life may appear a burden rather than a privilege, and the despair of such a philosophy as that of Buddha finds in annihilation the only relief from successive miseries.

To those who sought the Divine in the workings of Nature ideas were material and worship was idolatrous. The revelation of the Divine will to the spirit of man was hardly to be imagined. Nature could only give hints in omens and auguries, and through the oracles that were associated with the beauty or wondrousness of certain localities. The dæmon of Socrates gave him check, but no impulse; was a warning beacon, not a star of guidance. But religion was still something more than an artistic or morbid imagining. The gods, irresponsible though they might seem, stood for some moral obligations—the observance of an oath, the protection of a guest. Precepts of morality, such as the laws of

Manu, were enunciated, and although they represented not the outpourings of the inspired, but the saintly meditations of the devotee, they were accepted by religion and were endorsed by its authority. And religious sentiment bore flowers of poetry in the drama and epics of Greeks and Hindus.

Surrounded by idolaters, the Hebrews rejected idols and conceived of the Divine not as associated with any of the forces of Nature, but as existing apart from Nature—as, indeed, directing the world, but from outside it. God was not found in the earthquake nor in the whirlwind, but in the ‘still small voice’ awakening the imaginative conscience. This conception illuminated the distinction between body and spirit which is so characteristic a feature of Judaism and of its historical derivatives, Christianity and Mohammedanism. The Old and the New Testaments alike declare that ‘God is a spirit, and those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth,’ and this text expresses a deep conviction of Islām. Spirit can communicate with spirit, and God could reveal Himself to His chosen prophets. Through this transcendental conception religion has endowed the world with a definite code of morality, affecting intentions as well as actions, and resting, not upon disputable speculation, but upon absolute authority. Moreover, under its influence religious sentiment has carried the human mind into the highest flights of exaltation, and has enriched human life with poems, such as the Psalms, the charm of which is not staled by time or shaken by the convulsive throes of human progress. Islām recognises the gulf which separates Judaism from other religions of the ancient world, and groups Jews, Christians, and Moslems together within the pale, and within the law, as ‘People of The Book.’

It would be superfluous to dilate upon the inestimable services that religion has rendered to mankind in establishing standards of morality and in compelling their observance. Yet those who would banish religion from school-life can hardly recognise the indebtedness of human progress to religious ideals and sanctions. They may argue that a code of morality may be evolved by human reason. But the morality of religion is on a higher and more stimulating plane than the precepts of a school of ethics. It rests upon a more absolute and more stringent authority: but we may leave this advantage on one side. Its transcendent merit for the present purpose is that it is derived from imaginative ideals, not from philosophic analysis of the motives of mankind, and is, therefore, simpler in its aspects, more elevating to character, and more fruitful of development. The preparation of a school manual of morality would offer no difficulty; the difficulty would lie in persuading the young that its maxims, when not enforced by the State, possess sufficient intrinsic strength to be a shield against

the arrows of temptation. By its criminal law the State has effectively endorsed such precepts of morality as are of vital importance to the common good and are capable of being enforced by the police and the magistrate. It is generally recognised that the Indian Penal Code has affected very greatly the sentiment as well as the practices of the Indian people, and that a conscience has expanded under the menaces of the law. But there remains a multitude of acts and abstentions of which the law can take no notice and have to be blamed or banned by some other authority. It may be urged that the common good which has inspired our criminal legislation will afford a touchstone by which we can judge of the morality or immorality of conduct that has remained outside the law's pronouncements. But to this contention there are several effective replies. In the first place, there are a number of actions which cannot be connected with the interests of the community, except by reasoning that is too fine-drawn to be appreciated by youthful minds. How, for instance, can vanity or impurity be effectively judged from this point of view? In the second place, it may be argued that the individual has interests as well as the community, and that cases constantly arise where an immoral act will profit the individual very greatly, and be of such infinitesimal harm to the community that, if reason be the sole arbiter, the individual would be justified in putting his own advantage first and in committing it. Untruthfulness will offer a multitude of instances in point. The use of reason as a judge in this matter opens a door to private judgment: moral precepts appear capable of relaxation, and have not sufficient rigidity to withstand a strong temptation. If it be contended that man as a gregarious animal has in the fibres of his being a sympathy for others, which needs only arousing to be an effective impulse towards the common good, it may be replied that these sympathies are only excited by those in close contact with him, and that, on the other hand, a law of Nature, the struggle for life, drives him powerfully in the contrary direction—to take care of himself. Thirdly, the common good cannot without much stretch of thought be used to inspire prohibition against sins of will, such as jealousy or covetousness. We are concerned, be it remarked, with the young, who will not readily appreciate the requirements of ethical speculation. Secular moralists may take up a different standpoint—that morality can be justified from a selfish point of view; that, for instance, honesty should be practised because it is the best policy. This argument reminds us of Xenophon's anecdote of Socrates, that, when urging his disciples to act generously by their friends, he remarked that occasions often occurred when a friend could be more useful than a horse, and for a horse most men were willing to pay substantially. It may be contended that good actions give more pleasure than bad to him who commits

them. But this, as a general rule, is quite out of accord with human experience, and would never compel assent from the direct simplicity of the youthful mind. The argument, moreover, rests upon ground which may easily become a slippery path for the degradation of conscience.

It cannot, then, be expected that moral precepts which are derived by the application of reason to the workings of the world—which rest upon a purely natural basis—will ever inspire the young with those feelings of pride and confidence that alone will support them in the hour of trial. In such moments the only morality that stands firm is that which is built up on an ideal basis—which is founded not upon calculations of profit and loss, but upon a conviction that by well-doing we rise towards a higher plane, whereas evil-doing degrades and dishonours us. The higher plane may be a figment of the imagination. But man being an imaginative animal, its conception appeals to him. The imagined ideals of man need not be religious in the strict meaning of the term. The Stoicism which gave to the world the characters of Cato, of Seneca, and of Marcus Aurelius had no definite connexion with the religion of the day. But Stoicism failed with the masses; it lacked sufficient illuminating strength. To produce the full brilliancy of its fervour the imagination must soar to the utmost limits of its flight, and must perceive that its ideals are not cold images of culture, but are the attributes of the Divine Power whose presence our senses and our reason are too limited to detect. So personified, however vaguely, our ideals are no longer mere points of guidance: they inspire us with feelings of awe, and with a sympathetic ecstasy which can be described as love. It is written, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'; but also, 'Whoso hath this world's goods and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' The fear which hedges the path of religious duty keeps the eyes from turning to the temptations that beset it on either hand, and compels the observance of rules which are too refined to be handled by the criminal law. But the chief virtue of religious morality does not lie in its compelling force. It lies in the ambitions that it inspires, in the earnest anticipations of those who press on, and in the regretful retrospects of those who fall behind—in feelings which, once kindled in the young,

• Neither listlessness nor mad endeavour,
Nor Man nor Boy, •
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy.

And the crowning merit of its influence is that it affects intention as well as deed, and, by insisting upon its jurisdiction over our thoughts, clarifies the source as well as the current of our actions,

and renders us virtuous, not by impulsion or control, but by the ascending force of our own aspirations.

Not only has the imagination endowed us with our highest and most fruitful conceptions of morality : we owe to it the sentiment which, fragile though it may seem, is yet the strongest tie of human society. Sentiment may be defined as the imagination of feeling. Love, gratitude, respect, loyalty, are underlaid by instinctive feelings which we share with the lower animals ; gratitude by the impulse to fawn upon a patron ; loyalty by the desire to cling to a protector. But, sublimated and expanded by the imagination, they lose all trace of their origin in self-interest, and unite to form an atmosphere of sympathy surrounding domestic, social, and political life. They contend even more effectually than the ideas of morality with the egotistical impulses of our natural selfishness, uniting interests which Nature seeks to divide, and tempering the struggle for life with thoughts for others. As with morality, these sentiments appear to have attained their greatest potency only when infused with the ideals of revealed religion. Do we hear in the annals of Greece and Rome the strain of passionate sentiment which inspired the national life of the Jews ? Rome displays scenes of stoical pride and endurance ; in Greece a fervent, if narrow, patriotism offers to our admiration enthusiastic outbursts of national zeal. Both were shortlived, and can hardly be compared with the sentiment which, unbroken by memories of Babylonish captivity, defied the forces of the Empire and has maintained the individuality of the Jews through two thousand years of exile and persecution. That Themistocles, injured by his country, should have turned traitor to its interests is not so surprising as the calmness with which other Greeks accepted his shameless cynicism. A Jew is hardly to be imagined endeavouring to betray his nation. His name would have been anathema with his countrymen for all time. And it would appear that in India the Mohammedan ' people of the Book ' possess in respect to loyalty and gratitude something to balance the superior quickness and logical powers of the Hindus.

The history of civilised nations has, so far, ended in their decline and fall as they gained in material wealth and lost the vitality which is animated by enthusiasm for religious or national ideals. To the rich this world seems good enough, and when this notion becomes dominant it naturally banishes from the mind any aspiration for something better. ' It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven,' and we are accustomed to accept the depraving effect of luxury as the inevitable cause of nations' decline. But, however wealthy a community may become by foreign conquest, by manufactures, or by commerce, poverty has re-

mained the lot of the vast majority of the individuals composing it; and if riches alone are the cause of decay, their influence would have been limited to a class, and would not have sapped the energy of the whole community. Hardship there has always been, and a rich community differs from a poor one only in the brilliance of the veneer which overlies the mass of general poverty. So long as the poor, amidst their struggles with evil, can retain an imagination of the good, can trust in the ideals which religion offers them, they form a reservoir of national energy from which streams of vitalising force constantly arise to the richer classes above them. Inestimable has been the purifying effect on English life of Puritan convictions, of the 'Nonconformist conscience.' But if the poor follow the rich into the swine-pens of Epicurus; if they, dazzled by the brilliance of the restaurant, force their way in for a wild scramble for luxury, or turn in despair into the ale-house, then corruption strikes at the heart of the nation, and its fall is inevitable. Is there no hope that during the years of school-life young eyes may be trained to see nobler visions, and that these visions will not vanish entirely in after-life? that young brains may become used to realise that man has imaginings which rise above the pursuit of luxury and excitement, and which, if satisfied, render a life of struggle as happy and as dignified as the wealthiest ease?

Cannot America tell us something in point? Religion is shut out from the class-rooms of her national schools, and, however strenuous may be the educational efforts of religious societies, vast numbers of children grow up in the belief that in the doctrine of 'getting on' is to be found the solution of life's difficulties, and that there is no room in man's stock-in-trade for ideals or aspirations which cannot be valued on a cash basis. At the same time, American life, public and private, has fallen more and more under the fascination of the dollar; not merely do the idle prize riches as the means of an extravagant and ostentatious luxury, but the workers regard their attainment as the one solid object that is worth a struggle. Students of human nature in America, whether Americans or foreigners, are oppressed with a sense of growing materialism, and amongst them there are many who, from the standpoint of a philosophic agnosticism, regretfully attribute this weakening of the national character to the ostracism of religion from the national schools.

It may be urged that the eagerness with which wealth is pursued in America is merely the result of the opportunities for its acquirement that are offered by the abounding resources of the country, and that no educational effort could open out an horizon which Nature has cumbered by the prodigality of her gifts. But India offers us a striking demonstration of the effect of purely secular education in a country where riches do not abound, and

where their pursuit has not developed much individual enterprise. In the last fifty years we have been taking pains to educate the youth of India, but have rigidly barred religion from our schools and colleges. Private educational institutions have naturally followed the curricula of the State, and with few exceptions have given no religious training. The numerous missionary institutions offer religion, indeed, but religion the adoption of which entails the cruellest sufferings of social martyrdom. Of India's two great communities—the Hindûs and the Mohammedans—the latter have generally held aloof from our teaching, suspicious of its effects when divorced from religion. The former have adopted it with zeal. We can on some accounts congratulate ourselves upon the fruits of our policy : a critical intellect has been cultivated till it often rivals the fine flower of European universities ; and there are few who will deny that education has enhanced the respect that is paid to the more practical rules of public morality. This generation has witnessed a marked improvement in the honesty of the public services. But, on the other hand, we have undermined the religious belief of our students, and have given them little in return but such morality as is formulated in the Penal Code or is dictated by worldly experience and the fear of consequences. The brothel stands next door to the Bengali school or college boarding-house. Loyalty to the King, obedience to the teacher, respect for authority, are now judged from a purely logical, unimaginative standpoint, and are regarded, not as obligations, but as courses of action which it may or may not be advantageous to adopt. In fact, they are dissected into profit and loss accounts. A spirit of disrespectful self-assertiveness has invaded the home, and parents are loud in complaint of the mischievous influence of the class-room. There are not a few who now believe that the State would have done better, in the teeth of a host of difficulties, to have endowed religious teaching, and to have provided, amongst the expenses of each school or college, for the remuneration of religious teachers of the students' persuasions.

In the guise of religious zeal the fire of imagination has blazed out into cruel persecutions, has scorched vitality out of the human brain, has even dried up the springs of ideal morality. Man wings his way upwards only by a balance of forces, and any mastering current flings him back to the earth. Self-denial is good, but in excess it becomes a barren asceticism ; charity is excellent, but if imprudent it degenerates into a demoralising sentimentalism. Imagination without understanding vainly beats the air ; understanding without imagination pores short-sightedly over the ground. But our contention is not that one should supplant the other ; it is that they should be cultivated together, side by side.

LEONARDO DA VINCI AS SCULPTOR

WHEN the Paladin Astolpho, as Ariosto relates, journeyed on his winged horse to the moon, he found there many things which had been lost on earth, and amongst the rest, the wits of his cousin Orlando, of which he had gone in search. Paintings and sculpture do not figure among the strange medley of conceits, but the fable, nevertheless, has a meaning of its own for art critics. The Paladin found in the moon not only the wits of Orlando, but also his own, which he was unconscious of having lost. His surprise at seeing them was quite swallowed up in his astonishment at beholding the wits of so many whom he had looked upon as pre-eminent in wisdom; for he discovered that some had lost their wits for love, some for fame, some in pursuit of wealth, some out of dependence upon great lords, some from dabbling in magic, some for jewels, and some for works of art.

To mount to the region where these things are revealed requires a winged steed. To ascertain the records, to define the rudiments upon which knowledge rests, is not so adventurous a quest. Even here, however, there are shifting sands encountered, where feet, and perhaps wits, may wander; but at the outset knowledge is positive, precise and definite. Leonardo is interpreted by Leonardo. The evidence of his own manuscripts as to his work as a sculptor is the first head of the inquiry. After this follows the witness of contemporary record, of the chroniclers, the tributes of Court poets, sonneteers, and makers of epigrams in celebration of ceremonial occasions, the diarists, and the despatches of foreign residents at the Court of Milan. Next in order of time is the evidence contained in the early biographies—evidence which needs to be sifted and, so far as may be possible, tested and compared, but which is invaluable, because it enshrines all contemporary tradition. The roll of the early biographies opens with contemporary record in the notice among the brief lives of various Florentine painters in what is known as *The Book of Antonio Billi*, and in the work of the Milanese Paolo Giovio, who collected art treasures in his villa on Como and wrote, among much else, the lives of the most illustrious men of his time. Twenty years later an anonymous Florentine, the *Anonimo Gaddiano*, made important additions to *The Book of Antonio Billi*,

but the importance of these is far transcended by the *Life* by Vasari, which appeared in 1550, and again with some revisions in 1568. In wealth of detail and in interest it far surpasses all the other early biographies. The labours of modern research have revealed various inaccuracies of statement, but the *Life* still remains unapproached as a triumph of characterisation. The peculiar versatility of Leonardo's genius has never been so convincingly expounded. With the early biographies may be classed the various references which occur in the writings of G. P. Lomazzo (*Trattato dell' arte della Pittura, Scultura, ed Architettura*, 1584-5, and *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, 1591). The special value of these consists in the fact that they are written from the Milanese standpoint, and consequently they supplement the work of Vasari where he is least circumstantial. With Lomazzo the list of early authorities closes. There is no name of equal importance until the advent of modern critical study with the work of Carlo Amoretti (*Memorie Storiche su la vita di L. da V.*, 1804). An inquiry into the sources of the evidence of Leonardo's activity as a sculptor must therefore begin with his manuscripts, and must be continued through the references of contemporaries and the early biographies down to the time of Lomazzo, when it may be assumed that the period of compilation of contemporary tradition terminated.

The earliest extant letter by Leonardo is the draft of a petition addressed, as the contents show, to Ludovic Sforza, asking that he may enter his service. Leonardo went to Milan in 1482 or 1483, and the letter presumably was written shortly before that date.

The first nine clauses enumerate various inventions or methods of warfare, and Leonardo solicits an opportunity of demonstrating their effectiveness. The last clause is the only one that relates to the arts of peace. In this Leonardo states his readiness to construct buildings and make aqueducts, and continues :

I can further execute sculpture in marble, bronze, or clay, also in painting I can do as much as anyone else, whoever he be.

Moreover, I would undertake the commission of the bronze Horse, which shall endue with immortal glory and eternal honour the auspicious memory of your father and of the illustrious house of Sforza.

The last commission had been in abeyance for ten years. Galeazzo Maria Sforza had first conceived the project of erecting in Milan an ever-visible witness to the greatness of his father, Francesco Sforza, the founder of the dynasty ; but the Mantegazza, the Milanese sculptors to whom he offered the commission, proved incapable of executing it. Ludovic Sforza afterwards revived the scheme, seeking, possibly, thereby to veil the fact of his usurpation of power. His need was known in Florence, for Vasari mentions two drawings for a statue of Francesco Sforza

made by Antonio Pollaiuolo. That Leonardo's offer was accepted, and that his departure from Florence to Milan was directly connected with the commission for the statue, is shown by a sentence in the draft of a letter which he wrote to the Commissioners of the Duomo at Piacenza to caution them against hastily bestowing the commission for the bronze doors. He says: 'There is one whom the Lord has summoned here out of Florence to undertake this work of his, and he is a capable master, but is so full of commissions. . . .' The letter, which could not be described as helpful to the Commissioners, concludes by saying, 'There is no one who is capable except Leonardo the Florentine, who is making the bronze horse of the Duke Francesco, and you need take no count of him, for he has work that will last his whole lifetime, and I fear that it is so great an undertaking that he will never finish it.'

As the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza was by far the most important work in sculpture executed by Leonardo, and is indeed the only work of which record is circumstantial, it may be well to summarise the history of it so far as it is known from contemporary evidence. Leonardo was at work upon it for sixteen consecutive years, according to the testimony of Fra Sabba da Castiglione, who witnessed its destruction by the arrows of the Gascon bowmen after the French occupation of Milan. This was presumably in April 1500, after the battle of Novara, as when the French occupied the city in the previous year the soldiers were forbidden to indulge in acts of pillage. The sixteen years to which the monk's statement has reference must have been from 1482 to 1498 or from 1483 to 1499. They were, therefore, practically contemporaneous with the period of Leonardo's first residence in Milan. The statement cannot be taken to mean that he was exclusively occupied upon the statue, for during this period he painted *The Last Supper* and the portraits of various ladies of the Court. It was, however, by his work upon the statue that he most impressed himself upon the imagination of his contemporaries in Milan. Numerous passages in his writings of a practical and technical character which have relation to the project have been printed by Dr. Richter (*The Literary Works of L. da V.* Vol. II.). They treat of the processes of casting, of the dimensions, of the making of the mould, and of the measurements of a horse which served as a model, 'the Sicilian of Messer Galeazzo.'

The various drawings connected with the statue, most of which are in the Royal Collection at Windsor, fall into two divisions; in the one the horse is represented as galloping and trampling upon a fallen foot-soldier, in the other the horse is walking. Leonardo probably hesitated for a long time between the two conceptions. Each allowed the expression of emotions which the other could not compass. Paolo Giovio, who may in his youth

have seen the statue before its destruction, speaks of its animation, 'cujus vehementer incitati ac anhelantis.' It would seem probable, however, that Leonardo finally adopted a composition in which the horse was represented as walking. He says in a note written before the antique equestrian statue of Regisole at Pavia, where he stayed in 1490, 'the trot is of the nature of the free horse.' In all except one of the drawings which are connected with the stage of actual construction, either by the introduction of a mould or of scaffolding, the horse is represented as walking.

Leonardo's preliminary studies and investigations, which, according to the testimony of Vasari and Lomazzo, extended to the composition of a treatise on the anatomy of the horse, were protracted over so long a time as to cause Ludovic to look elsewhere for an artist. In a letter written to Lorenzo de' Medici by the Florentine agent at Milan in July 1489, the latter says that he has been instructed by Ludovic to ask for one or two masters skilled in such work to be sent from Florence, 'for although he has entrusted this commission to Leonardo da Vinci, he does not seem to me to have any great confidence in his capacity to carry it to completion.'

Soon after this letter, perhaps as a consequence of it, Leonardo's preparations reached a more active stage. The note in the MS. which treats of 'light and shade,' 'On the 23rd of April 1490, I commenced this book and recommenced the horse,' may perhaps indicate the date at which the second conception passed into the stage of actual construction. In 1493 the model of the statue was completed. At the celebration of the marriage of Bianca Maria Sforza with the Emperor Maximilian, which took place in that year, it was erected under a triumphal arch in the great piazza of the castle of the Visconti. Epigrams were already being written as inscriptions for the base of the statue even before Leonardo went to Milan. The erection of the model on the occasion of these ceremonies was signalized by a fresh outburst of courtly poetry. Rarely, surely, has work of art been a more constant cynosure of the Muses!

Baldassare Taccone, in his Coronation Ode, has described the occasion in the following lines :

Vedi che in corte fa far di metallo,
Per memoria del Padre un gran colosso.
Io credo fermamente e senza fallo
Che Gretia e Roma n'ai vide il più grosso.
Guarda pur come è bello quel cavallo!
Leonardo Uinci a farlo sol s'è mosso.
Statura, bon'pictore, bon geometra,
Un tanto ingegno rar dal ciel s'impetra.
E se più presto non s'è principiato,
La uoglia del Signor fu sempre pronta ;
Non era un Leonardo ancor trovato,
Qual di presente tanto ben l'impronta.

That the model of the statue had also the figure of the rider is to be inferred from the lines of Pietro Lazzarone *De Nuptiis Imperatorie Maiestatis* :

Fronte stabat prima, quem totus noverat orbis
Sfortiæ Franciscus Ligurum dominator et altae
Insubriae, portatus equo.

The model, which was erected in 1493, was presumably of clay, although the poets are not very clear about the matter. Fra Luca Pacioli, in the preface to *De Divina Proportione*, gives the exact dimensions and the weight of the bronze of the statue, but there are considerable grounds for supposing that it was never actually cast, and that the composition never got beyond the stage of the clay model. This follows from the account given in Paolo Giovio, in the *Anonimo Gaddiano*, and in Vasari. The *Anonimo Gaddiano* records the story of a taunt uttered by Michelangelo, in which the fact was specifically stated. Leonardo had been appealed to for an explanation of a passage of Dante, and he suggested that it should be referred to Michelangelo, who happened to be passing by. The latter, who thought that this was done in order to deride him, replied in anger, 'Explain it yourself, you who made a drawing of a horse in order to cast it in bronze, and could not cast it, and were forced out of shame to give up the attempt.'

The real reason seems to have been that Ludovic Sforza had completely drained his exchequer, and could not afford to procure the amount of bronze necessary for the casting. In a letter to the Duke, written at about the end of the year 1497, of which only a fragment exists, Leonardo apologises for the fact that his time has been taken up with gaining a living, because his salary is two years in arrears, and he has two skilled assistants to pay, and remarks, 'Of the horse I will say nothing, because I know the times.' He left Milan in December 1499, three months after the flight of Ludovic Sforza, and in the following year the statue was used as a target by the French soldiery, according to the account of Fra Sabba da Castiglione, who was an eye-witness.

The Duke of Ferrara, in September 1501, wrote to his agent at Milan asking him to obtain from the Cardinal of Rouen 'the model of a horse which the Lord Ludovic intended to have cast, which model was made by the Master Leonardo,' and which was described in the letter as 'daily perishing.' The reply of the Duke's agent represented the Cardinal as stating that he personally was quite willing, but that he had no authority to permit its removal without the sanction of Louis XII. With this reply the references to the statue in contemporary records cease. Leonardo has referred in one pregnant sentence to the tragedy which befell his patron, 'The Duke has lost his State, his possessions,

and his liberty, and he has seen none of his works finished.' This is all in the way of allusion to the destruction of the statue that the manuscripts contain.

After a visit to Venice and one of longer duration to Florence, where he executed some of his most important works, and a journey in Romagna as military engineer in the service of Cæsar Borgia, Leonardo was back again in Milan in 1506 and 1507, engaged in commissions for the new rulers of the city. He must, indeed, at some time subsequent to the French occupation have contemplated the erection of another equestrian statue, for on a page of the *Codice Atlantico* he has drawn up an estimate for a sepulchral monument to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. The monument was to be surmounted by 'a courser as large as life, with the rider,' and the cost of the materials and labour and the measurements of the various parts are stated with very full details. Gian Giacomo Trivulzio entered Milan at the head of the French army in September 1499, and returned there in the following April after Ludovic had been defeated and captured at the battle of Novara. He held high command in Milan under Louis the Twelfth, and it was probably during this period that the estimate for his monument was prepared rather than after his death, which only preceded that of Leonardo himself by five months. Moreover, political events moved very rapidly at Milan in the early years of the sixteenth century, and there is little likelihood that anyone would think of erecting a monument on so imposing a scale to Trivulzio after he had ceased to interest himself in the matter. There is no record of Leonardo ever having actually engaged in the construction of this monument. Dr. Müller-Walde (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Leonardo da Vinci*) (Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 1897-99) has with no small ingenuity endeavoured to connect some of the studies for an equestrian statue with this project, and even to show two distinct conceptions of the composition in the drawings, the latter group revealing the influence of Leonardo's study of the antique statue of Regisole at Pavia. The evidence, however, scarcely seems to warrant the conclusions arrived at. Leonardo was frequently at Pavia in 1509 and 1510, being engaged in anatomical researches with Marc' Antonio della Torre, who was a professor at the University; but he also paid a visit there in 1490 with Francesco di Giorgio in order to give advice about the construction of the cupola of the cathedral. His study of the statue of Regisole may have taken place then, and have been done as a preparation for the Sforza statue. There is really no evidence about the Trivulzio monument other than the estimate of the dimensions and cost of construction. At this stage the project may have halted. It would seem more reasonable to assume that of the drawings the vast majority are connected with the Sforza statue.

There are details of the progress of this work in all the early biographies. They are unanimous in stating the model to have been of clay, and *The Book of Antonio Billi*, the *Anonimo Gaddiano*, and Vasari all attribute the failure of casting partly to its size and partly to his determination to cast it in one piece. Vasari makes mention of a small model of it executed in wax which was considered perfect, and which he says was lost when the French entered Milan, together with the book of studies of the anatomy of the horse which Leonardo had made. The latter is presumably now at Windsor in a more or less complete form. The wax model has not been identified.

The list of other works of sculpture by Leonardo of which mention is made by any of the early authorities is a very meagre one. Lomazzo refers to a bas-relief of a horse in plaster done by Leonardo, which when he wrote (in 1584) was in the possession of the sculptor, il cavaliere Leone Aretino, the father of the Pompeo Leoni who formed the collection of Leonardo's manuscripts known as the *Codice Atlantico*; and also mentions a head of Christ as a little child in terra-cotta modelled by Leonardo's own hand, which he eulogizes as displaying 'the simplicity and innocence of childhood, together with a certain suggestion of wisdom, understanding, and majesty.' This is perhaps one of the 'heads of children' to which Vasari refers in his account of the sculpture made by Leonardo when he was attending Verrocchio's workshop. 'He worked not only in sculpture, executing in his youth, in terra-cotta, certain heads of women that are smiling, of which plaster casts are still taken, and likewise heads of children, which seem to have come from the hand of a master.' In his *Life of Verrocchio*, Vasari mentions some of his drawings of female heads, 'of which the features, expressions, and arrangement of the hair were constantly imitated for their exceeding beauty by Leonardo da Vinci.' It has been observed that even the famous Leonardesque smile has its origin in Verrocchio's work. It would appear reasonable to suppose that Verrocchio's influence upon the work of his pupil was as strong in sculpture as in design.

These few youthful works—heads of women smiling and heads of children—and a bas-relief of a horse, are all his performance as a sculptor of which there is any record apart from the Sforza statue, and none of these works, if still in existence, admit of identification. It is a hard task for connoisseurship to rear a superstructure upon such foundations.

If Vasari's attribution to Leonardo of one of the angels in Verrocchio's picture of *The Baptism of Christ* be accepted, the angels serve to show the difference between the types of the two masters. Leonardo's work in sculpture at this period presumably bore a similar relation to the Verrocchiesque type. Such work would be Verrocchiesque in inception, less mature, but with some

added mobility of feature and suppleness of limb. Of the various works in sculpture which have been attributed to Leonardo at one time and another on grounds of connoisseurship, the bust of St. John the Baptist in terra-cotta at South Kensington, the bas-relief of two youths bearing a shield in the Palazzo Communale at Pisa, and the bas-relief of Scipio in the Louvre all seem to possess these characteristics in a greater or less degree.

But the comparative test is practically indispensable in order to substantiate these conclusions, and this is not available. It should moreover be observed that in the case of work which, if connected with Leonardo at all, must either date from the time of his apprenticeship or from the period immediately subsequent to it, it would not seem reasonable to infer that he prepared a design which another executed, since at this stage he would not presumably be employing pupils. It is perhaps worthy of remark that none of Leonardo's pupils is known to have executed any independent work in sculpture.

Leonardo lived for twenty years after the downfall of Ludovic Sforza, and all but the last one or two of these were years of strenuous activity. In the course of them he painted a few great pictures and made preparatory studies for many more, some of which were executed by his pupils. He served Caesar Borgia, the Signoria of Florence, and two successive Kings of France as military and civil engineer, travelling about in order to inspect fortresses, constructing watercourses and canals, studying how to divert the course of rivers. His skill and fame as an architect were such that he was constantly in request by local authorities for consultation and advice. He devised the mechanism of the pageant on the occasion of Louis the Twelfth's triumphal entry into Milan in 1509, after the battle of Agnadello. Alongside of all these public undertakings, stealing away his interest from them, were the various forms of study and research, of the results of which his manuscripts contain so rich a harvest. These reveal his continuous investigations in anatomy, physiology, astronomy, botany, and natural science. His public occupations and his intellectual activity during these twenty years present the picture of a life rich in performance as few lives ever have been. The records—his own and those of his contemporaries—enable us to build it up with some approach to completeness. They do not, however, contain any reference to any work in sculpture as being executed by him after the time when he was occupied with the statue of Francesco Sforza. Surely the conclusion follows irresistibly that he only practised the art of sculpture during the earlier part of his life, that his works in sculpture were very few, and that the statue of Francesco Sforza, which was by far the greatest of them, was practically the last in point of time. It is possible to detect a certain disgust at the limitations imposed upon

him by the nature of his materials in the references to the statue which occur in his later letters to Ludovic. The Duke had squandered his resources, and could not afford to pay for the bronze for the casting; it followed, therefore, that the work wherein—if we may judge either by the impression which it made upon his contemporaries or even by the existing studies for it—Leonardo had expressed to the full the strength and grace of his art—that this work might not be translated into a substance that should endure, but that the fragile model of clay must await the buffets of chance.

Lomazzo says that he had himself read a book written by Leonardo at the request of Ludovic Sforza in order to determine the question whether painting or sculpture was the more noble, in which it was maintained that the nobility of an art is in exactly inverse proportion to the amount of bodily fatigue and discomfort that its exercise involves. A portion of this treatise occurs in a manuscript now at Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and others—of which the originals are not known now to exist—are in the early collection of his writings on art known as the *Trattato della Pittura*, and may be consulted either in Ludvig's edition of the book or in Solmi's *Frammenti Letterari e Filosofici di L. da V.* The treatise apparently was intended to form part of a Philosophy of Art, various portions of which are in existence, in which the potentialities and capacity of all the arts underwent comparison. Its conclusions are especially worthy of comment, when we consider it to have been written during the time that Leonardo was at work upon the commission for the Sforza statue. The title of the section in the Paris manuscript runs, 'That Sculpture is less intellectual than Painting, and lacks many of its natural parts.' 'As practising myself the art of sculpture,' he says, 'no less than that of painting, and doing both the one and the other in the same degree, it seems to me that without suspicion of unfairness I may venture to give an opinion as to which of the two is the more intellectual, and of the greater difficulty and perfection.' The conclusions which follow are uniformly to the disadvantage of sculpture. Sculpture is dependent upon certain lights; a picture carries everywhere with it its own light and shade. Sculpture cannot render the differences of colour; painting does not fail to do so in any particular. In sculpture the lines of perspective do not seem in any way true; those of painters may seem to extend a hundred miles beyond the work itself. Aerial perspective is outside the scope of sculpture, as also is the representation of transparent or luminous bodies, or angles of reflection, or shining bodies, such as mirrors and like things of glittering surface, or mists, or dull weather. Even in degree of permanence sculpture is inferior to painting done upon copper covered with white enamel, painted with enamel colours, and fused in the fire.

Mistakes in sculpture may be less easy to correct, but he rejects the argument that the fact of a mistake being irremediable makes the work more noble; 'it is more difficult to correct the mind of the master who makes such mistakes than the work which he has spoiled.' 'Sculpture in bronze is imperishable, but painting upon copper and enamel is absolutely eternal.' If the comparison is made only with panel painting, sculpture is more enduring, but 'painting is more beautiful, more imaginative, and richer in resource.' In fine, 'painting is adorned with infinite possibilities of which sculpture can make no use.'

The passages in the *Trattato della Pittura* are of the same purport. In one he dwells upon the mechanical aspect of the sculptor's art: the fatigue of body, the strength of arm necessary for the manual labour of cutting away the superfluous parts of the marble, the mixture of sweat and dust of marble on the face—white as that of a baker—and this is contrasted with a comfortable studio, where the painter can work attended, if he will, by musicians or readers, and not disturbed by the sound of hammers. In another passage he sums up Sculpture as lacking in beauty and gradation of colour, and in perspective and power to give vague contours to things farthest from the eye, and so to distinguish between things near and things far away; as unable to represent the atmosphere that comes between the eye and a distant object as partially obscuring this object, like veiled figures, where the bare flesh is visible beneath the veil that covers it, or to reveal the small pebbles of various colours which lie under the surface of translucent waters.

The tenor of these passages would seem to be to criticise sculpture primarily because it is not painting, and therefore does not possess its attributes, without at the same time endeavouring to estimate its separate and distinctive qualities. Any consideration of the achievement of Greek Art must suffice to show that much is left unsaid. The passages are none the less of value as a revelation of personality. They reveal how profoundly Leonardo was detached in mind from the calling of the sculptor. Vexatious delays had hindered the realization of his hopes with regard to the statue. But this does not alone suffice to account for the change. It is hard to conceive of the writer, while equally capable in both arts and endowed with full liberty of choice, exercising it in the future in favour of one which he considered to be the meaner and the less intellectual. The passages confirm the inference suggested by the silence of contemporary record, that the period of his activity as a sculptor ceased with the close of his first residence in Milan.

EDWARD McCURDY.

THEN AND NOW

THE close of a year, the approaching dissolution of Parliament, the possibility of a change of Government, give pause and invite to a consideration of the present situation, and to a comparison of the Feminist movement when the Liberals took office four years ago with their position to-day.

It is not often realised for how short a time that movement has been at work. Forty years back from 1905, or forty-four years from to-day, will cover its operations. That seems a long time to the women who have worked for this particular end, though in truth it is but as yesterday in the history of political changes. How many years, how many centuries, has it taken men to win political freedom !, while the suffrage question, as at present understood, dates from about the time of the French Revolution. That women were not asking for a simple extension of the suffrage such as we have seen in successive Reform Bills, but that they were asking for a revolutionary recast of society of a kind new to historical experience, does not seem to have occurred to them, nor that such a change must inevitably take very many years to bring about. They had first to convert women, then to convert men. Have they persuaded the majority of the women of this country that votes are essential to their freedom and progress? Have they converted men?

In 1905 the Feminist movement stood with considerable achievements behind it. The older suffragists had realised that before any real progress could be made women must have an education, and the middle-class woman had no education worthy of the name. It is not too much to say that the movement which gave us high schools for girls and built and endowed colleges for women was initiated and guided by women who desired the vote. The establishment of high schools was a great boon to a large class of women, who found it impossible to get an adequate education for their daughters owing to the cost of good girls' schools and the still greater cost of private teaching at home, while the Utopia of colleges for women was but a dream. It is not to be supposed that all the women who worked for these great schemes

were suffragists; it may be claimed, that the pioneers and leaders belonged to that movement. It was a great work, and women may be grateful for what was then given to them, though we may wish that the lines of education then laid down had not been such a bald imitation of the well-worn methods of boys' day schools, and that it had been possible to avoid stimulation of the craze for athletics and rivalries with other schools for game averages. The high school is apt to fail in giving the foundations of a true culture, just as the manners of the pupils are too often selfish, rough, and crude. We fear that the high-school girl is often anything but a comfort and help to her mother at home. In this respect we may count loss, not gain.

The opportunities thrown open to women in college life have been nobly responded to by them, for they have shown that they can reach the highest academic honours. Women's college education has had great results in providing the country with admirable tutors, teachers; and professional women. It has been said that the colleges have become too technical in this sense, and that they have not appealed to the large majority of women. George Eliot's view on this matter is interesting :

The danger she was alive to in the system of collegiate education was the possible weakening of the bonds of family affection and family duties. In her view the family life holds the roots of all that is best in our mortal lot; and she always felt that it is far too ruthlessly sacrificed in the case of English *men* by their public school and university education, and that much more is such a result to be deprecated in the case of *women*.¹

The effect of this improved education was almost immediately apparent. Women began to be ashamed of amateur, careless work; the average of all women's work was raised; women felt themselves able to take up and carry through onerous duties, as educational, poor-law, and sanitary inspectors, and in many other directions. Their work was valuable for the special womanly qualities they brought to it—the feminine gifts of quick sympathy, intuition, and attention to details. None can doubt that the community has gained by their labours—and this, again, must be credited indirectly to the efforts of the older suffragists—though the need to find employment and to qualify for employment was an important factor in the situation. A Mrs. Browning, a George Eliot, a Mme. Curie, a Mrs. Creighton, a Mrs. Sidney Webb, owed their development to other sources.

The Feminist party, then, in 1905, stood, as I have said, with solid achievements behind them. They had tried on several occasions for the parliamentary vote, and had almost won it, but at the last moment the insincerity and halfheartedness of their reputed friends lost them their victory, as they supposed. In

¹ *Life of George Eliot*, by J. W. Cross, vol. iii. pp. 428, 429.

spite of repeated failure, they commanded respect for the courage, pertinacity, ability, and levelheadedness they had shown, and this from all political parties, even those who entirely disapproved of their campaign. The militants at that time were few, free-lances who helped to make the situation more lively, but who were a negligible quantity. The chances of ultimate success for the cause had never seemed so good.

What is the situation to-day? It is a question whether the militants do not now exceed in number the constitutional women—conversions of late seem to have been rather to that side. The money bags are certainly on the side of the militants, who spend lavishly on street pageants and sensational advertisements. We hear that the public meetings of both sections are thinly attended unless there is some unwonted attraction; certainly there is less serious effort to convert and instruct the general public. To annoy and obstruct is not to convince or to inform.

We venture to think that the constitutional women made a great blunder in not dissociating themselves in early days from a policy that was at once immoral and unwise. If we are asked to point to a time when remonstrance would have come with excellent effect, we would recall the incident when a young working girl was brought up from her home in a distant county and incited to behave publicly in a way which brought her under legal penalties. The girl was very young, much distressed at her position; her parents were indignant, and the magistrate spoke his mind. Surely a party which exists to proclaim the rights of women to fair play and justice (*sic*) should begin by themselves showing that better way. We think that had the older suffragists dissociated themselves openly from that unwarrantable action much that has happened since would not have happened. Working women have not forgotten, nor are they likely to forget, this little incident. We doubt not that militant methods have long caused anxiety and regret to the constitutional women; we fully realise that it was difficult and almost painful to separate from those who avowed themselves workers for the cause; but *noblesse oblige*.

Those who make revolutions resorting to violence, themselves appeal to force and forfeit all right to complain. The revolutionist must be ready to pay the penalty willingly and cheerfully. It is not for him to choose his punishment when he breaks the law or to decide upon the more or the less. The ethics of martyrdom have yet to be written, but it seems clear that a martyrdom which is deliberately courted and artificially planned beforehand is no martyrdom at all. In the early Church it was found necessary to forbid catechumens to seek martyrdom; and we do well to remember that 'smarting from the Roman rods' was a very

different punishment from modern imprisonment in the second class. We can hardly imagine what the Roman penalty would have been for slapping a centurion's face!

But when we have said this we admit freely that much courage, determination, and persistence have been shown. Would that it had been in a better cause, and that we could wipe out the injurious effect this campaign has had upon the future of women! The point of hysterical emotion and unreason is always nearer, with women than with men, nor is it discreditable to women that it should be so. Their nerve force is slighter, their self-restraint less. History shows us many waves of public emotion in which women have been swept off their feet. But though, with the Poet, we may indulge thoughts not unkindly towards the Jump-to-Glory Janes of the world, we must, in the interests of women themselves and of the community, beware lest we in any way encourage their suicidal action.

It may be well to try to understand something of the grievances from which the militants believe that they suffer.

I. They believe that women are exploited by men.

In a sense that is true, but have not men been exploited by men? Are they not still so exploited? Was there ever a worse case of exploitation than the industrial conditions under which little children were brought up from workhouses to toil in mines and factories at the beginning of the nineteenth century? Women have not escaped exploitation, but they have not been so treated because they are women. If they have suffered more it is that they are weaker in bodily health and strength, that their work is as a rule not so valuable as the work of men, that they enter the industrial field with an eye always on matrimony to escape from work. The horrible chaos into which modern industry has fallen has affected all workers alike: it is the great European problem before all the countries of the West. The case of the unhappy widow left alone with young children who has to return to daily toil after years spent in her own home, and can only find employment at the lowest form of industry and at the lowest wage, is perhaps the most pitiful. We have heartily welcomed old-age pensions, but we have sometimes thought that it would have been better to begin by giving pensions to all widows with young children, and to all women of sixty. It would have been a public acknowledgment of the debt the country owes to wives and mothers. But we consider it grossly unjust to suggest that men have sought of deliberate purpose to exploit women.

II. They consider that the law is unfair and unjust to women.

Now that, by the Women's Charter of 1882, women have entire control of their own property, to use and to leave behind them,

that special question is disposed of. Any readjustment of the law would probably level up woman's responsibilities to man's, as in the case of breach of promise damages, liability for children's expenses, liability to contribute to husband's support, cruelty to husband, slander of husband, liability for penalty in libel cases, liability for expenses of divorce actions, and in many other cases. Any impartial person must agree that the law leans on the side of indulgence to women—as to punishments inflicted on them, as to liabilities incurred by them, as to the general weight of responsibility, which is laid on the man rather than the woman.²

•III. *They consider it a slight and a degradation not to have the vote.*

Two phrases often used express this feeling: that women are reduced to the level of 'paupers, criminals, and lunatics,' and that they have a 'lower political status than Maoris and Kaffirs.' We reply that they are reduced to the level of peers, members of the Royal Family, nearly all soldiers and sailors, and many other admirable men. If women in truth held so degraded a position, it is surprising to find them capable of the achievements we rehearsed at the beginning of this paper. Does the vote give value to the individual, or the individual to the vote? In any case the vote is not a right but a public trust, and the State has something to say as to the advisability of conferring it. It is strange that at a time when votes are depreciated by men some women should passionately desire them. It is also strange that the important municipal vote which has been granted them is disdained and neglected by them. Municipal elections in London and other great centres may attract a few women voters, but what is the case in the country-side?

IV. *They believe that the many-headed hydra of intemperance and immorality will be overthrown and slain if women get the vote.*

They forget that neither sex is free of offence; that it needs spiritual weapons to slay spiritual foes. Spermaceti will not heal an inward wound. Mrs. Carrie Nation's crusade with hatchets has had little effect upon the trade of the wine-shops, but the teaching of the medical profession is producing an immense reform. The exalted tempêr of the militant women would inevitably lead to many unconsidered and unwise crusades. Divorce will doubtless be made as easy as in America; sin of a certain kind will become crime and flood the law courts; while,

² *The Women's Charter*, by Lady McLaren, is a serious attempt to deal with a large series of questions. I do not attempt to consider it in these few pages. If the need for these reforms can be proved, there would be no need of the vote to obtain them.

as we already see, sexual questions will be constantly under discussion. It is an unlovely picture. In these matters we need scientific knowledge and advice, religious discipline, and the fervour of a finer ideal of life and human nature. Little of any value can come through the ballot-box or debates in Parliament, but we may look in the future to the legitimate action of the best and wisest women called in to the counsels of the Government for advice and co-operation.

We have tried to state accurately what we believe to be the chief grievances of the militant women and to give in briefest form an answer. How does the political situation stand to-day? Four years ago the suffragists' demand was a simple one: 'Votes for women as for men.' The Liberals have refused it. A new women's suffrage society has started on the basis of adult suffrage—a Bill for adult suffrage has been before Parliament. Some Socialists would support such a measure, others would only support manhood suffrage. The Unionist women's society still supports the vote 'as for men'; like the ostrich, they bury their heads and refuse to see adult suffrage stealing quickly upon them. Meantime the mass of women are stolidly indifferent; 'A plague on all your houses' they say, and the more thoughtful resent the attitude of politicians by which the woman's vote is considered only as a pawn in the political game, without reference as to whether the majority of women desire it or are fit to use it, or whether such a measure would be for the good of the community. Most Liberals, we imagine, would support manhood suffrage, but a torrential flood of new inexperienced women voters could not be let loose upon the country by any responsible politician of any school, for it would give to women the casting vote.

We believe that the adventures of the militants have effectually cooled any slight feeling there might have been in the country for any measure of women's suffrage. It is felt that this much of good has been done; we see for the first time what the political woman demands; she will be satisfied with no half-gifts. The seat in Parliament, admission to public office, the seat on the Bench—these are the true goals. If the vote were given to-morrow the agitation in a worse form would continue for these further 'rights,' as they would be called, and then for the passing of certain measures. Women desire all the privileges without the duties and responsibilities of men. It is time that Mr. Mill's *Subjection of Women* were fairly and seriously considered and discussed. It differs very much from his other books in vehemence of statement and language. He was notoriously briefed by a woman, and was not able to correct or compare her statement by appeal to other women. He had no mother (she died when he was a young child), no sister, no large acquaintance

amongst women. One deep affection filled his life, and in that he thought he held complete understanding of a most difficult and complex question. The mistress of a house is no more 'a slave' than the master of it. It is true that she is responsible for the household, and must stay at home often to mind her child. He must tramp to his daily toil in an office perhaps to earn 35s. a week. The margin of expenditure must be a very small one after actual needs are provided for. The wife would like to go to a 'dance,' the husband would rather play the violoncello or golf than go to the City. But though man and woman are bound in their respective ways—both may find happiness, lead useful and honourable lives, tasting of the best life has to give. Unemployment and ill-health are the grim spectres that menace such an existence; there is nothing either degrading or enslaving that a woman should do her own housework and look after her own child, while the talk of economic independence for the woman in such a home is an absurdity.

It is always said that a movement must not be judged by the first generation of its supporters. They are still under the influence of older traditions. Are the militant women to be considered as the legitimate successors of those who founded the suffrage movement? Are we to see in them the second and third generations of that movement? It is a curious speculation. Another curious speculation is whether woman is not committing a sex suicide, destroying all that she has won in the past, atrophying her finest qualities of heart and brain.

Thus Nietzsche: 'While woman appropriates new rights, aspires to be "master," and inscribes "Progress of Woman" on her flags and banners, the very opposite realises itself with terrible obviousness: woman retrogrades.'

ETHEL B. HARRISON.

A TRANSATLANTIC INVASION OF 1816

CHARLES CARROLL, the famous Senator of Maryland, had seven children, six of whom were girls. The eldest of these died, and scarcely had Mary, his second daughter, attained to womanhood, than on the 13th of March 1786 Charles Carroll was forced to pen to a rejected suitor a letter which was little calculated to be welcome to the recipient.

My daughter (he wrote), I am sorry to inform you, is much attached to, and has engaged herself to, a young English gentleman of the name of Caton. I do sincerely wish she had placed her affections elsewhere, but I do not think myself at liberty to control her choice, when fixed on a person of exceptionable character. My assent to this union is obtained on these two conditions: that the young gentleman shall extricate himself from some debts which he has contracted, and shall get into a business sufficient to maintain himself and a family. These conditions he has promised to comply with, and when performed, there will be no other impediment in the way of his marriage.

No account has survived of the effect produced upon the luckless suitor by this fateful letter; but the intelligence it conveyed was soon confirmed, and that same autumn, at the age of seventeen, Mary Carroll married the young Englishman, Richard Caton.

Youthful as she was at the time of her wedding, 'Polly' Carroll had already become well known in the society in which she moved. Apart from her personal attractions, which were considerable, the position of her father alone would have ensured for her a large share of public attention. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was not only a man of great wealth, but throughout his life was a prominent figure in American politics. Of Irish origin, he traced his descent from the old princely family of the Carrolls of Ely O'Carroll, King's County, Ireland, whose ancestor was Fiam, or Florence, King of Ely, who died in 1206. The grandfather of Charles Carroll, a staunch Roman Catholic, fled from Ireland in 1688, and eventually became Attorney-General of Maryland, thus evincing a capacity for public life, which his grandson inherited.

Himself a small, spare man, but with much personal charm of

manner, Charles Carroll was justly proud of his beautiful daughter. She was, we are told, 'distinguished for the grace and elegance of her manners, as well as for her sweet and amiable qualities. She was a particular favourite of Washington, and one of the most charming ornaments of the Republican Court.' Her portrait, painted by Robert Edge Pine, and preserved by her descendants, still testifies to her fascination. When, three years after her marriage, she accompanied her father to New York, her beauty created a sensation, while Washington openly expressed his affectionate admiration for the daughter of his old friend.

Nor was the man to whom she had united herself apparently unworthy of his good fortune. Richard Caton, the successful rival of the luckless Daniel, was of an appearance almost as prepossessing as her own. Tall, dignified, and exceptionally handsome, he is said to have been striking both in manner and person. Although he could not boast a princely descent, his family was old and honourable. Different branches of it, said to have a common origin, are mentioned in the page of history. One line is entered in Domesday Book, one ancestor fought at Agincourt, another took a company of archers to Flodden Field, yet another, named Le Caton Fidèle, was Governor of Calais under one of the Edwards. Devout Catholics, the Catons left money to many Shrines and founded at least one Abbey; they were monks, abbots, and priors till the Reformation, when some branches of the family became converted to the new faith, while others adhered to their old religion and endured persecution in Jacobean times. Still opulent and powerful through the generations, the Catons have left their trace in the names of villages in Norfolk, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, while in the latter county, whence came the immediate ancestors of Richard Caton, in the villages of Caton and Heysham, they have held land for generations, and still hold it.

In days when the population round Manchester and Lancaster was comparatively small, and the means of travelling limited, the families residing there intermarried till the exact relationships between them are difficult to trace. From recent investigations, however, it appears that the grandfather of Richard Caton was a Captain Joseph Caton, who commanded his own ship, the *Great Tom of Lincoln*. Reputed to have been the first Caton who ever entered trade, he was a slave dealer and owner of property in Jamaica. His son Joseph married a girl of sixteen, and had a family of eight children, of whom Richard was born on the 15th of April 1763.

Some say that Richard Caton journeyed over to America as stavedore in a merchant ship; others that it was as a non-commissioned officer that he first found his way thither. All that is

known with certainty is that in 1786 he became a merchant in Baltimore, and in 1790 he entered into an association for the manufacture of cotton. Further, it was hinted that he was looked upon by the older residents in Baltimore somewhat in the light of a foreign adventurer.

There is no doubt that his good fortune was calculated to excite enmity. A man of real ability and of great fascination, albeit rather arrogant in manner, Richard Caton, with presumably little of this world's goods to substantiate his claim, had at one stroke secured a wife beautiful and wealthy, and allied himself with one of the foremost families in the land of his adoption. Small wonder that those who envied him were ready to question his claim to success, and to dwell with scarcely veiled ill-nature on his demerits. Moreover, it must be admitted that one failing to which he was addicted must have given a handle to his enemies. It will be seen that at the time of his engagement to Mary Carroll he had already contracted debts which his prospective father-in-law was anxious to see settled, and whether owing to rash speculation, or owing to an inherent tendency to extravagance, Richard Caton throughout his life showed the same propensity for involving himself in pecuniary straits.

To a man of the cautious temperament of Charles Carroll, who, it is stated, loved money for money's sake, this failing in his daughter's husband was a constant source of anxiety and annoyance. Yet, apart from this undesirable idiosyncrasy, Richard Caton was a man of undoubted culture and of scholarly tastes. He was particularly interested in geological research, and, in a minor degree, in scientific farming. He was one of the founders, in 1795, of the 'library company' whose collection was merged in the library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Whether the lovely Mary ever rued her early choice, history does not relate. As the years went by and she became the mother of four daughters, named respectively Marianne, Elizabeth, Louisa, and Emily, whose beauty threatened to rival her own, her whole anxiety seems to have centred in the endeavour to procure for her children the advantages which were not always compatible with her straitened means. Yet despite his extravagance, it is certain that Richard Caton at one time was in the possession of a large income, and his family, outwardly at least, maintained the semblance of wealth and of luxury. The lovely Caton sisters grew up in a comfortable country house, given by Charles Carroll to his daughter on her marriage, which was situated on a fine estate called Brooklandwood, not far from Baltimore. The site which it then occupied is now in the heart of Catonsville, a flourishing suburb of the modern town, but in those days Baltimore was of very different dimensions, and the hills round the growing young city were adorned with the country houses of its

prominent citizens. Thus the young girls did not lack society. Apart from visits to the home of their grandfather, Charles Carroll, where they found themselves the centre of attraction and the admiration of all the neighbouring *beaux*, there came to reside near their own home many of their connexions, and among their closest acquaintances were names not unknown to posterity.

In 1800 their uncle, Charles Carroll the younger, married the daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and settled in an adjacent house called Homewood, which had been built for him by his father, Charles Carroll. Thither, too, came the young bride's sister, charming Peggy Chew, who had been admired by the unfortunate Major André, a memory which she cherished with tender regret, until she married and likewise settled in the neighbourhood. And, still more important to the destiny of one of the Caton sisters, a mile south of Homewood was the Homestead, where dwelt the wealthy merchant William Paterson (or, as his name was spelt later, Patterson), and where grew up Robert Patterson and his brilliant sister Betsy, whose brief married life with her husband, Jerome Bonaparte, was also passed in this home of her childhood.

The intimacy between the Catons and Pattersons was great, although Mary, as she was usually called, the eldest of the Caton sisters, was but a child when took place the celebrated wedding of Betsy Patterson and the brother of the great Napoleon. Yet the sight of the deserted wife of the King of Westphalia must have been familiar to Mary's childhood, and her constant companion during those years has left on record some interesting recollections of this early friendship. Under the same roof which sheltered the daughters of Richard Caton, there grew to womanhood a small coloured girl, named Henrietta Johnson, who had been adopted into their household as humble playmate or attendant, and who was destined to grow old in a service of love which she never quitted. She lived to describe, a century later, how she had played with little Jerome in the garden of the Caton's house, and had heard Madame Jerome Bonaparte with her own lips relate there the story of her then recent ill-treatment at the hands of the conqueror of Europe. Meanwhile, in the family correspondence, we have glimpses of balls and merry-makings at which the Catons and Pattersons met and mingled, till at length the natural outcome of propinquity and mutual liking took place, and, in 1816, Mrs. Shelmerdine, the sister of Richard Caton the elder, made an entry in the family Bible which is still extant. This was to the effect that her niece, Marianne Caton, had wedded *Robert Paterson, son of William Paterson, of a Scottish family*.¹

¹ This Bible is now in the possession of Dr. Joseph Caton Shelmerdine, in India. Mr. William Woodville Shelmerdine, of Taioa, Clyde Street, Dunedin,

Thus, by a curious fate, did the Roman Catholic descendant of the Papist fanatic, Charles Carroll, and of the persecuted Catons, wed the man who was reported to be the descendant of the Presbyterian fanatic, Robert Paterson, known as Old Mortality.

Mary Caton, though only nineteen at the time of this marriage, is said already to have had as many suitors as the fair Helen. Since her first entry into society two years previously, she had been an acknowledged belle of Baltimore. The heritage of good looks which had devolved to her from both parents found expression in her extraordinary beauty, her brilliant eyes and her exquisitely moulded neck and head; while her graceful and dignified carriage, her sparkling wit, and her many accomplishments combined to enchant all who came in contact with her. The granddaughter of a man of celebrity and wealth uniting herself with one of the richest families in Baltimore—who never forgot that they had already contracted a royal alliance—the wedding took place with a magnificence suited to the position of both families. Archbishop Carroll, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the United States, performed the ceremony, after which the festivities were kept up on a scale of old-fashioned hospitality for many weeks. Bridal tours were then unknown, but six weeks after the marriage Mr. and Mrs. Robert Patterson sailed for Europe, attended by Henrietta Johnson, and accompanied by the two elder Miss Catons, Elizabeth and Louisa, the youngest, Emily, remaining at home with her parents.

It must have been an eventful day for the three sisters when they set forth from the land of their birth for the distant island of their ancestry. Not many years previously England and America had been at war, and a feeling of hostility still smouldered between the two countries, which, in 1812, had again burst into active enmity. Accustomed, however, to a diversity of opinion amongst their nearest relatives in politics as well as in religion, the sisters had long accepted the knowledge that, during that war, half their family had fought on one side and half on the other. They probably cherished little sentiment with regard to the political aspect of this question, yet they must have been fully aware that, at that date, Americans were

New Zealand, possesses a copy of the entry. He is the grandson of Mrs. Sheldine, *née* Mary Caton, sister to Richard Caton the elder; and he attests that his grandmother, who was the contemporary of, and personally acquainted with, William Patterson, told him that the Pattersons were descended from Old Mortality, and that she had received her knowledge of the fact from the lips of William Patterson himself. It appears, however, that the Pattersons, who were ambitious, were not proud of this descent, and were not usually willing to acknowledge it. This would account for the many contradictory statements which they made with regard to this question.

regarded in England, as Raikes points out, in the light of 'foreigners, and of a nation hitherto little known in our aristocratical circles.' But the sisters did not set forth on their adventurous expedition unprepared for the difficulties which they might have to encounter. Letters of introduction from the celebrated Washington were the talisman which was to gain for them the *entrée* into English society, while their own incomparable beauty was a weapon with which they might well expect to conquer the land of their invasion.

It is said that when they arrived in England unwelcomed and unknown, one of the first to offer them hospitality was the liberal-minded Coke of Norfolk, who, through his staunch, though unacquainted admirer, Washington, had received early intelligence of their arrival. Coke, whose name at that date was well known to Americans as their adherent throughout the war, entertained the three sisters in a manner which called forth warm expressions of gratitude from their parents in America. His opinion of Elizabeth and Louisa is not known, but his verdict upon Mary Patterson has survived in a letter which he wrote to William Roscoe some years later, when Mr. and Mrs. Patterson were paying another visit to Holkham before embarking for the Continent :

There is a most beautiful and lovely woman in my house of the name of Paterson (an American), with her sisters, the two Miss Catons. They are anxious to be known to you, and propose when they leave England to embark at Liverpool. Any attention shown to them will be esteemed as a mark of favour conferred upon me. The fascinating and lively deportment of Mrs. Paterson will soon speak for itself; she is so extremely amiable and natural in her manners as to engage the admiration of everybody. She is an ornament to her sex, and has a claim to every attention that can be shown to her in this country. I shall ever lament the day she leaves us.

Doubtless Roscoe did not fail to respond to this attractive appeal; but long before the date of this letter the sisters had become well known in London society. Indeed, the events which followed their arrival in England must have surpassed their most sanguine expectations. Not many weeks had they been in this country before a rumour of their marvellous beauty began to be spread abroad. Soon, just as the great Washington had admired their mother, Mary Carroll, so the great Duke of Wellington acknowledged himself fascinated with her daughter. The future conqueror of Napoleon was himself conquered. He personally presented Mary Patterson to the Regent at Court, and the First Gentleman in Europe, who considered himself no mean connoisseur in beauty, is said to have exclaimed in amazement, 'Is it possible there can exist so beautiful a woman?' Indeed, such

was the impression made upon the Prince's mind that in 1818, when Richard Rush presented his credentials at St. James's as Minister of the United States, immediately the formal ceremony was over the Prince proceeded to compliment him on the beauty of his three countrywomen. In short, 'the American Graces,' as they were speedily named, became the rage. Wherever they went they were fêted, courted, and flattered. Byron in the midst of his ceaseless intrigues saw the beautiful Mary and made her the model for his Zuleika. It is believed to have been her image which inspired him when he wrote of 'The might—the majesty of loveliness!'

Such was Zuleika—such around her shone
The nameless charms unmark'd by her alone;
The light of love, the purity of grace,
The mind, the music breathing from her face,
The heart whose softness harmonised the whole—
And, oh! that eye was in itself a soul!

In short, the triumphal progress of the sisters knew neither party nor creed. It is probable that the very conditions to which they had been accustomed from their earliest childhood had broadened their outlook, and while this predisposed them to view with leniency opposing opinions or contending factions, had endowed them with an adaptability of temperament which now stood them in good stead. Thus Mary, allied by marriage with Napoleon, could yet sustain a life-long friendship with the Duke of Wellington; admired by the Prince Regent, could yet charm Coke of Norfolk, that Prince's implacable foe; and the friend and correspondent of Byron, could yet remain pure and unassailed in character. For such was the discreet and dignified behaviour of all three sisters that no breath of scandal ever tarnished their fair fame.

Meanwhile, in far-away Baltimore, the news of their triumph was received with delight, and brought solace to the mother who had parted with them voluntarily, believing it to be for their worldly advantage. It must have greeted the envious ears of Mary's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bonaparte, till her life in the merchant-city waxed yet more intolerable to her, and, in 1815, she too set forth on a tour upon the Continent. She was at Cheltenham that same year, and it is probable that, for a time, she may have joined her brother and his wife, and may have shared with them the society of her old acquaintance, the Iron Duke, who had admired and befriended her before he met these younger Baltimore beauties. But Elizabeth does not display a very friendly spirit towards her sister-in-law at this date of her career, and in her private correspondence there are tokens of a

very bitter jealousy having animated her on hearing of Mary's friendship with Wellington.

You would be surprised (she writes with angry cynicism) if you knew how great a fool she is at the power she exercises over the Duke; but I believe he has no taste for *les femmes d'esprit*, which is, however, no reason for going into extremes, as in this case. He gave her an introduction to the Prince Regent and to everyone of consequence in London and Paris. She had, however, no success in France, where her not speaking the language of the country was a considerable advantage to her, since it prevented her nonsense from being heard!

In the summer of 1816 Elizabeth, who was then in Paris, must have felt still further annoyed on hearing of an incident to which Mary Patterson used subsequently to refer as having been one of the most memorable of her life. She and her sisters were staying in Brussels, where was also the Duke, when it occurred to them that it would be something worth accomplishing to visit the field of Waterloo in company with the hero of that victory, which had taken place only the year previously. They therefore begged the Duke to accompany them, and, although obviously reluctant, he at last consented. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, the first anniversary of the battle, they actually spent the morning going over the field with him while he explained to them the entire plan of campaign. Late in the afternoon they returned to Brussels, much delighted with their expedition, and dined with the Duke. But in the evening their host was unusually silent, he scarcely responded to their light-hearted questioning, his face was supremely melancholy, while occasionally heavy sighs escaped him. And gradually the lively chatter of the sisters was hushed as they realised that never till that day had the hero of Waterloo revisited the scene of his greatest triumph, and that now he was thinking—not of the glory—but of the price of victory. Mary Patterson said afterwards that had she ever imagined the distressing effect that expedition would have upon him, she would never have suggested his accompanying them.

But the intimacy with the Iron Duke soon had its effect on the lives of one of the sisters. Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey, grandson of the Marquis of Bristol and A.D.C. to the Duke of Wellington, now fell in love with Louisa Caton, and they were married on the 1st of March 1817. A very interesting description of the Battle of Waterloo was afterwards written by the bridegroom in a letter to his wife's grandfather, at the special request of the old Senator, and was published in this Review in 1893.² Sir Felton had, moreover, been one of the most gallant officers in the Peninsular War, and had lost his right arm at the Battle

² 'A Contemporary Letter on the Battle of Waterloo,' communicated by the Duchess of Leeds, NINETEENTH CENTURY, March 1893.

of Vittoria. It is said that in a subsequent skirmish he had a curious escape from imminent death. The Duke of Wellington had sent him with an order to a distant part of the field. Sir Felton rode off without a sword, holding his bridle in his solitary left hand and with his empty sleeve fastened across his breast. Suddenly he saw an armed French officer galloping towards him with evidently murderous intentions. Knowing himself to be defenceless, Sir Felton gave himself up for lost, and, wheeling round, prepared to meet his fate unflinchingly. The French officer dashed up, raised himself in his stirrups, and had uplifted his sword ready to strike, when his eye fell on the empty sleeve upon his enemy's breast. Recognising that he was about to slay a helpless man, with an instinct of chivalry which deserves commemoration, he lowered his weapon in the form of a salute, and rode quietly away.

Two months after the wedding the bridal couple were in Paris with the Duke of Wellington, for Lady Granville writes in June of that year: 'The Duke of Wellington is here with one American branch, Lady Hervey . . . and to-day Mrs. Patterson could not have seen him more devoted.' Later, Wellington, who had always had a high regard for the bravery of his A.D.C., entertained the bride and groom for many weeks at Walmer Castle. 'From Mrs. Patterson's account of the Duke,' wrote Charles Carroll in 1818, 'there could not be a more friendly and amiable man; and all who know Hervey love him.' Meanwhile dinners and fêtes were given in honour of the newly married couple by many noted people, and, among others, the Duchess of Rutland gave a ball. Herself the last survivor of a former famous trio of beauties who had graced the Court of George the Third many years before, and of which the other members were the handsome Duchess of Gordon and the celebrated Georgina, Duchess of Devonshire, the old Duchess yet generously announced that in beauty, grace, and dignity the three American sisters surpassed all the lovely women she had ever seen.

But the married life of the young couple was destined to be short. Two years after the wedding Sir Felton died, and his widow, accompanied by her unmarried sister, Elizabeth Caton, forthwith went abroad and travelled extensively on the Continent. The Pattersons had meanwhile returned to Baltimore, and when in 1822 Mr. Robert Patterson died, Mary, in the first days of her widowhood, decided to rejoin her sisters upon the Continent. 'I hear Mrs. Robert Patterson is coming out,' wrote Elizabeth Bonaparte. 'She will be the best sailor in the world. Her sisters are not married yet, which, considering their persevering endeavours and invincible courage, rather surprises me!' Many, however, were the regrets expressed by Mary's

countrymen at her departure, and there is little doubt that offers for her hand were not lacking. 'The beautiful Madonna widow, Mrs. P.,' is referred to in sentimental terms by Christopher Hughes and other correspondents of Coke of Norfolk at this date. But Mary was obdurate in her determination to leave the United States. Possibly their initiation into fashionable life had given the sisters, as it gave their critic Elizabeth Bonaparte, a distaste for the mercantile society at Baltimore; but certain it is that while their mother, still dazzled by the social success which had attended them, kept them liberally supplied with money at the cost of personal privations, her daughters showed little inclination to remain with her in the home of their childhood.

In 1824 Lady Granville wrote :

I called upon Mrs. Patterson, an American lady. She seemed a very charming person, very handsome, with *l'air noble* and not a shade of her mother country. She shook all over, but if from grief for the loss of Mr. Patterson, or sentiment at the recollection of the Duke of Wellington (who persuaded me to call), or coldness of the room, I do not presume to judge.

Not long afterwards the two young widows and their still unmarried sister were again guests of their old friend the Iron Duke. This once more roused the ire of Elizabeth Bonaparte, whose comments upon the situation waxed yet more scathing.

I hear (she wrote) that the Duke gave Mary a cold reception on her second visit to England; that the Duke is said to be tired of the Catons; but tired or not, they pursue him, live on his estate, and until he gets them husbands he will never be rid of them. . . . Men are seldom matches for the impudence, perseverance, and artifice of women. The Catons have been a great disadvantage to the American character by the fraud they practised to get husbands, affirming they had forty thousand pounds fortune, besides great expectations from grandpapa.

Malice, indeed, could scarcely go further than some of the insinuations vented by Elizabeth in this letter, especially since the fortune of the eldest of the American Graces eventually proved to be over 186,000*l.*, apart from considerable landed property; but Elizabeth's mind had been embittered by her misfortunes, and her pen was too often dipped in gall. Yet even her cynicism was soon to be transformed into the admiration with which success never failed to inspire her, since the visit at which she sneered was destined to be an eventful one in the life of Mary Patterson. For the first time Mary now met the Duke's brother, Lord Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose wife had died in 1816, the year when Mary had been staying in Brussels. Lord Wellesley was at once struck with the beauty of the fair American, and forthwith made no secret of his admiration for her. In 1825 Mary went over to Ireland with her sister Elizabeth, when he showed her yet

more marked attention ; and soon it was announced that the Lord Lieutenant was to marry the most beautiful of the American Graces.

The news sped to Baltimore, and, as may be imagined, was received there with the greatest excitement. Even Elizabeth Bonaparte could not sufficiently express her approbation, and her comments upon the event form curious reading.

I suppose (she wrote to her father) you have heard of Mary's great good fortune in marrying the Marquis of Wellesley [*sic*]. He is sixty-six years old—so much in debt that the plate on his table is hired ; had his carriage once seized in the streets of Dublin, and has great part of his salary mortgaged ; but with all these drawbacks to perfect happiness he is considered a very great match, because he is a man of rank. She has certainly had great luck, and Mrs. Caton may with truth congratulate herself upon the judgment and patience she displayed in sending her daughters to Europe, and in keeping them abroad until something advantageous offered. The Marquis is very infirm, but at his death she will, of course, obtain a pension as a poor peeress, and her mother can support her if she does not, which, of course, she will be too happy to do now they are connected so highly. I wish something would offer for my son ; everyone can marry their children greatly except myself.

In another letter she says :

I write by this packet to announce to you the marriage of Mrs. Robert Patterson. Mrs. Brown received a letter from Betsy Caton the day on which it was to take place.

She has made the greatest match that any woman ever made, and I suppose now that people will see that Mrs. Caton was right in starving herself to keep her daughters in Europe. The Marquis of Wellesley is Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He is sixty-five. He married an Italian singer, by whom he had a family of children. She is dead. He has no fortune ; on the contrary, he is over head and ears in debt. His salary is 30,000*l.* per annum as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He will be there eighteen months longer, and if the King does not give him another place he is entitled as a poor nobleman to at least a thousand pounds a year. He is the brother of the Duke of Wellington.

The Catons, I suppose, will be enchanted at the match, and with reason, too, for it gives them a rank in Europe, and with Mr. Carroll's money to keep it up they may be considered the most fortunate in the United States of America. He being without fortune is of little consequence when his rank is considered. There is not a woman in Europe who would not prefer a man of rank without money to the richest man in the world who has no title. To be sure, it would not have done for a poor woman to marry a poor nobleman ; but, of course, old Mr. Carroll will strain every nerve to maintain his granddaughters now that they have beyond all probability connected themselves so highly. Mary's fortune is reported in Europe to be 800,000 dollars cash. It has been mentioned in all the papers at that sum.

Mrs. Caton deserves the unexpected good fortune which has now occurred to her family by the sacrifices she has made to support them abroad. I can only say that if Jerome were a girl and had made such a match, I am convinced I should have died with joy.

In short, the cynicism of Elizabeth's commendation surpassed even that of her malice, not the least curious phase of it being her

own complete unconsciousness of the sarcasm which she was uttering. Moreover, characteristically viewing the marriage solely from its social aspect, she ignored all which has made the name of Richard Wellesley great in history. His rank, his position as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the ambition which would find satisfaction in such an alliance, are gravely weighed against his age, his infirmity, his debts, and are recognised to be ample compensation. But the fact that his claim to fame had been dimmed only by the greater fame of his brother, that he was a distinguished scholar, statesman, and orator, that he was a man of whom Alison could write, 'His energy and determination, his moral courage and thorough acquaintance with military affairs rendered him, even in the days of Fox and Pitt, the foremost statesman of his age'—such facts call for no recognition from the pen of Elizabeth Bonaparte.

And the inference is inevitable that Mary Patterson probably regarded her suitor from a like standpoint. Despite the good looks for which he was always conspicuous, despite the fascination of a mind which could dominate those with whom he came in contact, Lord Wellesley, at the date of his second marriage, was not a bridegroom being to captivate the fancy of a spoilt beauty like the Madonna widow, who was still young, and had lost her first husband only three years previously. But if ambition could bridge over the incongruities of the match, Mary must have indeed realised her heart's desire. She was now to have, as her sister-in-law pointed out, an unassailable rank in Europe. She was to be the only reigning queen in the British Isles, for the queenless Court of George the Fourth would lack the lustre of the Irish Court presided over by the beautiful American of Irish ancestry. And splendid as had been the ceremony of her first wedding, twelve years previously, her second wedding betokened the regal magnificence upon which she was entering.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of the 29th of October 1825 the carriages of the Lord Lieutenant drove up to the doors of the hotel where Mary and her sister had been staying for the last three months. The servants in attendance were in their State liveries, sky-blue coats lined with white silk richly embroidered, and embroidered waistcoats with gilt buttons ornamented by a sham-rock in the middle of a star. Striking as was the appearance of the equipages, the large mounted escort which accompanied them was further calculated to attract attention, and as Mary, followed by her suite, drove through streets bright with bunting in her honour, the crowd hailed her with the excitement which they would have bestowed upon a royal progress. At the Viceregal residence in Phoenix Park a sumptuous banquet awaited her, and at eight o'clock, in the midst of a brilliant assembly, the wedding ceremony was performed by the Lord Primate of Ireland.

Forthwith Ireland exerted every effort to do honour to its beautiful Vicereine. One dazzling entertainment succeeded another, a succession of balls, fêtes, and banquets kept Dublin in a state of gaiety, and at each public event Mary, the Vicereine, appeared in royal splendour, looking and acting the part of a queen. On the 11th of May 1826 a ball was given at the Rotunda, of which a description has survived. At ten o'clock the Viceroy entered the room with his beautiful wife leaning upon his arm. 'They were received with acclamations, and all eyes were fixed upon the pair as, with slow and stately steps, they advanced up the saloon, followed by a brilliant suite. A throne, surmounted by a magnificent canopy of scarlet and gold, was erected at the extreme end of the reception-room; here they seated themselves while their suite formed a hollow square around it, to exclude the crowd of spectators from a too near approach. The Marquis Wellesley wore a rich uniform decorated with Orders. The Marchioness was dressed simply in white, but looked every inch a queen. She was dignified, but at the same time easy in her manners. Her figure was exquisitely proportioned, her arms and shoulders were beautifully moulded; her features were classical, her profile delicate and distinguished, her complexion fair and lovely beyond description, and her nose, that difficult feature, was straight and Grecian in form. Certainly no other Court in Europe could have produced a woman of greater elegance or more accomplished manners than the American Queen of the Irish Court.'

And in the midst of her eventful life, one wonders if Mary's thoughts ever turned to the husband whom she had laid in an early grave, or to the mother who had starved herself to procure for her daughters a triumph she might never share? Yet there is ample proof that despite her gratified ambition Mary retained the unaffected sincerity of mind and manner, the 'sweetness and discession,' which had been her youthful charm. The plain white dress in which she clothed herself for an occasion on which she was to be the centre of observation was in its very simplicity typical of her attitude towards her new estate. It is pleasant, too, to record that, still accompanied by Henrietta Johnson, the servant of her childhood, Mary never forgot that faithful companion, but made her housekeeper, and honoured her with an affection to which her long years of service entitled her. In short, outwardly, Mary's life remained as it had ever been, blameless and dignified; while her private happiness is attested by a letter from Charles Carroll in 1830. 'You are seldom out of my thoughts,' he writes; 'figure then to yourself how much I am affected by the account you have given me of the love and tenderness of your husband, so estimable and so loved and esteemed by you. Brilliant as is your situation, without that

mutual esteem and affection it would soon become an irksome load.'

The fact of the Lord Lieutenant having married a Roman Catholic must have been unpopular among the Orangemen; but Lord Wellesley was capable of carrying off the situation with his natural cleverness. Miss Cornelia Knight relates that once he was at dinner with a party of Irish gentlemen, chiefly Orangemen, and on the dining-room walls hung a picture of the victory of Boyne Water. The company, wishing to trick him into pronouncing an opinion on that great historical event, invited him to change his seat. 'Surely, my lord,' said one, 'you would not turn your back on Boyne Water?' Lord Wellesley, seeing the trap laid for him, cleverly parried the question by pointing to a bottle of claret that stood before him: 'Oh,' he remarked, casually, 'you know I never look at water when I can get wine!'

Two months after the ball at the Rotunda news came from America that Mary's aged grandfather, Charles Carroll, had been, in a singularly dramatic manner, left the sole survivor of the fifty-seven signers of the Declaration of Independence. On the morning of the 4th of July 1826 there were three left alive, by the evening there was but one. 'At the very time when millions of freemen were celebrating the Jubilee of their country's independence, and pronouncing with reverential lips the names of these three, John Adams and James Jefferson died, leaving Charles Carroll the sole survivor. Upon the next anniversary of the 4th of July a banquet was given at Charleston, at which Bishop England proposed a toast: "Charles Carroll, of Carrollton—in the land from which his grandfather fled in terror, his daughter now reigns a Queen."'

Meanwhile, rumour had been persistently busy respecting the re-marriage of Mary's sister, Lady Hervey. In 1822 she was staying at Holkham with her sister Elizabeth, when it was remarked that she viewed with special favour not only Captain Spencer (second son of the second Earl Spencer), but also his brother, the celebrated Lord Althorp, who had been left a widower in 1818. If the old correspondence may be trusted, such was the dangerous fascination of the lady that both the objects of her attention became extremely alarmed. 'Lady Hervey is still here,' wrote Miss Coke to her *fiancé*; 'you know she was the celebrated Miss Caton. I wish you had heard Captain Spencer last night declaring that she had made her *first* attack on Jack (Althorp), who was so terrified that he had serious thoughts of leaving the house, shooting and all!' Lord Althorp, however, soon had an opportunity of turning the laugh against his younger brother. It appears that Coke had been a silent observer of what was taking place, and one evening, having proposed as a toast the health of the newly-engaged couple, his daughter and Mr. Spencer-

Stanhope, he announced a second toast, and once more raised his glass. 'Lady Hervey and Captain Spencer!' he proclaimed amidst profound silence; 'and may they speedily follow so good an example!' The irrepressible delight of Lord Althorp and the discomfiture of the unfortunate Captain Spencer may be better imagined than described.

Captain Spencer, however, escaped safely from the fascination of the beautiful widow, and six years after she married Francis Godolphin d'Arcy Osborne, eldest son of the Duke of Leeds, by which marriage she became Marchioness of Carmarthen, and later was the first American to wear the strawberry leaves. Her good fortune again drew forth envious comment from Elizabeth Bonaparte :

Parents must consider the interests of their children. Mrs. Caton has set me a good example on this subject. She has, however, been more fortunate in fixing her children than I can hope to be. I think they are the most fortunate people I have ever heard or read of. Louisa has made a great match. He is very handsome, not more than twenty-eight, and will be a Duke with thirty thousand a year. . . . The Duke of Leeds, they say, is, of course, very angry at his son's marriage with Louisa. His daughter ran off a few months before with a man who has not a shilling.

A romantic story is attached to the family into which Louisa married. It is said that in the year 1536 there was living upon London Bridge a wealthy woollen manufacturer whose name was Hewitt. One day, while the nurse was standing at an upper window which overlooked the Thames, holding in her arms the only daughter and child of Hewitt, the baby made a sudden spring, and, falling from her arms, tumbled into the river below. An apprentice of Hewitt, named Edward Osborne, seeing what had happened, leaped into the stream and saved the child. Sixteen years afterwards the young lady thus rescued was married to the man who had saved her life, for although many other suitors had offered themselves, her father swore that she should wed none but the young Osborne to whom she owed her existence. In time the former apprentice succeeded to the business of his father-in-law and became one of the wealthiest merchants of his day. In 1582 he was Lord Mayor of London, and later received knighthood from the hands of Queen Elizabeth. His great-grandson, Sir Thomas Osborne, became Lord High Treasurer of England, and was raised to the peerage as Baron Osborne of Kiverton and Viscount Latimer of Danby in 1678, while the following year he was created Earl of Danby. For his services to the Prince of Orange he was further, in 1689, made Marquis of Carmarthen, and in 1694 Duke of Leeds.

Unlike her sister Mary, Louisa was older than her second husband, who was only thirty at the date of his marriage, and

considered one of the handsomest men of his day. Louisa, however, could boast a beauty which was undiminished, and a charm to which all who knew her have paid tribute. It is perhaps true that she exhibited a haughtiness which grew with her increase in fortune, and her relations have credited her with a resemblance to her father both in her pride and in her occasional arrogance of manner. Certainly a striking similarity between them may be recognised in an anecdote which has survived respecting both. Richard Caton, it appears, had on three occasions and for a considerable length of time accepted the hospitality of the Shelmerdines of Manchester, the family into which had married his sister Mary, already referred to. But when one of the Shelmerdines in 1830 proposed visiting Richard Caton in America, the latter replied curtly: 'Although my house has twenty-eight rooms, it is full from top to bottom.' When later, however, Richard Caton himself proposed visiting his daughter at Hornby Castle, he, to his extreme surprise, experienced the same treatment. 'You will have to get a bed at the inn,' wrote Louisa in answer to his proposal, 'for though my house is large—it is full!' 'Louisa always was a proud and saucy puss!' commented Richard Caton, half in amusement, half in anger.

In 1832 news reached England of the death of the venerable Charles Carroll at the age of ninety-six. Four years later Elizabeth, the second of the three Graces, married George William, eighth Baron Stafford, whose family is one of the oldest in England. Why Elizabeth had remained single while her sisters had been twice married has never been explained. Though little information has survived respecting her, it is evident that she was not inferior to them in beauty or charm, and one can only conclude that either no suitor had so far captivated her fancy, or that none had proposed for her hand whom she considered to be of sufficient rank.

Thenceforward the lives of the three sisters present little to record. Mary alone experienced certain changes of state and environment. In 1828 Lord Wellesley had resigned the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, only to resume it in 1833, till the dismissal of the Whig Government the following year. Having been appointed Lord Steward of King William's household in 1830, he accepted the office of Lord Chamberlain for a few weeks in 1835, and Mary was also appointed Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Adelaide, the Sailor King, it is said, being peculiarly pleased at her appointment on account of her irreproachable character. In 1842 she was for the second time left a widow, Lord Wellesley dying at the age of eighty-two, and being buried in the chapel at Eton; while three years later news reached her that her father, Richard

Caton, had ended his life of eighty-three years in Baltimore—insolvent.

The last remaining years of Mary's life were spent at Hampton Court, where she was given a residence after her husband's death by Queen Victoria. There, too, lived with her her faithful old servant Henrietta Johnson, who throughout the many changes of Mary's life must have represented to her the one tangible link with her far-away childhood and the distant home in Baltimore, which she never again visited. While she had lived in St. James's Palace it had been a common sight to see Lady Wellesley driving to church with the tall, slim form of Henrietta seated beside her, a gaudy turban adorning the servant's dark locks, and a smile of proud satisfaction upon her placid face. And when Mary, the first of the three sisters to pass away, died peacefully on the 17th of December 1853, after an illness of only a few days' duration, Henrietta was present to soothe her last moments. Subsequently, the faithful old servant went to live at the Brittons, Kingston-on-Thames, where she ended her days in 1905, stating that she was then 109 years old, although the lawyers maintained that she could not be less than 111 or 112. To the last her memory was unimpaired, her appetite excellent, her eyesight scarcely affected by age. She was never tired of talking about her 'three ladies,' and maintained stoutly that if she did not get to heaven it would at least not be their fault. She boasted that she had never touched medicine for half a century, and always rose at 5 a.m. Her reminiscences of the past were curious and interesting. Her devotion to the family of Richard Caton was unbounded; but if the name of Napoleon was mentioned she never failed to express in vehement terms her detestation of the man who had persecuted the hapless young wife of Jerome Bonaparte. And as she talked it was with difficulty that her hearers could persuade themselves that they were listening to a history which the narrator had received from the lips of its victim, at the date of its happening, a century before.

Henrietta Johnson thus outlived all those with whom her early years had been passed. In 1862 died Lady Stafford at the Convent, Eastbourne. In 1874 died the Duchess of Leeds, after a lingering illness, at St. Leonards-on-Sea. None of the three beautiful sisters left any children.

And what of Emily, the sister who had remained with her parents in Baltimore? She married the British Consul there, Mr. John Lovat MacTavish, and she, alone of all her family left descendants, into whose possession came certain relics curiously illustrative of the remarkable family history of their predecessors.

One is a very large solid gold medal presented to the aged Charles Carroll of Corrollton as the last survivors of the signers of

the Declaration of American Independence; another is the camp bedstead of the Duke of Wellington, on which he slept upon the field of Waterloo; a third was the gold crown and jewelled robes worn by Mary as Vicereine of Ireland, the crown, later, being presented to a Jesuit Church in Maryland.

The last is the miniature of George the Fourth given by that King to the Iron Duke, and afterwards worn and prized by his brother's widow. It is set round with rubies and diamonds, and one fancies that as Mary Wellesley gazed on it during those last quiet years of her life, she may have seen in the illusive brightness of its jewels something typical of the brilliant, meteoric career of the three American Graces.

A. M. W. STIRLING.

PSYCHO-PHYSICAL FORCES

PSYCHICAL and psychological inquiries are like a number of streams running parallel to each other but never merging in spite of connecting capillarities.

They may be divided into three connected classes, viz., Researches concerning : (1) The supposed posthumous consciousness (spiritism proper) ; (2) the phenomena of subconsciousness (hypnotism, trance, &c.) ; (3) the alleged physical or psychophysical influence, magnetic or other power possessed by certain hitherto rare individuals and to which certain other individuals are sensible (animal magnetism, with which may be included thought transference and telepathy).

Science, or rather, official science, has hitherto decided to leave the first category alone, because the results obtained through the usual channels of entranced persons are so elusive and so thin, because they are so liable to be attributed to coincidence, previous knowledge, brain-fishing, and are generally based so palpably upon the *a priori* assumption of the immortality of the soul, and the ethereal existence of certain spiritual controllers of dead consciousness, that they are not within the province of scientific research. It is not by pursuing the line of inquiry adopted in this connexion by the Society for Psychical Research, *i.e.*, séances with mediums, professional or otherwise, in which the first instrument of communication with the dead is a human being in a real or assumed entranced condition, and whose writings afford no information concerning the state of the supposed communicator, or of the intermediary, but are crowded with errors and ambiguities, that real knowledge can be gained. If the survival of the soul were ever proved, the chances are very great that the proof would not be due to this method of inquiry, but to one more objective in character. This method, which has now been pursued for over fifty years, has led to no appreciable results, but has, on the contrary, been the means of discrediting to no small extent the claims of spiritism. Some very much stronger evidential facts will have to be adduced, before the scientific mind may be convinced that the pretended phenomena of this form of spiritism

are real phenomena, and not misconceptions to be accounted for by preconceived ideas of immortality more or less developed by half deluded, half deluding individuals. The sustainers of this spiritism, who start with the premiss of a spirit world, endeavour to show that in addition to the influences, hereditary and environmental, by which human conduct is determined, there is a third influence due to the control of the departed which may or may not be analogous to the first, but which we must rather suppose to be of a universal character. Evidently, however, before building a house it is well to be sure that the foundations are laid in solid ground, but this is a precaution which the spiritists commonly omit to take. If our conduct is to be in any way influenced by disembodied mentalities, it would be well for us that they should at least be logical and serious. Those, however, which are exhibited in the pages of the Psychical Society's proceedings, or in the huge volume of experiments by Dr. Hyslop, have small claim to be so considered. Vague and shifty states of consciousness they cannot but appear. Their possessors are often childishly interested in mundane affairs, and are unable to give any account of their habitat, which, perhaps, is not surprising if they are universals, as they would seem to be, although it is difficult to admit that such should have any concern with the details of terrestrial existence. It is scarcely reasonable to ask the scientist to investigate 'phenomena' which are not accessible to the methods of investigation known to him, and which, indeed, would almost demand the knowledge of the infinite. There is a difference of far greater extent than the spiritists appear to realise between the study of mind in relation to itself and to the outer world, and the study of some hypothetical survival of the mind after the death of the brain. The former can and does advance on scientific lines, but the latter remains unprogressively in regions of conjecture, from which the trance writings as at present produced are not likely to remove it. It is not wholly conservatism or prejudice which has caused the scientific inquirers into the real phenomena of consciousness to refrain from spiritistic studies, but a conviction, born of the 'evidence' produced, that they afford no solid ground on which to tread. If the spiritists are ever to convince such inquirers, they must experiment in the manner to which is due all the knowledge of natural phenomena we now possess, and they must employ the objective means which chemistry and physics place at their disposal. There is no reason why the 'soul,' if it survives the deceased body, should not preserve the general relations to matter that it had when in a living body. Just as invisible gases, and even electricity, are produced by a re-arrangement of matter, so it may be possible that if the soul or cerebro-neuronic function were separable from

the body at death, it might lend itself to the methods of analysis already known. When and if the nature of its relations to matter were understood, why should not the dying 'soul' be rendered capable of betraying physical effects?

But at the present juncture the field of investigation is elsewhere. It lies in the remaining divisions. The second of these, which is mainly pathological, consists of observations of the working of the mind in hysteria, catalepsy, trance, or hypnotic sleep, and has attracted the attention chiefly of medical men. It now forms a large part of experimental psychology, which, of course, is also concerned with the normal relations between mind and body, both quantitatively and qualitatively. By both means much light has been thrown upon the functions of the brain in various states, and this knowledge, which among scientific psychologists is used as a basis for induction in the establishment of laws of sensation and of thought, is also pressed to some extent at times into the service of spiritism.

The third division, with which we are here concerned, is one which at the present time appears to promise results of the greatest human interest. This is the section which, after having been first opened by Mesmer and the old magnetisers, and, after having been long denounced as quackery, has of late attracted the attention of serious inquirers, who have seen in it a promising domain in which to apply experimental methods. It has gradually come to be recognised, not only as a result of experiments with professionals, but also from observations made by persons more worthy of credence, that there exists, either in the general human organism or more specially in its nervous system, a force capable of manifesting itself appreciably in the outer world. It is a force the origin, nature, strength, and distribution of which we do not as yet know. There is a probability that it is analogous to, and possibly an intensification of, the vital force revealed by the ergograph, the instrument whose sensitive needle is deflected by the proximity of a human body. It may also not be different in its essence from the electrical potentiality of muscle, as, for instance, that of the heart, which gives off currents that are shown in the galvanometer. It may also be not dissimilar from the electrical phenomena which human nerves exhibit, and particularly the electric organs of electric fishes. The difficulty up to now has been to obtain sufficiently credible experimenters. Certainly there have been many witnesses of the effects of this bio-magnetic force, as it may be called, but unbiassed experimenters of status and authority have been few in number, mainly for the reason that the powers said to be essential are not often possessed by or revealed in those who combine scientific training with an acknowledged position, and,

above all, who have the courage to brave the prejudice which attaches to the study of what is still considered to be occult science.

A work¹, however, has recently appeared in France, the author of which may be said to unite all the qualifications needful for an experimenter in this field. Rector of the College of Dijon, M. Emile Boirac has not shrunk from publishing the results of his experience of this force, with which he finds himself to be naturally endowed. Commencing with the proposition that, contrary to the doctrine of the old logicians, a given cause may not always be followed by an effect : that is to say, a cause may exist and its effect, although sometimes produced, may not be always produced ; ' that there exist in nature unknown causes universally present and perpetually in operation, but in such conditions that they escape almost entirely our method of investigation and control ' ; he declares that there may exist in every human body forces which only wait to reveal themselves until the veritable means of causing them to become manifest has been discovered. Just as electricity was only imperfectly produced until it was ascertained how it could be artificially made and stored, so, M. Boirac contends, there may be in the human organism a force which, imperfectly and spasmodically exhibited as yet, may become universally possessed when the secret of evoking it at will is found. This force, as at present known, is differently experienced by different individuals. There are, for instance, the permeables, those who conduct the psychic action—the neutrals—and the impermeables, those who receive and accumulate it—the subjects. It will be seen at once that, according to this, human beings exhibit the phenomena of conductivity and non-conductivity. The subjects correspond to the bad conductors in electricity, the remainder to the conductors. This, of course, is only offered as an hypothesis, and it is for science to endeavour to render these phenomena not only occasional, as they are now, but observable in all conditions.

Certainly M. Boirac is entitled to claim that these cryptoid phenomena, as he calls them, should be studied scientifically. He has convinced himself of their reality after personal experiments made with the minutest precautions against error. According to his book, among other achievements, he has drawn subjects towards him by a mere extension of his hands towards them, or produced sensations in various parts of their bodies by the same means ; he has produced sleep in a person seated in a café and unconscious of his presence,*and he has obtained results in the transference of thought.

¹ *La Psychologie Inconnue*. Emile Boirac. Paris : Alcan.

Now Mesmer conceived that there was a mutual influence in all co-existent bodies which he called magnetic, and this conception is interesting as an example of early groping in this recondite sphere, but it is quite evident that if it be true that several persons gathered together are able to move objects of some weight without touching them, and also to act as media for the transmission and reception of these currents (M. Boirac states that he has witnessed this); then there would appear to be a human force or forces of nature both magnetic and electro-magnetic. If this be so, the question naturally arises: How is this force produced? Can we account for it in the same sense as we can for the electricity of the Voltaic battery? Unfortunately the science of physiology is not sufficiently advanced to allow us to do this. Does the electricity of the body proceed from friction in it, or is it due to metabolic changes? Is its seat the neurons or the whole nervous system?

At the dawn of these new inquiries no answer can be offered to these questions. Spiritists proclaim it to be a psychic force; that is to say, a force proceeding from the organ of thought; they actually claim, indeed, that it may be concentrated, when exteriorised, in the corner of a room (for it is undoubtedly to the bio-magnetic influence, although they are only dimly conscious of it, that they allude when they speak of a psychic force), but we have no proof of this. We cannot assert upon the evidence that thought alone can be exteriorised as energy. Certainly the mind has the power to cause abnormal changes in or upon the body, changes which are, in medical language, both splanchnic and peripheric. Thus the sight or thought of food is said to cause (and in the case of a dog has been known to cause) secretion of gastric juice. The sight or thought of pain or misfortune causes the secretion of a watery fluid from the eyes, but whether the act of mental concentration of the kind we know as willing, or intense thinking, is productive of some internal change which results in the setting free of a force capable of manifesting itself in the outer world, we do not know. If I purposely exert my will to the utmost, a series of phenomena no doubt occur, but I do not know whether any chemical change has taken place which has resulted in a force or influence capable of transmitting my orders to another brain, as in suggestion, or whether intensity of thought, on my part, can produce a change resulting in telepathy.

Many hypotheses, of course, may be formed to account for the production of a bio-magnetic force. Life itself may be electrical; the general functions of the body in conjunction with the psychic function of the brain may generate an electricity which may reach the periphery by the nerves. Or we may conceive the force to be centred in one organ only, or in more than

one, and so on, until we have exhausted all conceivable contingencies.

But having formed these hypotheses, we should have to take the next step forward and experiment, and this is where the difficulty arises. Have we to deal with one or more forces of the same character, but with varying effects? In so far as it is psychic, is bio-magnetism confined to the *homo sapiens*, or is it to be found in other species of the animal kingdom in one or other of its manifestations? Until systematic research is organised, there can be no answer to these questions.

In common with all who have experienced it, M. Boirac does not know how he became possessed of it, and only made the discovery of its presence in him when he had reached the age of forty. Desirous of tracing an analogy between it and the vitalism revealed by the ergograph, which, as is well known, is not affected by a person weakened by ill-health, I inquired of him whether, in his case, it varied according to his state of health. He replied that he thought it did, and related to me the following experience :

Finding myself during the holidays [he writes] in a village of the South of France, in the company of some young men, the conversation turned upon the phenomena of suggestion, hypnotism, &c. The young men asked me to make some trials upon them. I subjected them, one after the other (there were three or four of them), to the test of Dr. Moutin (attraction backwards by a slight contact with the palm of the hand of the operator with the shoulder blades). The effect obtained was *nil* or insignificant. A man of sixty, who had approached and who had asked what was taking place, declared, in the vernacular of the locality, 'all that was nonsense.' Invited by the young men to allow me to experiment upon him, he consented readily enough. I confess that I scarcely hoped to succeed. In spite of my scepticism, and contrary to my expectation, the attraction was so strong that he lost his balance and nearly fell. He declared that I had pulled him by his clothes, but the attraction was reproduced without contact and at a distance. I was able afterwards to suggestionise him as I pleased, and to paralyse or to contract nearly all his muscles as I chose. The poor man was literally frightened, and as soon as he could he ran away precipitately. The following days when he saw me at the end of a street he made off in great haste. I returned to this village after an absence of more than a month, and I chanced to meet this same individual in a gathering where my experiment was mentioned, and where a desire was expressed to see it repeated. The patient protested, talked of leaving, then finally, at the urgent request of his friends, he consented, but not without having shown signs of apprehension. I produced, however, no effect at all. For the previous two days I had been suffering from a kind of dysentery, and I felt very much weakened. But I alone knew this circumstance, of which, however, I was not thinking at the moment. A year afterwards, having returned to this same place during the holidays, and being in my ordinary state of health, I experimented again with this same subject, and again the effects which I produced upon him were extraordinarily rapid and intense.

This would seem to prove that the bio-magnetic force is only

evoked, in those cases where it is evoked, when the operator is in good health, and hence it would have at least one point of analogy with the vital force of the ergograph alluded to above. But, as M. Boirac says, a series of experiments would be necessary before an hypothesis could be formed in this connexion, and there exists at present no institution specially set apart for such experiments.

It is evident, however, that if this force exists, it is an effect, the first cause of which is probably as unexplainable as that of electricity. We can only hope to elicit the manner of its production and what it is that differentiates the operator from the transmitter and the conservator, and whether the telepathic influence differs from the magnetic, supposing that they separately exist. M. Boirac is inclined to consider that, whatever may be the variants of this force, they are so many modes of universal energy, and even transformable in the more frequent and general modalities called heat, light, electricity. They all, at any rate, seem to him to present the common property of conductibility. Even the psychical phenomena (including suggestion, telepathy, &c.) appear to him to obey the same general law of conductibility which reigns in electricity. The subjects are the bad conductors, the insulators; the others are the good conductors, the transmitters. These are the conclusions to which his examination of the subject leads him. By conductibility which he states to be operative *even along a wire*, the reality of the force supposed to be possessed by mediums can be tested, and knowledge gained of the whole range of these alleged phenomena.

If I have insisted upon the work of M. Boirac, it is not because he is the only experimenter of repute in this field, but because he is one whose experiments have been made by an avowed possessor of the bio-magnetic influence, and whose mind seems wholly free from the mystical tendencies which so many inquirers, especially in England, are given to evince.²

The inquiry is clearly of great importance. It is nothing less than the systematic study of a form at least of the extra-corporeal attribute of life which humanity has, from the remotest ages, suspected to exist and as to which it has exercised to the utmost its imaginative powers. What is there in the living body that may be called extraneous to the matter of which it is composed? There may be one or several things. Early inquirers conceived a spirit in some way connected with the breath of life. Others have supposed a brain function, and now there is postulated the bio-

² This bio-magnetic influence will undoubtedly be studied more and more in future. I notice with interest that in his article in the last number of this Review Mr. Feilding, of the Society for Psychical Research, considers chiefly the physical aspect of Eusapia Palladino's manifestations, and expresses himself convinced of their reality.

magnetic influence which either embraces these or is distinct. The term life impulse may include the bio-psychical activity or it may be separated from it. It may be that this activity is an electricity derived from the universal electricity animating matter generally, but only manifesting itself in special conditions. A conclusion in this sense would go far to prove that life itself is electricity, and that a monism which declared it such had reached the truth. The force that can kill may also be the force that can cause to live, according as it is proportioned and conditioned. The final cause of death itself may be the failure of the body to produce this force in the measure and the manner needed for the life process.

It may be that by reason of its comparative scarcity, it can never be of any appreciable physical utility, and up to now, its curative effects (vainly evoked by Mesmer) have not been proved, unless it be in the form of suggestion, which may or may not be a mode of the same influence; but it should be a sufficient reason that it is known to exist, with some degree of certainty, to induce inquirers to make, in the cause of knowledge, a careful study of its manifestations. Truths might be thus revealed which might greatly aid the solution of the riddle of existence.

By the methods hitherto employed by psychical inquirers, little knowledge may be gained. Observation must be supplemented by experiment conducted with precision and aided by appliances or instruments. We know that psychology existed in a state of nebulous uncertainty, entangled in the web of metaphysics, until it began to be studied in the hospital and in the laboratory. It is the same with this new science, if such it may be called, which waits reliable and accurate investigators and the rigid application of experimental methods.

It is not because we are in general completely unaware that this power dwells in us, that we should necessarily deny that it exists. As M. Boirac says, 'All our emotions, all our volitions, all our thoughts themselves are accompanied in our muscles by imperceptible fibril movements which translate them faithfully as they unfold and modify themselves. We have, as a rule, not the least suspicion of them, but experiments such as that of the pendulum of Chevreuil immediately cause them to become manifest.'

In recent years, by the discovery of X-rays and radium, matter has been shown to possess properties which were never dreamt of by the physicists of fifty years ago, and there would appear to be no grounds for dogmatically asserting that the matter of which the human body is composed has yielded all its secrets yet. Just as men were once ignorant of the circulation of the blood, so it may be that there are dormant neuronic forces in us which still

await discovery. I should not like to be held to say they *do* exist ; but I think that sufficient reasons have now been offered to legitimise investigation.

There are few men who are not desirous of knowing more about life than we know at present. The desire to ascertain what it is that animates matter is inextinguishable and will continue until it is satisfied. It is not enough to be told that the origin of life is merged in the protoplasmic origin of living things. That is not sufficient to allay our curiosity. If we cannot learn why life is, we may at least hope to discover to what causes it is due, and to do so we should neglect no clue, however slight it may at first appear. In obedience to what laws does the animation of protoplasm happen? How does it occur that the germ-plasm acquires mind as it develops? May it not be that the X force which appears to dwell in living bodies is one which co-operates to animate the germ, and is, in part at least, the principle of life?

F. CARREL.

THE DEPRECIATION OF CONSOLS, AND A REMEDY

MR. BIRRELL, speaking in the House of Commons on the 23rd of July 1909, is thus reported :

That was due to the fact that the credit of the country was not what it was, and that was to be accounted for by the fact that Consols were no longer the favourable investment they once were. The great increase in the range of trustee investments and a hundred other circumstances had combined to bring about this result, so that for the future they could not expect investors to go to Consols in the way they used to do ;

while Mr. Hobhouse on the same occasion said :

The price of Consols was kept up to the level—low though that was—at which it now stood by the constant purchases in the open market of the National Debt Commissioners. If those purchases were to stop, the price of Consols would drop very fast.

The full significance of the true position of the country's credit thus baldly stated, openly and without contradiction, in the House of Commons, by two prominent and responsible members of the Government, will perhaps not be fully realised until events arise which make necessary a call on that credit which has been allowed to depreciate to such an alarming extent. But the truth of the above official statements, and the fact that the present absolute lack of popularity of Consols as an investment involves a great and vital danger, few thoughtful people will deny. It is, therefore, wise to inquire into the causes of this unpopularity and to consider whether there is any remedy available to bring about a return to favour, which it is so important that the premier security of a nation should enjoy.

No doubt one of the causes for the decline is that given by Mr. Birrell—namely, the great increase in the range and supply of trustee investments. Now that it has been so painfully brought home to the investor that the first security in the world can fluctuate so widely, it is not to be wondered at that trustees eagerly avail themselves of the privilege they now possess to invest in stocks equally secure, having a free market and yielding a considerably higher return.

The chief cause for the decline, however, I think, is the reduction made by Lord Goschen in 1888 in the rate of interest from 3 per cent.—first to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and finally to $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Looking back now, it is patent what a disastrous effect that operation has had on the financial world, and what a want of foresight it disclosed on the part of the leading bankers of the day, who did not lift a voice in warning or opposition, but, on the contrary, rather encouraged it, and whose pockets in consequence have suffered very heavily thereby. In those days Consols were practically the only security open to many trustees and small investors, and this was the true reason of the artificially high price of the stock at that time. The remedy for this state of affairs would have been the widening of the field of investment open to this class of investor. This was, of course, afterwards done, but it was then too late, and the alternative offered only greatly aggravated the consequences of the blunder which had already been made. If the wider field of investment had been introduced at an earlier date, it is very improbable that the reduction of interest would ever have been carried out, and the nation's credit would have been saved the severe blow it has sustained owing to the large losses inflicted on its creditors by the consequent depreciation of Consols. The decline in popularity dated from the day when the 'sweet simplicity' of 3 per cent. was abandoned. Stockholders not only had an undefined, but perhaps well-founded, feeling that in some way or another they had not been quite fairly treated; but they also were not, and could not be, satisfied with so small a return on their capital, and from that time have gradually, but steadily and increasingly, forsaken Consols to invest in other and more remunerative stocks. However much other circumstances may have contributed to the decline in the popularity of Consols, the actual cause, I am convinced, can be traced back to the conversion of 1888, and more particularly to that part of Lord Goschen's scheme which made the reduction of interest on a sliding scale, whereby the shadow of a further decrease was always hanging over the market until 1903, when the conditions were such that the stock was unable to survive the blow when it fell.

If this is the true explanation of the danger to the financial credit of the country which has been brought into notice by the public confession of Mr. Hobhouse that practically the only buyer of Consols is the State itself, and by Mr. Birrell acknowledging that 'investors could not be expected to go to Consols in the way they used to do,' then, bearing in mind the principle that loans should be issued at as near par as possible, and that the rate of interest paid should be based upon the actual credit of the borrower, there is, I claim, a remedy which, if judiciously applied, can be

adopted with nothing but advantage to all concerned. The proposal is that a new stock should be created with all the attributes of popularity that can be devised, having particular care for the interests of the small investor, especially with regard to facilities of purchase and sale. This stock would carry 3 per cent. interest, and for security would rank *pari passu* with the present $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Consols, to the holders of which would be given the option to exchange 100*l.* of their present $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock for 87*l.* 10*s.* of the new 3 per cent. stock.

Now, the amount of Consols on the 1st of May 1909 may be taken roughly as 572,000,000*l.*, therefore the corresponding amount of new 3 per cent. stock required on the basis of $87\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be 500,500,000*l.*, the nominal capital of the Debt being thus at once reduced by 71,500,000*l.* The annual interest charge would be increased by 715,000*l.*, but this amount would be taken from the present Sinking Fund, so that no actual increase in the annual cost of the Debt would result. As it would take a hundred years for the 715,000*l.* thus deducted from the Sinking Fund to have amounted to the 71,500,000*l.* capital cancelled through the medium of the conversion, it follows that for that period no loss would be sustained by the State. But again, assuming that the Sinking Fund is hereafter maintained as at present, or even reduced to 5,000,000*l.* per annum, then at the end of the above-named hundred years the whole Debt would have been repaid; so it is clear that the scheme would involve no pecuniary loss to the State at any time. This calculation is equally sound if taken on the basis of an accumulative Sinking Fund exercised at varying prices, as it takes the same time under similar conditions for 5,000,000*l.* per annum to redeem 500,000,000*l.* stock as it takes for 715,000*l.* per annum to redeem 71,500,000*l.* stock.

The efficiency of the Sinking Fund would not be impaired, as although in future less nominal amount of stock is redeemed, the nation is relieved of the same or a larger amount of interest, the corresponding nominal amount of stock being already cancelled. There can be, therefore, no pecuniary loss to the State. On the other hand, not only would there be an immediate reduction of 71,500,000*l.* in the nominal amount of the capital Debt, but the scheme is also calculated greatly to increase the popularity of the stock. There is little doubt that a 3 per cent. stock at about par, with the prestige and negotiability of Consols, would once again become a favourite with the real investor, and particularly the small one, whom it is so necessary to attract, and without whose support no satisfactory market can really exist. Besides this, the State would reap the very great advantage of the restoration of its borrowing powers. If it were necessary to borrow now, it

would be almost prohibitive, owing to the cost, to issue $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Consols. A new 3 per cent. stock would probably be created to the detriment of the quotation of the present issue. If the scheme was carried through, an issue of the new stock, with all the advantages attached thereto, could be made with ease, especially when it is remembered that 71,500,000*l.* stock would have been cancelled and taken off the market.

Now to turn to the benefits to the stockholder. In the first place, he obtains an increase of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. on the interest he now receives. The price suggested for conversion has been fixed, not with any regard to the current quotation of Consols, but entirely on the amount by which it is advisable to increase the interest received by the stockholder. The price of 87*l.* 10*s.* raises the interest from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, as 3 per cent. on 87*l.* 10*s.* is 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; whereas at present the stockholder only gets 2*l.* 10*s.* on his 100*l.* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock. Besides this increase of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. in interest, the exchange will secure to the stockholder an increase of about 4*l.* per cent. in capital value, as, when two stocks rank *pari passu*, the market price of each is regulated by the amount of the interest yield, and therefore 87*l.* 10*s.* of 3 per cent. stock, bringing in an income of 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, must always realise more than 100*l.* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, bringing in an income of only 2*l.* 10*s.*, quite apart from the fact that the sale value would be considerably enhanced by the cancellation of the 71,500,000*l.* stock and the renewed popularity Consols would enjoy when it is once again a 3 per cent. stock. These inducements should be quite sufficient to ensure stockholders converting, and no doubt a very large majority would do so at once; there would be, however, no objection if a fair number were to retain the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock for a time, as the two stocks ranking side by side would steady the price and ensure the full advantage to those who exchange. The scheme would of course be entirely optional, as Consols cannot be repaid till the 5th of April 1923.

The proposal as thus roughly sketched will be seen to be simple, quite practicable, and equally beneficial to the State and to creditors, while from a financial standpoint there appear to be no disadvantages. The only thing which seems necessary to ensure complete success is the choice of an opportune time and convenient method to bring the plan into existence. If the proposal were to be crudely put forward to the public as a reconversion of Consols pure and simple, it is quite possible that some ignorant Consol-holder without business experience might think that because he was only offered 87*l.* 10*s.* for his nominal 100*l.* stock he was really the poorer by the exchange, and it is important that the success of the operation should not be imperilled by any such misunderstandings. It would therefore seem that the better

method to employ would be to await the time when it is necessary for the Government to make an issue of some magnitude, and to tack on to that issue, in the form of a privilege offered to Consol-holders, the right of exchange into the new stock at $87\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This would emphasise the entirely optional character of the scheme and the advantages of the exchange, and would also prevent the further depreciation in the price of the present stock, which must otherwise inevitably attend any future Government issue of any amount. In this connexion it may be suggested that the repayment of the War Loan next April might conceivably offer a suitable opportunity to carry the scheme into effect.

The only remaining point to consider is the exact form the proposed issue should take so as to obtain the greatest possible favour and popularity for the new stock. This is a subject on which opinions will probably differ considerably, and which it is not necessary at the present time to discuss in detail; but bearing in mind the great importance of as far as possible keeping the price of the new stock steady and free from fluctuation, I would throw out the suggestion that some system of drawings at a fixed price should be introduced into the future operations of the Sinking Fund. This would necessitate either special machinery, or the new stock taking the shape of some kind of bond issue. It is true that up to quite lately there has been in England a prejudice against bonds to bearer, but it is a system which has many advantages and is held in great favour in other countries, and I believe it to be growing in popularity over here, the many recent foreign Government issues having familiarised the public with its workings. Apart from a bond issue, however, it is quite possible to institute a system of redemption by drawings which would be workable and satisfactory.

In conclusion I would point out that, while I think the present deplorable status of Consols can be traced back primarily to the original conversion in 1888, that operation would only be modified, in that the interest reduction then made would in future be from 3*l.* per cent. to 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent., instead of to 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent. as Lord Goschen arranged, and against this the cancellation of 71,500,000*l.* of nominal capital may fairly be claimed as an adequate set-off. Here, then, is a scheme which should revive the popularity of the premier security as an investment, give real and substantial pecuniary redress to Consol-holders, and restore the borrowing powers of the State, and this without injuring any interests while securing these great and desirable advantages to the parties in the transaction.

Mr. Birrell, in the speech already quoted from, remarked that 'it was no use saying "though they fall a little, what does it matter?"' A small fall in the price of Consols in a thousand

ways interfered with and affected the general welfare of the country from a financial point of view.' Believing the absolute truth of these words, it is permissible to claim serious consideration for any proposal which would alleviate the present market conditions, and tend to improve the financial security of the nation.

I do not think I can do better than close this article with a quotation from the speech of the Chairman at the annual general meeting of the Stock Conversion and Investment Trust, Limited, last January, when the Marquess of Tweeddale admirably summed up the case for the proposed change in the following words :

In recent years the Government has by Statute authorised trustees to enlarge the field of their investments at home and in the Colonies, and this has detracted from the volume of capital seeking investment in Consols. It has also at the same time reduced the rate of interest on Consols to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., thus diminishing their popularity. All this occurred at an unfortunate time, when securities of the highest class had further fallen in consequence of the South African war. Besides this, the nation has simultaneously granted higher rates of interest in connexion with Irish land purchase and Transvaal loans. It seems to us in these circumstances that it should reconsider its position towards the holders of Consols, who have thus been prejudiced unduly by the action of the Government itself. *The Times* has recently referred to proposals to consolidate the whole Debt on a 3 per cent. basis, which would effect a large reduction on the nominal capital of the Debt. If this were accompanied by a modification of the reduction of interest on Consols to some extent, we believe the national credit would be greatly restored, and this would have a beneficial effect on all other classes of good British securities.

MACKWORTH PRAED.

*UNIONIST OR SOCIALIST LAND REFORM?*¹

THE expected has happened. Lord Lansdowne's action in moving that the Finance Bill be referred to the country has infuriated the Radical Party, which has entered upon a national campaign against the House of Lords. However, Mr. Asquith and his friends are very greatly mistaken if they believe that the General Election will be fought on the Budget and the veto of the Lords. Mr. Asquith has declared in sonorous tones that the question of the House of Lords is the 'dominating issue.' It may be that it is the 'dominating issue' to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues, but we are not all professional politicians. The first interest of the working masses is not politics, but employment and food, and the Radical politicians trifle with the people by endeavouring to make the Budget and the House of Lords the dominating issue at a time when unemployment, unprecedented in extent and in degree, has become permanent throughout the country, when poverty and destitution are unparalleled, when wages are low, when food is scarce and dear, when our workhouses are overcrowded and our workshops stand empty, when wealth-creating capital is leaving the country every year by the hundred millions to give work to foreign workers, and when able-bodied Englishmen have to emigrate every year by the hundred thousand in order to escape starvation. Hundreds of thousands of willing workers are unemployed, their children are crying for bread, and the Radical politicians offer them stones to fling at the House of Lords.

The campaign against the House of Lords is bound to fail. Whether the Radicals like it or not, the dominating issue of the election will not be a political but an economic one. The question to be decided by the electorate will be whether the present state of general unemployment, poverty, destitution, and economic decay is to continue unchecked, or whether it is to be abolished by a policy which will reserve British work for British workers and the British Empire for the British race.

The nation has made up its mind on the economic issue. The majority of the people are sick of Free Trade and wish for Tariff

¹ This article forms a sequel to two articles on the land problem which appeared in the September and October issues of this Review.

Reform. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are defending a lost cause, and they know it. However, they do not want to give Tariff Reform to our workers, whose sufferings leave them cold. The Radical Party have made up their mind that the fetish of Free Trade must be defended at all costs, even at the cost of national bankruptcy and decay. Therefore they have tried to substitute a political issue for the economic one, and have provoked a quarrel with the House of Lords over a Budget which was meant to be rejected by them.

Although the General Election will be fought on the economic issue, it will not be fought on Tariff Reform alone. Tariff Reform, in the narrower sense, is concerned with trade and manufacturing, but in its wider meaning it includes agriculture and the land. Both parties will appeal to the people on the land question. Both promise to reform our land system and to settle the people on the land. The proposals of the two parties differ widely. Hence all Englishmen should carefully compare the two land policies which are offered for their choice.

The Liberal Party has fallen under the domination of Socialism, and it can no longer be called either a Liberal or a Radical Party. The former Liberal Party has become a Liberal-Socialist Party. It has already begun to deal with the land problem by applying the doctrines of Socialism to the land, and it intends to apply more Socialism to the land in the future. Some Liberal leaders assert that their land policy is not a Socialist one. Therefore we must ask ourselves: What is Socialism? What are the characteristics of the Socialist land policy?

The leading principle of all Socialists in Great Britain and abroad is this, that all the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be national, or social, property. They wish to make 'the community' the universal capitalist and landlord, and they wish to begin the process of general socialisation with the land because it can be seized most easily. The socialisation, or nationalisation, of the land is a fundamental principle of international Socialism. It is to be found in the programmes of all our Socialist parties. The Social Democratic Federation demands in its programme 'the nationalisation of the land and the organisation of labour in agriculture and industry under public ownership and control.' The Independent Labour Party states in its programme: 'The land, being the storehouse of all the necessities of life, should be declared and treated as public property.' The Fabian Society declares in its programme: 'The Society works for the extinction of private property in land.'

How is the nationalisation of the land to be effected?

The Fabian Society proposes in its programme the expropriation of all private property in land 'without compensation, though

not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community.' Mr. Bax, the philosopher of British Socialism, states in his *Ethics of Socialism*: 'To the Socialist individual possession is wrong and injustice, and confiscation is right and justice. The great act of confiscation will be the seal of the new era.' Mr. Blatchford says in his *Merrie England*: 'Man has a right only to what his labour makes. No man makes the land. Land is the gift of Nature. It is not made by man. Now if a man has a right to nothing but to that which he has himself made, no man can have a right to land, for no man made it.'

'All Socialists are opposed to private property in land. Most of them wish to make 'the community' the universal landlord, not by purchase, but by confiscation. However, they do not intend to seize the land by force, but to tax the landowners out of their land. With this object in view they have clamoured during many years for the valuation of all land, and for a tax on land values which is to be based upon this valuation. The tax on land values is to stand at first at a moderate rate, but it is to be rapidly raised to 20s. in the pound. Mr. Lloyd George has introduced both the valuation of land and the tax on land values demanded by the Socialists. He has also borrowed from the Socialists the taxes on unearned increment and mineral royalties, and these the Socialists wish to increase in the same way as the tax on land values. On the 6th of September 1909 Mr. Keir Hardie stated at Lowestoft: 'Socialists were supporting the Budget not merely because they saw in it a just measure of taxation but rather as a first step towards the beginning of the end. Under the Budget we were to get 5 per cent. of mineral royalties and 20 per cent. of unearned increment. But under the Labour party they would get 100 per cent.' Mr. Headlam wrote in his *Christian Socialism*: 'You need not kick the landlords out; you need not buy them out; you had better tax them out.' That phrase tersely sums up the policy of our Socialists.

The agricultural policy of the Socialists is based upon their land policy, upon their hostility to private property in land. Therefore all Socialists, British and foreign, oppose to the utmost the creation of peasant proprietors. The Socialist pamphlet, *Socialism True and False*, says: 'No Socialist desires to see the land of the country divided among small peasant freeholders.' The Socialist pamphlet, *Some Objections to Socialism Considered*, states: 'Socialism is hostile to small properties.' Mr. Blatchford, in *The Pope's Socialism*, pretends to be opposed to the creation of peasant proprietors because 'nothing has been more conducive to the development of the worst side of human nature than a system of small properties.' Socialists are hostile to peasant proprietors because the peasant proprietor, like every sensible

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not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community.' Mr. Bax, the philosopher of British Socialism, states in his *Ethics of Socialism*: 'To the Socialist individual possession is wrong and injustice, and confiscation is right and justice. The great act of confiscation will be the seal of the new era.' Mr. Blatchford says in his *Merrie England*: 'Man has a right only to what his labour makes. No man makes the land. Land is the gift of Nature. It is not made by man. Now if a man has a right to nothing but to that which he has himself made, no man can have a right to land, for no man made it.'

'All Socialists are opposed to private property in land. Most of them wish to make 'the community' the universal landlord, not by purchase, but by confiscation. However, they do not intend to seize the land by force, but to tax the landowners out of their land. With this object in view they have clamoured during many years for the valuation of all land, and for a tax on land values which is to be based upon this valuation. The tax on land values is to stand at first at a moderate rate, but it is to be rapidly raised to 20s. in the pound. Mr. Lloyd George has introduced both the valuation of land and the tax on land values demanded by the Socialists. He has also borrowed from the Socialists the taxes on unearned increment and mineral royalties, and these the Socialists wish to increase in the same way as the tax on land values. On the 6th of September 1909 Mr. Keir Hardie stated at Lowestoft: 'Socialists were supporting the Budget not merely because they saw in it a just measure of taxation but rather as a first step towards the beginning of the end. Under the Budget we were to get 5 per cent. of mineral royalties and 20 per cent. of unearned increment. But under the Labour party they would get 100 per cent.' Mr. Headlam wrote in his *Christian Socialism*: 'You need not kick the landlords out; you need not buy them out; you had better tax them out.' That phrase tersely sums up the policy of our Socialists.

The agricultural policy of the Socialists is based upon their land policy, upon their hostility to private property in land. Therefore all Socialists, British and foreign, oppose to the utmost the creation of peasant proprietors. The Socialist pamphlet, *Socialism True and False*, says: 'No Socialist desires to see the land of the country divided among small peasant freeholders.' The Socialist pamphlet, *Some Objections to Socialism Considered*, states: 'Socialism is hostile to small properties.' Mr. Blatchford, in *The Pope's Socialism*, pretends to be opposed to the creation of peasant proprietors because 'nothing has been more conducive to the development of the worst side of human nature than a system of small properties.' Socialists are hostile to peasant proprietors because the peasant proprietor, like every sensible

owner of property, is opposed to Socialism. Mr. Kautsky wrote in *The Social Revolution* : ' The peasant has nothing else in the world but his farm, and that is one of the reasons why it is so very difficult to win him over to our cause.' Mr. Bax, the philosopher of British Socialism, frankly confessed in his *Essays on Socialism* : ' The peasant proprietor, who may now be reckoned as part of the *petite bourgeoisie*, is a potent factor in retarding the process of socialisation. The experience of all countries shows that Socialism finds practically no adherents among the landowning peasants.' Therefore, our Socialists insist that our agriculture should be recreated in such a way that ' the community ' should acquire all the land from its present owners and let it out to cultivating tenants. They do not inquire whether it is possible to recreate agriculture on a tenant basis. They would rather see the countryside of Great Britain turned into a wilderness than peopled by a large number of cultivating owners who would necessarily be their political opponents.

The Liberal Party has adopted both the land policy and the agricultural policy of our Socialists in their entirety.

Mr. Lloyd George has preached at Limehouse the Class War, using the same arguments, and the same reckless and inflammatory language against the owners of land as Socialist street orators of the lowest type currently use before similar audiences on the neighbouring Tower Hill. Therefore it is frequently assumed that Mr. Lloyd George is the only member of the Cabinet who desires to tax the private landowners out of their land and to make ' the community ' the universal landlord. That view is erroneous. Several of Mr. Lloyd George's most influential colleagues, and among them Mr. Asquith himself, have placed on record the fact that they are opposed to private property in land, that they are opposed to the creation of peasant proprietors, and that they support the Socialist land and agricultural policy. Mr. Asquith stated at Earlston on the 3rd of October 1908 :

There is a famous and often quoted phrase used by a celebrated writer more than a hundred years ago, ' the magic of property ' ; and when I was young it was the habit among economists to quote that phrase almost exclusively in connexion with claims for the establishment of what was called peasant proprietorship. But ' the magic of property,' such as it is, is derived not from ownership but from security. I will not repeat to-day the arguments with which everybody in Scotland is now familiar, arguments based upon experience and upon common sense, which have led us to believe that both in England and in Scotland the most hopeful form of tenure for the small holder is not that of a proprietor but that of an occupying tenant.

Another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Harcourt, said on the 12th of June 1907, in the debate on the Small Holdings Bill :

If I thought that under the Act of 1902 there was likely to be a large amount of purchasing by tenants in the future, I should be inclined to limit rather

than to extend the facilities for that purpose, so convinced am I that, for a great national purpose such as this, *tenancy under a public authority, and the acquisition of land under that authority, is the most satisfactory solution of the question.*

In October 1906 Mr. Lloyd George stated with engaging frankness: 'Nationalisation of the land—that must come, but it must come by easy stages.' On the 30th of October 1909 Mr. Lloyd George published under the title 'The Issues of the Budget' a political manifesto in the *Nation*, in which he stated the ultimate aim and object of the Liberal land policy. He wrote:

. The new State valuation must be the basis for all plans of communal purchase. On this basis *municipalities ought to buy the land which is essential to the development of their towns. And the State could also buy up land necessary to the policy of recreating rural life in Great Britain.*

As regards its land policy and its agricultural policy, Liberalism has surrendered to Socialism. We know now that it is the ideal of the Liberal-Socialist Party that the State should own all the agricultural land and that the municipalities should own all the town land—a policy which, if honestly carried out, would add 4,000,000,000*l.* to our National Debt. The land acquired by the State and the municipalities would be let to the people. The private landlord would be replaced by the salaried official. The ownership of land would become a Government monopoly. This is the very policy which the Socialists advocate. Therefore the *New Age*, the organ of the Fabian Society, wrote with reference to Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement in the *Nation* on the Government's land policy: 'We can promise Mr. Lloyd George the support of Socialists in his attempt to secure for the community the possession of the chief means of production.' Mr. Ure, the Lord Advocate, stated at Armadale: 'These modest-looking land taxes involved a principle capable of far-reaching application, a principle which they believed to be sound and safe. What was that principle? It was this—that the land of the country, as distinct from the improvements made upon it, in truth belonged to the nation.' If, as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ure affirm, the land of Great Britain belongs to the nation—a view which is held by all Socialists—then the private people who hold the land at present have no right to their land, and the State is perfectly justified in taxing all the owners of land out of their land by raising the taxation of land values as quickly as possible to 20*s.* in the pound.

The foregoing should make it clear that the Liberal-Socialist Party, guided by Messrs. Asquith, Harcourt, Lloyd George, Churchill, and Ure, have adopted in their entirety the doctrines of Socialism regarding land and agriculture, and a glance at their legislative action and proposals shows that they have already begun to apply these Socialist doctrines in practice.

As regards the land policy of the Liberal-Socialist Party, the process of taxing the landowners out of their land has been commenced by the imposition of particularly onerous taxes which, under Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, are put on the owners of land, but not on the owners of any other kind of property. These taxes are likely to compel many landowners to sell their land, and, apparently, were imposed with that object in view. Mr. Lloyd George, however, not only singled out the owners of land for special taxation, but at the same time doubled the stamp duty charged on the transfer of land, which increase tends to prevent private individuals from buying land. If a Government forces one set of people to sell large quantities of land, and, at the same time, makes it difficult for other people to buy land, it creates a deadlock which can be solved only by 'the community' stepping in and buying up the land which is offered for sale, and which otherwise might become derelict and go out of cultivation. In order to hasten the transfer of large blocks of land from private owners to 'the community,' Mr. Lloyd George furthermore introduced into his Budget provisions encouraging landowners to pay their greatly increased death duties rather in land than in money. Lastly, his Development Bill provided that 'the community' should obtain, on both sides of the new National high-roads, broad strips of land which would command, and could control, all the privately owned hinterland.

The chief object of the agricultural policy of the Liberal-Socialist is not to bring about a revival of agriculture, but to bring about the compulsory transfer of land from private hands to 'the community.' The Small Holdings Act of 1907 empowered County Councils to acquire land compulsorily from private owners and to let it out to small tenants. Our agriculture was to be recreated in accordance with the doctrines of Socialist schemers who write on agriculture without knowing the difference between a carrot and a mangel-wurzel. In 1905 the Fabian Society brought out a pamphlet entitled *The Revival of Agriculture—a National Policy for Great Britain*. A perusal of that pamphlet will show that the Government embodied all the most important proposals contained in it in its Small Holdings Act of 1907. Hence a recent reprint of the Fabian pamphlet contains the footnote: 'Some of the proposals made in this tract have been adopted in the Allotments and Small Holdings Act of 1907.'

Whilst the ideal of the Liberal-Socialist Party is that the State should be the universal landlord, that all the people should be landless tenants, who hold their land by the goodwill of a number of Socialist officials, the ideal of the Unionist Party is to make every man his own landlord, and their policy is to multiply the number of freeholders to the utmost, to create throughout the

country the largest number possible of farmer proprietors and peasant proprietors who actually own the soil which they till.

A glance at Ireland will clearly show that the traditional policy of the Unionist Party is a land policy, which may be summed up in the sentence: 'Every man his own landlord.' Since 1881, and explicitly since 1883, it has been the policy of the Unionist Party to convert the Irish landless tenants into owners, and up to 1903 more than 25,000,000*l.* have been spent in assisting Irish tenants to buy the freehold of their land. As the preliminary experiment of creating a large number of peasant proprietors in Ireland had proved highly successful, the Unionist Government, in 1903, made provisions to make peasant proprietorship universal throughout Ireland by means of the Irish Land Bill, which was brought out by Mr. Wyndham in that year.

The Unionist Party intended long ago to effect a land settlement on similar lines in Great Britain. In 1888 a Unionist Administration appointed a Committee to report on Small Holdings, in which, be it noted, Mr. Chamberlain, who had left the Liberal Party in 1886, took a most prominent part. It recommended in 1890:

Your Committee are strongly and unanimously of opinion that the extension of a system of small-holdings is a matter of national importance. It is desirable in the interests of the rural population, to whom it offers the best incentive to industry and thrift, and it is calculated to add to the security of property by increasing the number of persons directly interested in the soil. It will undoubtedly tend to raise the character of the labouring class, and to stay that migration from the country to the towns which has already caused some deterioration of the rural population, and has led to what has been described as 'the survival of the unfittest.' Your Committee believe that the intervention of the Legislature is called for by the special circumstances of the case, and is justified by considerations affecting the well-being of the whole community.

Among the conclusions of the Committee were the following:

That the extension of a system of small holdings is a matter of national importance, both in the interests of the rural population and also as adding to the security of property generally. *That it is desirable to confer upon local authorities power to purchase land for the purpose of creating small cultivating ownerships.* That any legislation on this subject should apply to the whole of Great Britain.

Reference to the Minutes of Evidence will show that the Commissioners desired that a large number of peasant proprietors should be created under an Act similar to the Ashbourne Act of 1885, the precursor of the great Irish Land Act of 1903. Unfortunately, the Unionist Party could not then effect this great reform through the indifference and hostility to agriculture which have always been characteristic of the Liberal Party.

In 1903, the same year in which it began the great land settlement in Ireland, the Unionist Government appointed a Com-

mittee to inquire into the fruit culture of Great Britain. That Committee reported, in June 1905, with regard to the all-important question of land tenure :

The great majority of fruit growers, probably, are tenants, but, in the opinion of your Committee, it would be more satisfactory if they were the owners of their plantations and market gardens. . . . The ideal solution would be that every fruit grower should be the owner of the soil. Many of the witnesses before the Committee spoke of the advantages of 'Small Holdings,' and the great development of the Wisbech district was largely attributed to the fact that the growers had been able in most cases to buy their holdings. . . . Several witnesses advocated a measure of State-aided purchase of small holdings on the lines of the Bill brought in by Mr. Jesse Collings last session.

The Committee recommended unanimously : 'That a Bill should be passed for facilitating the purchase of small holdings by tenants with assistance from public funds, somewhat on the lines of the measure brought in by the Right Hon. Jesse Collings, M.P., in the session of 1904.'

Land settlement was in sight. To prepare the way for it the Unionist Government appointed, in 1905, another Committee, which was to inquire into Small Holdings. That Committee reported in December 1906 :

The Committee think it hardly necessary to demonstrate that in the general interests of the community it is desirable that as large a number as possible of persons should have a direct interest in the land of the country, and that in the interests of agriculture and of the productiveness of the soil it is expedient that the number of those who not only occupy, but also have a permanent stake in the land, should be materially increased in order that so important an industry as agriculture should make its voice heard in the affairs of the nation to a greater extent than is possible when, as now, the majority of the rural population have but a transitory interest in its prosperity. . . .

The Committee are of opinion that the advantages of ownership have not as a rule been sufficiently forcibly put before those who desire to cultivate land, or the terms have been such that the additional costs of purchase have been more onerous than the small holder thinks he can afford, and that under any system such as that of the Irish Land Purchase Acts, whereby the interest and instalments of purchase-money together can be fixed at a sum not greater than would have to be paid in rent, a desire for ownership might be developed among the peasantry of England and Scotland.

The Committee stated emphatically that the creation of peasant proprietorship throughout Great Britain was most desirable and necessary in the best interests of agriculture and of the country, and that the chief obstacle to the creation of peasant proprietors was the unacquaintance of the cultivators of the soil with the advantages of ownership. That trifling difficulty could easily have been overcome by a circular from the Board of Agriculture, and by suitable directions sent by that body to the agricultural instructors and lecturers in all parts of Great Britain. But,

unfortunately, the Unionist Government was no longer in power when the Report was issued. A Liberal Government had come in at the beginning of 1906, and it hastened to abandon the Unionist land policy and to replace it by the Socialist land policy.

The Liberal Government came into power pledged to settle the people on the land by the creation of small holdings. I have shown that Mr. Asquith and other Cabinet Ministers were so anxious to make 'the community' the universal landlord, that they placed on record their opinion that, as Mr. Asquith put it, 'the most hopeful tenure for the small holder is not that of a proprietor but that of an occupying tenant.' An opinion deliberately expressed by a Prime Minister should command respect. However, whether agriculture and the re-settlement of our deserted country can better be promoted by the creation of tenants or of owners is not a matter of opinion but a question of fact and of practical experience. If we wish to know whether tenancy or proprietorship is 'the most hopeful tenure' for the small holder, we must be guided, not by the opinion of Party politicians, however eminent, but by actual experience. Universal experience proves conclusively and irrefutably the enormous economic superiority of small holders over large farmers, and of agriculture based on peasant proprietorship over agriculture based on tenancy. In proof of this I give the following table relating to German agriculture, which deserves most careful study :

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES IN GERMANY.

	1882	1895	1907
Small Holdings up to 5 acres	3,061,881	3,286,867	3,378,509
„ „ from 5 up to 12½ acres	981,407	1,016,318	1,006,277
„ „ „ 12½ „ 50 „	928,605	998,804	1,065,589
Total	4,969,843	5,251,489	5,450,825
Medium Holdings from 50 to 250 acres	281,510	281,767	282,191
Large „ „ „ 250 acres and above	24,991	25,061	23,566
Total	5,276,344	5,558,317	5,736,082

I have shown in articles on the land problem published in the September and October numbers of this Review that practically all the German peasants are freeholders. If, as our Socialists and our Liberal-Socialists venture to assert, peasant proprietorship is uneconomical and bound to prove a failure, if, as they say, small peasant proprietors cannot possibly compete against big landowners and farmers, it would logically follow that the German peasant proprietors ought to have been swallowed up by the large farmers and estate owners of Germany. The German agricultural statistics are very reliable. They extend over a period of

twenty-five years, and a glance at the foregoing tables shows that during the last twenty-five years the number of German small holders, who nearly all are peasant proprietors, has not decreased, but has increased by almost 500,000, whilst during the same period the number of large farmers and estate owners has considerably decreased. If we now analyse the distribution of land in Germany between small holders, medium holders, and large proprietors, and look for the change which that distribution has undergone during the last twenty-five years, we arrive at the following most remarkable result :

PERCENTAGE OF AGRICULTURAL LAND HELD IN GERMANY.

Small Holdings up to 5 acres.	5.7	5.6	5.4
" " from 5 up to 12½ acres	10.0	10.1	10.4
" " " 12½ " 50 "	28.8	29.9	32.7
Total	44.5	45.6	48.5
Medium Holdings from 50 to 250 acres	31.1	30.8	29.3
Large " from 250 acres and above	24.4	24.1	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

This table shows that the peasant proprietors, who in 1882 owned only 44.5 per cent. of the agricultural land of Germany, owned in 1895 45.6 per cent., and in 1907 no less than 48.5 per cent. of the whole of the agricultural soil of their country. And whilst the percentage of land cultivated by peasant proprietors on small holdings has steadily and considerably increased in Germany, the percentage of land cultivated in large and very large holdings by farmers and landowners has equally steadily decreased. The German peasant proprietors have not been swallowed up by the big landowners, but they have been steadily and continuously absorbing the big farmers and landowners.

The peasant proprietors have shown their economic superiority not only in Germany, but in all densely settled parts of the world. If space permitted, I would furnish statistics relating to France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and other countries which confirm the German figures and which show the triumph of the peasant proprietor over the landowner and the large farmer.

The fact that the peasant proprietors have triumphed over the large landowners and farmers in all civilised countries may be unknown to many of my readers, but it need not have been unknown, and it ought not to have been unknown, to Mr. Asquith. If he had applied to the Intelligence Department of the Board of Agriculture, a most excellent institution, they could have supplied him with the tables given above and many similar ones relating not only to many foreign countries but also

to Great Britain itself, and proving absolutely that tenancy is not 'the most hopeful tenure for the small holder,' as Mr. Asquith ventured to assert, but that it is the most hopeless one. If Mr. Asquith, disregarding his official agricultural experts, had applied for information on agriculture to his more intelligent Socialist supporters, they might have informed him that Mr. Eduard Bernstein, the most scientific of German Socialists, wrote in 'Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus': 'It cannot be doubted that in the whole of Western Europe and in the Eastern States of the American Union as well, small and medium-sized agricultural properties based on ownership increase at the cost of the large ones.' And his Socialist friends might also have told Mr. Asquith that a Socialist, Mr. E. David, has proved conclusively in his monumental work, 'Socialism and Agriculture,' the superiority of the peasant proprietor over the large farmer and estate owner. However, Mr. Asquith and his colleagues apparently did not wish to be guided by facts, by expert advice, and by universal experience which condemn agriculture carried on by small cultivating tenants. They treated the agricultural problem merely as a political problem, and they saw in the agricultural question chiefly an opportunity of taxing the landowners—most of whom, it is true, are Conservatives—out of existence, and of transferring their land to 'the community.' It was apparently a matter of very minor consideration that British agriculture might be completely ruined by applying the doctrines of Socialism to the land.

If Mr. Asquith and his colleagues had been desirous of ascertaining by the test of experience whether proprietorship or tenancy was 'the most hopeful tenure' for the small holder, they need not have gone outside the United Kingdom. British agriculture is based, not on ownership as it is in Germany, but on tenancy, and, according to the somewhat meagre statistics appended to the Report on Small Holdings, the number of small, medium, and large holdings has changed as follows:

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	1885	1895	
From 1 to 5 acres	185,736	117,968	110,974
" 5 " 50 "	232,955	235,481	232,476
" 50 " 300 "	144,288	147,870	150,050
300 acres and upwards	19,864	18,787	18,084

A glance at these figures shows that between 1885 and 1904 the number of British small holdings has very seriously diminished, whilst at the same time the number of medium-sized holdings has slightly increased.

A comparison of the changes which have taken place in the

distribution and composition of holdings in Great Britain and in Germany is very instructive. It shows that in Germany ownership has led to a very great increase of small holdings, which have absorbed much of the land held by large farmers and landowners, whilst in Great Britain tenancy has led to a very great decrease of small holdings, which have been absorbed by large farms. These facts absolutely condemn the tenancy system, and they show that tenancy is indeed the most hopeless form of land tenure for small cultivators. The decline in small holdings has not been universal in Great Britain. In some parts of the country the number of small holdings has very greatly increased during the last twenty or thirty years. And which are those parts? They are those parts of the country, such as the Wisbech district of Cambridgeshire, in which small freeholds are the rule.

As regards Wisbech, I would quote the following from the evidence which Mr. Colins Claydon, of Wisbech, gave before the Committee on Fruit Culture: 'In 1875 an estimate was made, and about 200 acres of fruit-growing land were supposed to be in the district. In 1901 the quantity was estimated at 3768 acres. The land is nearly all in the possession of small occupiers. In most cases—in nine-tenths of the cases I might say—the occupiers are also the owners.' In Great Britain also, therefore, agricultural freeholds have proved their great superiority over agricultural leaseholds.

The supporters of the tenancy system may argue that experiments in small freeholds made at Wisbech and elsewhere in Great Britain are too purely local, and are on too small a scale to be conclusive. In order to meet this argument in advance, I have studied the effect which peasant proprietorship has had in Ireland, where ownership has been introduced, not on a large, but on a gigantic, scale among the cultivators of the soil. With this object in view, I sent a letter to Lord MacDonnell, Mr. Birrell, several chairmen of Irish County Councils, and others, in which I asked the following questions:

1. Has the Act of 1903 benefited the Irish people *morally*? Has it made them more contented, strengthened their self-respect and their sense of citizenship? Has it led to a reduction in crime, punishable offences, and drunkenness?

2. Has the Act benefited Ireland *agriculturally*? Has it led to greater exertion and better cultivation on the part of the enfranchised agriculturists?

3. Has it benefited the people *financially* by encouraging thrift?

The economic statistics of Ireland make a very satisfactory showing during the last few years. I wonder whether the improvement shown is due to the land policy or to coincidence?

In reply, Lord MacDonnell wrote: 'I give without any hesitation an affirmative answer to each and all of the questions put. I consider that in the completion of the policy of land purchase in

Ireland and the creation of a peasant proprietary there lie the essential condition and the best hope of the material, moral, and political development of the country.'

Mr. Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, sent me a report by Mr. W. F. Bailey, one of the Estates Commissioners, regarding the condition of Irish peasant proprietors, dated 1903, and he added in his letter, that the condition of the tenant purchasers under the earlier Acts is typical of the condition of those who have purchased under the later Act. Mr. Bailey's Commission inspected sixty-five estates in all parts of Ireland, on which 14,813 peasant proprietors had been settled, and I would quote from the report which Mr. Birrell sent me the following most illuminating passages :

That the holdings of tenant purchasers have largely improved in all parts of Ireland as regards cultivation, treatment, and general improvement is unquestionable. . . . In many districts we found that the actual carrying powers of the land were largely increased since purchase by improved management. In village districts a similar improvement is manifested in the early ploughing, in the cleaning of gripes and of fields after the crop is taken out, in the trimming of fences, and in the re-making of farm roads. Most of these things the purchasers admit that they would not have done under the old state of things. On an estate in Tyrone a tenant purchaser said that much of his farm was formerly rough and 'furzy,' but that he never attacked it until the place became his own.

On many of the smaller estates in Connaught the occupiers were always industrious and hardworking. The conditions under which they lived obliged them to get as much as they could out of their land ; but even in such cases purchase has frequently made them redouble their efforts and labour with fresh energy. Thus on one estate in Mayo we found that since purchase the occupiers had added by reclamation from 50 to 100 per cent. to the cropping and carrying capacity of their little holdings. . . .

That the houses, both dwellings and offices, of tenant-purchasers have very materially improved since they bought is certain. In all the four provinces this is the general testimony. New buildings have sprung up, old ones have been repaired. On some estates, where the condition of purchase and non-purchase holdings can be contrasted, it is found that, while the houses on the first had been much improved, on the second they are in a very neglected state. . . .

On an estate in Cavan a tenant-purchaser, who had reclaimed two acres of a lake shore at much cost, said : ' If I had not the security of purchase, I would never have attempted the work. I have expended each year the reduction gained by purchase on making improvements.' The first, and in many respects the most important, outcome of purchase is the feeling of contentment which it has given to the people. Their minds are at ease. The anxiety as to the future which formerly oppressed them has disappeared.'

Mr. R. A. Anderson, the secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, wrote to me :

I think the Land Act of 1903 has made farmers who have purchased their holdings more industrious, more desirous of a higher standard of living, more

punctual in their payments, and, generally, better citizens. Where men have bought their holdings, agrarian offences no longer are committed. As far as my experience goes, I would certainly say that the farms occupied by tenants who have purchased are better kept, better tilled, and better worked generally than those of their neighbours who still remain tenants. As time goes on, and as peasant proprietors realise that the payment of each year's annuity increases their interest in their holding, they will no doubt put forth even greater activity in the improvement and working of the land. I believe it has encouraged thrift. At all events, the deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank and in the Joint Stock Banks are steadily increasing. The general improvement in Ireland to which you refer is not a coincidence; it is partly due to land reform, partly to the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, but, I think, most of all is due to the co-operative agricultural movement.

Mr. P. L. O'Neill, Chairman of the County Council of Dublin, replied to me :

1. Most undoubtedly land purchase has exercised a powerful influence in restraining any tendency to excess amongst the discontented and irresponsible members of the community, and has induced all classes to take a more serious view of life and its responsibilities.

2. Certainly. Evidence is to be seen in abundance of improved methods—the use of up-to-date implements and machinery, the introduction of intensive culture, improvement in live stock, the extension of gardening, and a display of taste in keeping the homestead which indicates progress, confidence, and contentment.

3. Peasant proprietorship has given a new stimulus to thrift and industry. The increased revenue has not been added to capital, but to the more widely beneficial purpose of developing existing cultivation, the introduction of new methods, drainage and reclamation, and a general elevation in the mode of life. The next decade will see still more pronounced results.

Mr. Asquith stated that 'the most hopeful tenure for the small holder is not that of a proprietor, but that of an occupying tenant.' That statement is absolutely refuted by the experience of all foreign countries and of Great Britain. The facts and figures which I have given were not inaccessible to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues. Under these circumstances it seems clear that the Liberal-Socialist Party tried to recreate agriculture in accordance with the Socialist doctrines, not because they thought the system of tenancy good, but because they wished to detach the people from the land and to make 'the community' the universal landlord. Socialism lives and thrives on general dissatisfaction and poverty. It was not in the party political interest of the Liberal-Socialist Party to create prosperity and contentment. Their land policy was directed rather by the wish to establish Socialism than to establish rural prosperity.

The facts and figures which I have given in the foregoing pages show the superiority of agriculture based on peasant proprietorship over a system of agriculture based on tenancy, and they show incidentally that the doctrines of our Free Traders

regarding the effect of a tariff on corn and meat are wrong. According to the doctrines of Free Trade, duties on corn and meat benefit the owners of large estates at the cost of the small cultivators. That assertion is untrue. Germany has had high protection on all agricultural produce since 1879. If it were true that 'food taxes' benefit the big grower at the cost of the small one, Protection should have enriched the big German landowners and ruined the peasants, and the former should have absorbed the holdings of the latter. But the figures I have given show that the small peasants are absorbing the big landowners. Hence we must conclude that agricultural protection in Germany has been more beneficial to the peasant than to the landowner.

Whilst German agriculture has had Protection, British agriculture has had Free Trade. If it were true that Protection is in the interest of the big grower, and Free Trade in that of the small one, it would follow that, owing to Free Trade in corn and meat, large agricultural estates should have diminished, and small holdings should have increased, in Great Britain. But from the fact that the small holdings in Free Trade Great Britain have greatly diminished and have been absorbed by the large farms, it appears that Free Trade in agricultural produce is not beneficial, but fatal, to the small agriculturists. The fact that agricultural protection has been most beneficial to the German peasants gives us reason to hope that the small duties on foreign meat and wheat which Tariff Reformers wish to introduce will be of material assistance to the numerous farmer proprietors and peasant proprietors whom the Unionist Party wish to create.

I have shown that the system of ownership, which the Unionist Party intend to promote to the utmost, is best for agriculture as a whole and best for the State, and I shall now show that it is also best for the people who cultivate the land.

Men who embark upon agriculture prefer ownership to tenancy partly for sentimental and partly for practical reasons. The sentimental reasons in favour of ownership were excellently put by Mr. Balfour in his preface to Sir Gilbert Parker's pamphlet, 'The Land for the People.' In his preface Mr. Balfour wrote :

Multiply as you will your enactments for securing the fruits of an improvement to the man who makes it, you will never efface the distinction between ownership and occupation. It is based on sentiment, not on finance ; and no demonstration of profit and loss will extract from the tenant of a County, Council, or Public Department, labour which he would cheerfully expend upon a holding which belonged to himself and which he could leave to his children.

As regards the practical reasons for which people prefer ownership to tenancy, I would quote a passage from the evidence given before the Committee on Fruit Culture. Before that Committee

Mr. Luckhurst, Horticultural Instructor to the Derbyshire County Council, a thoroughly practical man, states :

At Long Eaton, where there are a lot of lace workers, there are now about 300 or 400 freehold allotments of about 600 yards each. These are the men who plant fruit trees, and really they do remarkably well. I go occasionally to see how they are getting on; they arrange well, they plant right, and they prune right. They have a thorough grip of the whole thing.

Q. As a rule who plants the trees on these plots, the landlord or the tenant?

A. They are freehold.

Q. Where the plots are not freehold?

A. I find the tenants on allotments, unless they have security of tenure, will not plant. That is where the freehold comes in.

Q. Who puts up the buildings on the freehold plots?

A. The men themselves.

Q. What happens in the case of allotments that are not freehold?

A. Very little is done in that way.

Q. They have no buildings at all?

A. Very few indeed.

I could easily fill fifty pages with similar evidence showing why ownership is infinitely superior to tenancy.

Every sensible man prefers the absolute ownership of the soil which he tills to tenancy, because, if he is a careful cultivator, he can make a small fortune out of the soil. In proof of this assertion, I would give the following representative instance.

Mr. Jesse Marlow, secretary of the Bessborough Co-operative Society, was examined before the Committee on Small Holdings with regard to the Bessborough freehold plots, which are worked by superannuated factory workers, with the following result :

Q. Do the men cultivate their land well?

A. Remarkably well.

Q. Are these mostly men who had no previous knowledge of farming?

A. Yes, that is so.

Q. The rateable value of the property you have sold to these people has been increased from 15*s.* when you made the purchase to 40*s.* at present?

A. Yes.

Q. May I take it that the land has increased nearly three times in value owing to their labour?

A. The rateable value has.

Q. I mean has the land intrinsically increased to three times its value?

A. Marketable value? Yes, quite that.

If a small holder increases the value of the soil which he tills to three times its original value, he is clearly entitled to the additional value which he has created with the work of his hands.

Our agriculture has utterly decayed. Land is going begging. On an average it stands at less than half the price at which it stood thirty-five years ago. Agricultural land commands now only about half the price in Great Britain which it commands in Germany and France. There is consequently an enormous

margin for a rise in British agricultural land even under extensive culture. However, land under intensive culture is far more valuable than land under extensive culture. Working small holders who as a rule go in for intensive culture should in many cases be able to double, treble, quadruple, and more than quadruple the value of their land. I could give numerous instances of British soil having been increased sixfold and tenfold in value by industrious small holders. There is more gold to be dug out of the land of Great Britain than out of the quartz of the Transvaal.

If the Unionist land policy should be adopted, if thousands and tens of thousands of peasant proprietors are planted, whose land is theirs and their families' for ever, they will be able to accumulate a small fortune for themselves by improving the soil. If, on the other hand, the Socialist land policy should be adopted, the small tenant holders will not be able to accumulate a small fortune for themselves, for they will only be allowed to accumulate a small fortune for 'the community.' And as people do not like to see the fruit of their labour fall to other people, be they private landlords, or official landlords such as County Councils, our agriculturists will not do their best, and they will continue deserting the country, until the soil they till is theirs and their families' absolutely and for all time.

Small holders can enrich themselves not only by raising produce on the soil, and by improving the soil, but also in other ways. Dairying and pig raising are typical small holders' industries. They are industries which are carried on with the greatest success by peasant proprietors in all countries, and I will give a few figures which will show at a glance how shockingly Great Britain has fallen behind in dairying and pig raising, and how enormous a scope British peasant proprietors will have in these two branches.

DAIRYING AND PIG RAISING.

	In Great Britain in 1908	In Germany in 1907
Number of inhabitants	40,000,000	62,000,000
„ milch cows kept	2,768,780	10,966,998
„ pigs kept	2,828,482	22,146,532
„ milch cows per 1000 inhabitants .	69	177
„ pigs per 1000 inhabitants . . .	76	357

German agriculture is based on peasant proprietorship. British agriculture is based on tenancy. In Germany, as in all other European countries, the peasant proprietors are the principal owners of milch cows and of pigs, and when we compare the stock of milch cows and pigs in Great Britain and in Germany, we find that for every thousand inhabitants there are 177 milch cows in Germany and only 69 milch cows in Great Britain,

that there are 357 pigs in Germany and only 76 pigs in Great Britain. Measured by the number of the population, Germany has three milch cows and five pigs for every single milch cow and every single pig kept in this country.

If we take the average family to be composed of five persons, we find that Germany possesses one milch cow and two pigs for every single family, whilst Great Britain possesses only a single milch cow and a single pig for every three families. Under these circumstances we cannot wonder that the German people are brought up on plenty of fresh milk, that they live practically exclusively on home-made butter and cheese, and on home-raised meat. The German race is sturdy, and we cannot wonder that we are constantly told about the physical degeneration in Great Britain when we remember that the children of the British poor are brought up largely on foreign preserved milk, from which the fat has been extracted, imported in tins. Poor British parents cannot afford to buy fresh milk for their children, and so they raise weeds, not men, on valueless chemical substitutes, instead of giving their children their natural nourishment.

Peasant proprietorship and Protection may have certain disadvantages, but so much is certain—that peasant proprietorship and Protection combined have given to the German people an abundance of cheap milk, an abundance of home-made butter, an abundance of home-made cheese, and an abundance of home-grown pork and beef; whilst Free Trade and tenancy combined have caused milk to be far dearer in Great Britain than in any other country in Europe, and have compelled us to rely principally on foreign meat, butter, and cheese of doubtful quality. We have to go for our food to the ends of the earth. We are getting butter from Siberia, pork from China, and eggs from Russia and Morocco, though we might raise in this country all the pork, eggs, and butter which we need. We pay more than 100,000,000*l.* every year for foreign dairy produce, meat, fruit, and vegetables which we might raise ourselves, and there is no reason why the greater part of this immense sum should not in future go to British, instead of to foreign, peasant proprietors.

Tariff Reform and Land Reform are parts of the same policy. Tariff Reform, in its agricultural aspect, intends to settle the people on the land and to give them some security of making a living on the land, by sheltering them against undue and unfair foreign competition. Tariff Reform in its agricultural aspect should have the most beneficial effect, not only for our agriculturists, but for the people as a whole. It cannot be doubted that we can treble our stock of milch cows, and quintuple the stock of our pigs. It cannot be doubted that we can create a large and prosperous country population. It cannot be doubted that we can

secure a plentiful supply of the most wholesome British-grown food to the population of our towns, and so improve the health and the strength of the race. But we can do so only if we place our agriculture on the basis of peasant proprietorship and ensure its success by such protection and assistance as it may need. We have spent hundreds of millions in colonising barren wastes in other continents for the benefit of our cotton and iron industries. It is time that we should begin spending money in colonising the country parts of Great Britain. Such expenditure will prove to be a most profitable and a most satisfactory investment from the national as well as from the financial point of view.

A glance at foreign countries shows, to all who care to see, that everywhere in the world where agriculture is most prosperous it is based upon a system of peasant proprietorship. Nowhere in the world do we find a prosperous agriculture carried on on a tenancy basis. Nowhere in the world has the experiment of making 'the community' the universal landlord even been tried. Nevertheless we are asked to make 'the community' the universal landlord. Our Liberal-Socialists have the distinction of being the pioneers of that novel form of agricultural organisation. It is not merely foolish, but it is wicked, to treat a great nation such as the British nation as a fit subject for ignorant and fantastic Socialist schemers to experiment upon; and to allow Socialist schemers to subject Great Britain to their crude experiments is not statesmanship, but folly and a crime.

The same Party which has ruined our agriculture, and which is at present ruining our manufacturing industries, bids us now recreate under the guidance of the Socialist street orator the rural industry which it has destroyed. Formerly the panacea of the Liberal party for all economic and political ills was 'Free Trade for the Bagman,' and it did not care what became of the workers. Now its panacea for all economic and political ills is 'Confiscation by instalments,' and it does not care in the least what becomes of the industries and of the workers employed in them. The Liberal Party took up the bagman because he possessed a conspicuous talent for raising the mob, and now it has, for the same reason, made the Socialist street orator its ally, its partner, and its *protégé*.

Lack of space prevents me from showing that the land policy advocated and inaugurated by Mr. Asquith's Administration with regard to the towns is as Socialistic, as foolish, and as pernicious a policy as is that which it has already begun to apply to the country. However, the difference between the Unionist and the Liberal-Socialist land policy can be summed up in a few words. Whilst the Liberal-Socialist Party wishes to make in the towns, as well as in the country, 'the community' the universal landlord, and to

make it impossible for private individuals to own absolutely their house, or shop, or cottage with the land belonging to it, the Unionist Party will strive to make every man his own landlord.

The foregoing pages prove that the ' Liberal ' land policy is a purely Socialist one, and that it is opposed to the best interests of the British people. It is for the people in town and country to say at the approaching General Election whether they prefer the Unionist or the Socialist reform of our land system.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

INDEX TO VOL. LXVI

The titles of articles are printed in italics

ABD

A*BDUL HAMID II and his Court, Personal Recollections of*, 69-88

Aerial warfare of the future, 450-456

Agriculture, British decline and German expansion in, 489-406

Alcoholic liquors, Diminished consumption of, 127-142

American boys and girls, Mr. George's republic for reclaiming, 503-508

American Graces, Three, of 1816, 1058-1075

American State Militia or National Guard, 910-920

Anarchism and assassination in Bengal, 18-28

Anglo-Russian alliance, 209-225

Arctic exploration, British expedition, 586-597

Armaments, British and German - our Inadequate Expeditionary Force, 577-585

Art (L') Français Contemporain, 457-473

Art, Modern, 'Slump' in, 326-330

Art, Victorian, and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 307-325

Arundel (Sir Arundel), *Decentralisation of Government in India*, 143-157

Assessment anomalies, suggested reform, 568-576

Avebury (Lord), *The Finance Bill*, 743-756

B*ACON (Francis) as a Poet*, 267-282

Barclay (Mr. Edwyn), a Reply to, concerning 'True Temperance' and the Public House, 127-142

Barker (J. Ellis), *The Land, the People, and the General Election*, 389-406; *The Land, the Landlords, and the People*, 549-567; *Unionist or Socialist Land Reform?* 1091-1110

Bairan (Mrs.), *The George Junior Republic*, 503-508

Barris (Maurice), The Evolution of, 634-644

Bathurst (Katharine), *Work for the Wealthy Unemployed*, 684-690

Battine (Capt. Cecil), *British and German Armaments: our Inadequate Expeditionary Force*, 577-85

Beaconsfield (Lord) as a Tariff Reformer, 934-948

Beaunier (André), *L'Art Français Contemporain*, 457-473

Beeching (Rev. Canon), *A Last Word to Mr. George Greenwood*, 283-292

Bengal Civilian's View of the Indian Deportations, A, 18-28

Bengal, Partition of, and anti-British agitation, 181-194

Betterment or unearned increment, Taxation of, in Germany and France, 377-388

Birth-rate, The diminishing, in England, 97-108

Blannier (André), *Contemporary Politics in France*, 870-886

Bradley (Rose M.), *Frère Jacques*, 109-119; *On the Road in Corsica*, 645-662

British and German Armaments: our Inadequate Expeditionary Force, 577-585

British and German Navies compared, 484-449

British Arctic Expedition, A Plea for a, 586-597

British Army, The, inadequacy of its Expeditionary Force, 577-585

British Art at Venice, 89-96

British Empire, Canada's position in the, 704-715

British Navy, The, and its personnel, 1008-1021

British Rule in India, The Effects of 527-548

Budget land valuation proposals, The, 568-576

Budget, The House of Lords and the, 195-208

.BUD

- Budget, The, and British agriculture, 389-406
Budget, The, and Social Revolution, 158-167
 Budget, The, and the German increment tax, 377-388
 Budget, The, its disastrous effect on commerce and industries, 743-756
 'CABLE' Reform, 38-46
 Canada and the defence of the Empire, 1-6
Canada, The Attitude of, 704-715
 Carrel (F.), *Psycho-Physical Forces*, 1076-1084
Censorship of Stage Plays, The, 974-989
 Channing (Sir Francis Allston), *Mr. Gladstone and the Crisis of 1909*, 921-933
 Cherubim and Seraphim, meaning of, 691-703
 Christianity, caste, and the awakening of India, 361-376
Church of England, Marriage Law in the, 257-266
 Cobdenism and Free Trade, Lord Beaconsfield's views upon, 934-948
Colette Baudoche, and other novels by Maurice Barrès, 634-644
 Collier (John), *The 'Stump' in Modern Art*, 326-330
 Collier (Price) on *England and the English*, 36-37
 Colonies, Our, the 'All-Red Route,' and Imperial defence, 1-6
Colour Question, South African Union and the, 245-256
 Colvin (Elliot G.), *The Effects of British Rule in India*, 527-541
 Comenius (John Amos) and Milton, 607-617
Comet, Halley's, The Story of, 509-526
 Commons, House of, its control over finance, 921-933
 Conservatives, The, and Ireland, 949-964
Consols, The Depreciation of, and a Remedy, 1085-1090
Contemporary Politics in France, 870-886
 Corsica, An Easter Saturday festa in, 109-119
Corsica, On the Road in, 645-662
 Coverdale's version of the Psalms, 120-126
 Cox (Lady), *Twenty-one Years with our Indian Fellow-Subjects*, 887-897
 Cox (Sir Edmund C.), *The Effects of British Rule in India*, 542-548
Creed of Imperialism, The, 29-37
Cult of 'Teddy Bear,' The, 56-68

DANTE'S *Self-Portraiture*, 838-854

- Death Duties, Are they an Economically Sound Form of Taxation?* 7-17
Debussy: his Science and his Music, 492-502
Decentralisation of Government in India, 148-157
Defence Problem of Scandinavia, The, 898-909
 Dicey (Edward), *Hindu Students in England*, 349-360; another view, 598-606
 Digby (Mr. William), his *Prosperous British India* criticised, 527-541
 Dillon (Dr. E. J.), *Great Britain and Russia: an Alliance or an Illusion?* 209-225
 Dimnet (Abbé Ernest), *The Evolution of Maurice Barrès*, 634-644
 Divorce and marriage, Roman Catholic and High Church views concerning, 257-266
 Doctors and their critics, 827-837
 Domestic infelicity of literary men and women, 423-433
 Dramas of Roswitha, a Benedictine nun of mediæval Saxony, 814-826
 Dravidian races of India, The, and Brahman agitators, 361-376

- E**ASTERN and Western ideals, Difference between, 594-606
Economic Science, The Missing Essentials in, 331-348; 716-732
 Education, The views of Milton, Vives, and Comenius compared, 607-617
Educative Value of the Modern Museum, The, 663-672
 Ego, The cult of, and Maurice Barrès, 634-644
Elder Brother, The Fallacy of the, 804-813
Empire, The Unity and Defence of the, 1-6
 Erroll (Colonel the Earl of), *The House of Lords and Universal Service*, 298-298
Extinction of the Upper Classes, The, 97-108

FALLACY of the *Elder Brother, The*, 804-813

- Feilding (Hon. Everard), *Recent Experiments in the 'Physical Phenomena' of Spiritualism*, 789-803
Ferfer (Francisco), The Case of: a Confidential Friend's Testimony, 777-788
 Finance Bill and the Lords' veto, 195-208

FIN

- Finance Bill, The*, 748-756
Fleet, the, The Truth about the Manning of, 1008-1021
France, Contemporary Politics in, 870-886
 French Art of to-day, 457-478
 French music-drama, Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, 492-502
 French novels by Maurice Barrès, 684-644
Frère Jacques, 109-119
 Fuller (Sir Bampfylde), *The Foundations of Indian Loyalty*, 181-194; *Soul among the Prophets: a Philosopher's Plea for Religious Education*, 1032-1040
 GAIRDNER (Dr. James), *Henry VIII and the Monasteries: a Reply to the Rev. G. Monroe Royce*, 47-55
General Election, The Land, the People, and the, 389-406
 Geni's, Men and women of, their matrimonial failures, 428-433
George Junior Republic, The, 503-8
 German and British naval rivalry, 577-585
 German naval expansion and the British Fleet, 434-449
 German progress in agriculture and industries, 389-406
 German view of Imperial defence, 56-68
 Germany, Austria, Italy, and the international outlook, 168-180
Germany and England, Of Things Theatrical in: a Comparison, 980-1007
 Gilbey (Sir Walter), *The Educative Value of the Modern Museum*, 663-672
 Gladstone (Mr.) and the Crisis of 1909, 921-933
Government in India, Decentralisation of, 143-157
 Great Britain and Canada, Relations between, 704-715
Great Britain and Russia: an Alliance or an Illusion? 209-225
 Greek colony, A, in Corsica, 647-658
 Greenwood (Mr. George) on Bacon-Shakespeare theory, reply to, 279-282; *A Last Word to*, 283-292
 Gwynn (Stephen), *Ireland's Need*, 618-623

- HALLEY'S Comet, The Story of*, 509-526
 Harrison (Alfred H.), *A Plea for a British Arctic Expedition*, 588-97
 Harrison (Austin), *The Cult of 'Teddy Bear'*, 56-68

- Harrison (Frederic), *The Tennyson Centenary*, 226-238
 Harrison (Mrs. Frederic), *Then and Now*, 1051-1057
Henry VIII and the Monasteries: a Reply to the Rev. G. Monroe Royce, 47-55
 Howard (E. Vincent), *The Story of Halley's Comet*, 509-526
 Hindu arts and crafts and the need of technical education, 887-897
 Hindu sedition and the Dravidian races, 361-376
 Hindu students in England, 349-360; 598-606; 598-606
 Hinduism and caste, and non-religious education in India, 362-376
 Holiday in Corsica, A, 645-662
 Huish (Marcus B.), *British Art at Venice*, 89-96
 Hurd (Archibald S.), *Our 'Lost' Naval Supremacy*, 434-449; *Truth about the Manning of the Fleet*, 1008-1021

- IMPERIAL Democracy, Unionist Opportunism and*, 783-742
Imperialism, Sane, The 'Native' Problem and, 234-244
Imperialism, The Creed of, 29-37
Imperialist Austria: an Impression from Vienna, 168-180
 Income tax and death duties compared, 7-17
 Increment of land values, ground rents and undeveloped land, 757-776
Increment Tax, The, 377-388
 India, A visit to, 873-883
 India and Africa, Education of natives in, and the franchise, 234-244
India, British Rule in, The Effects of, 527-548
 India, Dravidian races in, 361-376
India, The Out-Castes of, 1022-1031
India, Unrest in, Some Misconceptions about the, 861-876
Indian Fellow-Subjects. Our, Twenty-one Years with, 887-897
Indian Deportations, A Bengal Civilian's View of the, 18-28
Indian Loyalty, The Foundations of, 181-194
 Indian students in England, 349-360
Indian Students in England: another Point of View, 598-606
 International Fine Arts Exhibition at Venice, 89-96
 Ireland under the rule of the priest, 407-422; 618-633
Ireland's Need, 618-633
Irish Policy and the Conservatives, 949-964
 Irish saints, Lives of, in the Lismore Manuscript, 474-483

JAC

- JACQUES** (Frère), 109-119
 Johnston (Sir Harry H.), *The 'Native' Problem and Sane Imperialism*, 234-244
 Jones (Roderick), *South African Union and the Colour Question*, 245-256

- KEETON** (Miss A. E.), *Debussy: his Science and his Music*, 492-502
 Kemp-Welch (Mrs. W.), *A Tenth-Century Dramatist: Roswitha the Nun*, 814-826
 Kenny (P. D.), *His Parochial Majesty*, 407-422; reply to, 618-633
 Killanin (Lord), *Ab Occidente ad Orientem: an Impressionist Study en route to India*, 673-683
 Kingston (Gertrude), *Of Things Theatrical in Germany and England: a Comparison*, 990-1007
 Kirk (Kenneth E.), *Indian Students in England: another Point of View*, 598-606

LAND Reform. Unionist or Socialist? 1091-1110

- Land taxation and the Budget, 377-388, 568-576, 757-776
Land, The, the Landlords, and the People, 549-567
Land, The, the People, and the General Election, 389-406
Leonardo da Vinci as Sculptor, 1041-1050
 Lethbridge (Sir Roper), *Lord Beaconsfield as a Tariff Reformer*, 931-948
Lismore, The Book of, 474-483
Londoner, Faults of the, 299-306
Londoner, Virtues of the, 484-491
 Lord (Walter Frewen), *The Creed of Imperialism*, 29-37
 Lords, House of, an American appreciation of the, 86-87
Lords, The House of, and the Budget, 195-208
Lords, The House of, and Universal Service, 293-298
 Low (Sidney), *Matrimony and the Man of Letters*, 423-433
 Lyttelton (Mrs. Alfred), *The Book of Lismore*, 474-483

- MCCURDY** (Edward), *Leonardo da Vinci as Sculptor*, 1041-1050
 Madras (Bishop of), *The Out-Castes of India*, 1022-1031
 Malcolm (Ian), his article on Ireland replied to, 618-633
 Mallock (W. H.), *The Missing Essentials in Economic Science*, 331-348, 716-732; *Phantom Millions*, 757-776

PEA

- Marriage Law in the Church of England*, 257-266
 Marriott (J. A. R.), *The House of Lords and the Budget*, 195-208
 Marx, Mill, and Socialist theories of 'value', 331-348
Matrimony and the Man of Letters, 423-433
 Mayor (H. B.), *The Fallacy of the Elder Brother*, 804-813
Medical Priestcraft, The Question of, 827-837
 Militia system in the United States, 910-920
 Modern artists and the picture-buying public, 326-330
 Mohammedans in Bengal, their grievances and aspirations, 189-194
Monasteries, Henry VIII and the: a Reply to the Rev. G. Monro Royce, 47-55
 Mond (Alfred), *The Increment Tax*, 377-388
Museum. Modern, The Educative Value of the, 663-672

NAQUET (Alfred), *The Case of Francisco Ferrer: A Confidential Friend's Testimony*, 777-788

- National collections and local museums, instructional use of, 663-672
 National defence and compulsory military training, 293-298
'National Guard,' The: a Hint from the United States, 910-920
 Nationalists of India and facts concerning British rule, 542-548
'Native' Problem, The, and Sane Imperialism, 234-244
Naval Supremacy, Our 'Lost,' 434-449
 Norway and Sweden and the common defence of Scandinavia, 908-909
 Nowicki (Adam), *Can Russia escape the Fate of Poland?* 965-978

OCCIDENTE (Ab) ad Orientem: an Impressionist Study en route to India, 678-683

- O'Neill (Eneas), *Imperialist Austria: an Impression from Vienna*, 168-180

PALMER (Rev. Dr. Smythe), *What were the Seraphim?* 691-703

- Pan-Germanic ambitions and Austria's new policy, 168-180
 Parliamentary parties in France, 870-886
Parochial Majesty, His, 407-422; reply to, 618-633
 Pearson (Norman), *The Virtuosi*, 855-869

PEA

- Peasant proprietorship in England and in Germany, 549-577
Phantom Millions, 757-766
 'Physical Phenomena' of Spiritualism, *Recent Experiments in the*, 789-803
 Pilkington (Col. Henry), *Irish Policy and the Conservatives*, 949-964
 Poets, English, Tennyson's place among, 226-233
 Polar exploration, suggested sledge expedition, 586-597
Politics in France, Contemporary, 870-886
 Pollock (Lieut.-Colonel Alsager), *The 'National Guard': a Hint from the United States*, 910-920
 Poynder (Sir John Dickson), *The Valuation Proposals of the Government*, 568-576
 Praed (Mackworth), *The Depreciation of Consols, and a Remedy*, 1085-1090
Prayer-Book Psalter, The Revision of the, 120-126
 Pre-Raphaelites, Spencer-Stanhope and the, 307-325
 Psychical research and spiritualistic phenomena, 789-803
Psycho-Physical Forces, 1076-1084
Public House, 'True Temperance' and the. a Reply to Mr. Edwin Barclay, 127-142
 Public School ideals, and relations between the master and the boys, 804-818
Purgatorio, The author's character revealed in the, 838-854

REFORMATION, Causes of the, and dissolution of monasteries, 47-55

- Religious Education, a Philosopher's Plea for*, 1032-1040
Revision of the Prayer-Book Psalter, The, 120-126
 Ridge (W. Pett), *Faults of the Londoner*, 299-306; *Virtues of the Londoner*, 481-491
 Roberts (Lord), his Bill for compulsory military service, 293-298
 Roman Catholic priesthood, The, and Ireland's decay, 407-422; 618-633
 Roosevelt (Mr.) on British government in India, 528
 Rosenbaum (S.), *The Budget and Social Revolution*, 158-167
Roswitha the Nun, A Tenth-Century Dramatist, 814-826
 Royal Society, The, and its founders, 855-860
 Royce (Rev. G. Monroe), a reply to, concerning Henry VIII and the Monasteries, 47-55

STQ

- Russia, Can She Escape the Fate of Poland?* 965-973
Russia, Great Britain and: an Alliance or an Illusion? 209-225
 SASSOON (Sir Edward), 'Clefts' Reform, 38-46
Saul among the Prophets: a Philosopher's Plea for Religious Education, 1032-1040
Scandinavia, The Defence Problem of, 898-909
 School teaching for leisured ladies, 684-690
 Schoolmaster, The, as an elder brother, 804-813
 Schuster (Sir Felix), *Are the Death Duties an Economically Sound Form of Taxation?* 7-17
 Schvan (August), *The Defence Problem of Scandinavia*, 898-909
 Sedition and murder in Bengal, and deportation of undesirables, 18-28
Scraphim, What were they? 691-703
 Shakespeare and Bacon, their writings and blunders compared, 267-282
 Shakespeare as player and dramatist, Contemporary evidence, 283-292
 Shebbeare (Rev. Charles J.), *Marriage Law in the Church of England*, 257-266
 'Slump' in Modern Art. The, 326-330
 Small holdings and co-operative banks as a solution of the land problem, 549-567
 Smith (Adam) and the principles of taxation, 7-17
Social Revolution, The Budget and, 158-167
 Socialism and economics, 331-348
 Socialist State, Apportionment of rewards for labour in, 716-782
 Socialists and Radicals in the French Parliament, 870-886
 South African natives and the franchise, 241-244
South African Union and the Colour Question, 245-256
 Spanish Government, The, and Francisco Ferrer, 777-788
 Spencer-Stanhope (Roddam), *Pre-Raphaelite*, 307-325
Spiritualism, Recent Experiments in the 'Physical Phenomena' of, 789-803
 Sprigge (Dr. S. Squire), *The Question of Medical Priestcraft*, 827-837
 Stirling (Mrs.), Roddam Spencer-Stanhope, *Pre-Raphaelite*, 307-325; *A Transatlantic Invasion of 1816*, 1058-1075
 Stoker (Brain), *The Censorship of Stage Plays*, 974-989

STR

Streetfield (H. C.), *A Bengal Civilian's View of the Indian Deportations*, 18-28

Sullivan (Sir Edward), *Francis Bacon as a Poet*, 267-282

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, their military and naval policy, 898-909

'TARIFF' Reformers and the Unionist Party, 733-742

Taxation, First principles of, as applied to the death duties, 7-17

Taxation, New, the Budget proposals for, 158-167

Taxation, Powers of the Lords in regard to, 195-208

'Teddy Bear,' *The Cult of*, 56-68

Telegraphic communication within the Empire, cheaper cable rates, 38-46

Tennyson Centenary. *The*, 226-233

Tenth-Century Dramatist, *A Roswitha the Nun*, 814-826

Then and Now, 1051-1057

Therapeutics and legislation, medical practitioners and quacks, 827-837

Town life as seen in London, 299-306, 484-491

Transatlantic Invasion of 1816, *A*, 1058-1075

'True Temperance' and the Public House: a Reply to Mr. Edwyn Barclay, 127-142

Tsar, The, the Duma, and Russia's foreign policy, 209-225

Tupper (Sir Charles), *The Unity and Defence of the Empire*, 1-6

Turkey, The ex-Sultan and his Court, 69-88

Twenty-one Years with our Indian Fellow-Subjects, 887-897

UNIONIST Opportunism and Imperial Democracy, 733-742

Unionist or Socialist Land Reform? 1001-1011

United South Africa and the political status of the natives, 245-256

Unity and Defence of the Empire, The, 1-6

Universal Service, The House of Lords and, 293-298

WYL

Unrest in India, Some Misconceptions about the, 361-376

Upper Classes, *The Extinction of the*, 97-108

VALUATION Proposals, *The of the Government*, 568-576

Value, Theories of, and rewards for labour, 716-732

Vambéry (Professor A.), *Personal Recollections of Abdul Hamid II and his Court*, 69-88

Vaughan (Rev. Canon), *The Revision of the Prayer-Book Psalter*, 120-126

Venice, *British Art at*, 89-96

Virtuosi, *The*, 855-869

Vives (Juan Luis) and Milton on education, 607-617

WARE (Fabian), *Unionist Opportunism and Imperial Democracy*, 733-742

Watson (Professor Foster), *A Suggested Source of Milton's Tractate of Education*, 607-617

Wealthy Unemployed, *Work for the*, 684-690

Welldon (Bishop), *Dante's Self-Portraiture*, 838-851

Western mind, *The*, under the spell of the East, 673-683

Whetham (W. C. D.) and Whetham (Mrs.), *The Extinction of the Upper Classes*, 97-108

Wilkins (John), founder of the Royal Society, 855-869

Wilson (George B.), *'True Temperance' and the Public House: a Reply to Mr. Edwyn Barclay*, 127-142

Wings of War, The, 450-456

Women, Wealthy, Educational work as a pastime for, 684-690

Wrong (Professor George M.), *The Attitude of Canada*, 704-715

Wyatt (Harold F.), *The Wing of War*, 450-456

Wyllie (Sir Curzon), *Assassination of, Indian law students and the*, 349-360

CONTENTS OF VOL. LXVI

UNITY AND DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE. By the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper	1
ARE THE DEATH DUTIES AN ECONOMICALLY SOUND FORM OF TAXATION? By Sir Felix Schuster	7
A BENGAL CIVILIAN'S VIEW OF THE INDIAN DEPORTATIONS. By H. C. Streetfeild	18
THE CREED OF IMPERIALISM. By Walter Frewen Lord	29
'CABLE' REFORM. By Sir Edward Sassoon	38
HENRY THE EIGHTH AND THE MONASTERIES: A REPLY TO THE REV. G. MONROE ROYCE. By Dr. James Gairdner	47
THE CULT OF 'TEDDY BEAR.' By Austin Harrison	56
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABDUL HAMID II AND HIS COURT. By Prof. A. Vambery	69
BRITISH ART AT VENICE. By Marcus B. Huish	89
EXTINCTION OF THE UPPER CLASSES. By W. C. D. and Mrs. Whetham	97
FRÈRE JACQUES. By Rose M. Bradley	109
REVISION OF THE PRAYLE BOOK PSALTER. By Rev. Canon Vaughan	120
'TRUE TEMPERANCE' AND THE PUBLIC HOUSE: A REPLY TO MR. EDWYN BARCLAY. By George B. Wilson	127
DECENTRALISATION OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. II. By Sir Arundel Arundel	143
THE BUDGET AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By S. Rosenbaum	158
IMPERIALIST AUSTRIA: AN IMPRESSION FROM VIENNA. By Aeneas O'Neill	168
THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN LOYALTY. By Sir Bampfylde Fuller	181
THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE BUDGET. By J. A. R. Marriott	195
GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA: AN ALLIANCE OR AN ILLUSION? By Dr. E. J. Dillon	209
THE PENNYSON CENTENARY. By Frederic Harrison	226
THE 'NATIVE' PROBLEM AND SANITARY IMPERIALISM. By Sir Harry H. Johnston	234
SOUTH AFRICAN UNION AND THE COLOUR QUESTION. By Roderick Jones	245
MARRIAGE LAW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. Charles J. Shebbeare	257
FRANCIS BACON AS A POET. By Sir Edward Sullivan	267
A LAST WORD TO MR. GEORGE GREENWOOD. By Rev. Canon Beeching	288
THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND UNIVERSAL SERVICE. By Colonel the Earl of Erroll	298
FAULTS OF THE LONDONER. By W. Pett Ridge	298
RODDAM SPENCER-STANHOPE, PRÆ-RAPHAELITE. By Mrs. Stirling	307
THE 'SLUMP' IN MODERN ART. By the Hon. John Collier	326
MISSING ESSENTIALS IN ECONOMIC SCIENCE. III. By W. H. Mallock	331
HINDU STUDENTS IN ENGLAND. By Edward Dicey	349
SOME MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE UNREST IN INDIA. By the Rev. J. A. Sharrock	361
THE INCREMENT TAX. By Alfred Mond	377
THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE GENERAL ELECTION. By J. Ellis Barker	389
HIS PAROCHIAL MAJESTY. By P. D. Kenny ('Pat')	407
MATRIMONY AND THE MAN OF LETTERS. By Sidney Low	428
OUR 'LOST' NAVAL SUPREMACY. By Archibald S. Hurd	434
THE WINGS OF WAR. By Harold F. Wyatt	450
L'ART FRANÇAIS CONTEMPORAIN. By André Beaunier	457
THE BOOK OF LISMORE. By the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton	474
VIRTUES OF THE LONDONER. By W. Pett Ridge	484
DEBUSSY: HIS SCIENCE AND HIS MUSIC. By Miss A. E. Keeton	492
THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC. By Mrs. Barran	508
THE STORY OF HALLEY'S COMET. By E. Vincent Heward	509

	PAGE
THE EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. (1) By <i>Elliot G. Colvin</i> . . .	527
(2) By <i>Sir Edmund C. Cor</i> . . .	542
THE LAND, THE LANDLORDS, AND THE PEOPLE. By <i>J. Ellis Barker</i> . . .	549
VALUATION PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT. By <i>Sir J. Dickson Poynder</i> . . .	568
BRITISH AND GERMAN ARMAMENTS: OUR INADEQUATE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. By <i>Captain Cecil Battine</i> . . .	577
A PLEA FOR A BRITISH ARCTIC EXPEDITION. By <i>Alfred H. Harrison</i> . . .	586
INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND. By <i>Kenneth E. Kirk</i> . . .	598
A SUGGESTED SOURCE OF MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDUCATION. By <i>Professor Foster Watson</i> . . .	607
IRELAND'S NEED. By <i>Stephen Gwynn</i> . . .	618
THE EVOLUTION OF MAURICK BARRIS. By the <i>Abbe Ernest Dimnet</i> . . .	634
ON THE ROAD IN CORSICA. By <i>Rose M. Bradley</i> . . .	645
EDUCATIVE VALUE OF THE MODERN MUSEUM. By <i>Sir Walter Gilbey</i> . . .	663
AB OCCIDENTE AD ORIENTEM: AN IMPRESSIONIST STUDY EN ROUTE TO INDIA. By the <i>Right Hon. Lord Killybeg</i> . . .	673
WORK FOR THE WEALTHY UNEMPLOYED. By <i>Katharine Bathurst</i> . . .	684
WHAT WERE THE SERAPHIM? By the <i>Rev. Dr. Smythe Palmer</i> . . .	691
THE ATTITUDE OF CANADA. By <i>George M. Wrong</i> . . .	704
THE MISSING ESSENTIALS IN ECONOMIC SCIENCE. (Concluded.) By <i>W. H. Mallock</i> . . .	716
UNIONIST OPPORTUNISM AND IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY. By <i>Fabian Ware</i> . . .	733
THE FINANCE BILL. By the <i>Right Hon. Lord Lechmere</i> . . .	743
PHANTOM MILLIONS. By <i>W. H. Mallock</i> . . .	757
THE CASE OF FRANCISCO FERRER: A CONFIDENTIAL FRIEND'S TESTIMONY. By <i>Alfred Naquet</i> . . .	777
RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN THE PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF SPIRITUALISM. By the <i>Hon. Everard Feilding</i> . . .	789
THE FALLACY OF THE ELDER BROTHER. By <i>H. B. Mayor</i> . . .	801
A TENTH-CENTURY DRAMATIST. ROSWITHA THE NUN. By <i>Mrs. W. Kemp-Welch</i> . . .	814
THE QUESTION OF MEDICAL PRIESTCRAFT. By <i>S. Squire Sprigge</i> . . .	827
DANTE'S SELF-PORTRAITURE. By the <i>Right Rev. Bishop Welldon</i> . . .	838
THE VIRTUOSI. By <i>Norman Pearson</i> . . .	855
CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN FRANCE. By <i>Andre Beaunier</i> . . .	870
TWENTY-ONE YEARS WITH OUR INDIAN FELLOW-SUBJECTS. By <i>Lady C. C. C.</i> . . .	887
THE DEFENCE PROBLEM OF SCANDINAVIA. By <i>August Schran</i> . . .	898
THE 'NATIONAL GUARD': A HINT FROM THE UNITED STATES. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel Alsaeger Pollock</i> . . .	910
MR. GLADSTONE AND THE CRISIS OF 1909. By <i>Sir Francis A. Channing</i> . . .	921
LORD BEACONSFIELD AS A TARIFF REFORMER. By <i>Sir Roper Lethbridge</i> . . .	934
IRISH POLICY AND THE CONSERVATIVES. By <i>Colonel Henry Pilkington</i> . . .	949
CAN RUSSIA ESCAPE THE FATE OF POLAND? By <i>Adam Nowicki</i> . . .	965
THE CENSORSHIP OF STAGE PLAYS. By <i>Bram Stoker</i> . . .	974
THINGS THEATRICAL IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND. By <i>Gertrude Kingston</i> . . .	990
TRUTH ABOUT THE MANNING OF THE FLEET. By <i>Archibald S. Hurd</i> . . .	1008
THE OUT-CASTS OF INDIA. By the <i>Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras</i> . . .	1022
SAUL AMONG THE PROPHETS: A PHILOSOPHER'S PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. By <i>Sir Bampfylde Fuller</i> . . .	1032
LEONARDO DA VINCI AS SCULPTOR. By <i>Edward McCurdy</i> . . .	1041
THEN AND NOW. By <i>Mrs. Frederic Harrison</i> . . .	1051
A TRANSATLANTIC INVASION OF 1816. By <i>Mrs. Stirling</i> . . .	1058
PSYCHO-PHYSICAL FORCES. By <i>P. Carrel</i> . . .	1076
THE DEPRECIATION OF CONSOLS, AND A REMEDY. By <i>Mackworth Praed</i> . . .	1085
UNIONIST OR SOCIALIST LAND REFORM? By <i>J. Ellis Barker</i> . . .	1091

